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SENATE RECORD VOTES

100th CONGRESS-1st SESSION

From January 6, 1987

To December 22, 1987

(420 Rollcalls)

Prepared and Compiled by the
Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

S. PRT.
100-97

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100th Congress, 1st Session

January 6 to December 22, 1987

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Vote No.	*Date 1987*	*Voting Position*	
			IRAN/CONTRA INVESTIGATION (S. Res. 23)
1	1–6	....	Adoption. (88-4)
			AFGHANISTAN RESOLUTION (S. Res. 31)
2	1–6	....	Adoption. (92-0)
			CLEAN WATER (H.R. 1, Vetoed, Became P.L. 100-4, without approval)
3	1–21	....	Dole substitute amendment: Authorizes $12 billion through FY 1993 for wastewater treatment; authorizes EPA to provide discretionary grants for up to 55 percent of treatment project's cost; and allows States to use up to 11 percent of Federal grant money with State funds for nonpoint source demonstration projects. (17-82)
4	1–21	....	Passage. (93-6)
			SOVIET HUMAN RIGHTS (S. Con. Res. 8)
5	1–21	....	Adoption. (99-0)
			COMMITTEE FUNDING (S. Res. 80)
6	1–28	....	*Symms-Nickles amendment: Reduces Senate Committee budgets by five percent across-the-board. (58-36)*
			FEDERAL PAY INCREASE DISAPPROVAL (S.J. Res. 34)
7	1–29	....	Weicker substitute amendment: Establishes, effective February 4, 1987, $120,000 annual pay rate for Members of Congress and prohibits their earning honoraria; permits Members to receive travel expenses; and establishes annual pay rate for executive and judicial branches at 88 percent of Federal Pay Commission recommendations. (2-93)
8	1–29	....	Wilson-Warner-Gramm amendment: Disapproves President's recommended pay raise for Members of Congress only. (27-66)
9	1–29	....	Passage. (88-6)
			EMERGENCY FOOD AND SHELTER PROGRAM APPROPRIATIONS, 1987 (H.J. Res. 102, P.L. 100-6)
10	1–29	....	Chiles motion to waive Budget Act with respect to bill. (67-22)
11	1–29	....	*Proxmire motion to table Murkowski amendment: Transfers $5 million to VA for homeless veterans with chronic mental illness. (2-82)*
12	1–29	....	Passage. (78-5)
			HIGHWAY AUTHORIZATIONS, 1987-91 BUDGET WAIVER (S. Res. 85)
13	2–2	....	Adoption. (91-1)
			HIGHWAY AUTHORIZATIONS, 1987-91 (H.R. 2, Vetoed, Became P.L. 100-17, without approval)
14	2–3	....	*Symms-Burdick, et al., amendment: Permits States to raise speed limit to 65 mph on interstate highway segments located outside urbanized areas. (65-33)*
15	2–3	....	Ford motion to table Stafford-Moynihan, et al., amendment: Adds modified version of highway beautification reform amendment contained in 1986 Senate-passed bill. (57-40)
16	2–3	....	Moynihan motion to table Cochran-Thurmond-Melcher amendment: Adds cement and cement clinker to list of "Buy America" products. (65-33)
17	2–3	....	*Hollings-Boren substitute amendment (for Danforth amendment): Expresses sense of Senate that auto safety issues are of critical national importance and Commerce Committee should*

Prepared and compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

Vote No.	*Date 1987*	*Voting Position*	
			report authorizing legislation for National Highway Traffic Safety Administration by April 1, 1987. (58-40)
			URBAN MASS TRANSPORTATION BUDGET WAIVER (S. Res. 83)
18	2–4	....	Adoption. (84-16)
			CLEAN WATER (H.R. 1, Vetoed, Became P.L. 100-4, without approval)
19	2–4	....	Reconsideration of vetoed bill. (86-14)
			HIGHWAY AUTHORIZATIONS, 1987-91 (H.R. 2, Vetoed, Became P.L. 100-17, without approval)
20	2–4	....	Gramm amendment (to Dixon amendment): Overrides transit labor protection provisions in Urban Mass Transportation Act of 1964 to provide unrestricted rights for grant recipients to negotiate transit service contracts with private companies. (30-70)
21	2–4	....	Passage. (96-2)
			SENATE PROCEDURE—ATTENDANCE
22	2–5	....	Byrd motion: Sergeant at Arms to compel attendance. (88-3)
23	2–5	....	Byrd motion: Sergeant at Arms to request attendance. (90-3)
			SENATE PROCEDURE—JOURNAL APPROVAL
24	2–5	....	Byrd point of order that quorum call which delays vote on motion to approve Journal, after quorum has been established, is dilatory and violates intent of S. Res. 28. (51-38)
25	2–5	....	Byrd motion to approve Journal. (53-39)
			ENERGY STANDARDS FOR APPLIANCES (S. 83, P.L. 100-12)
26	2–5	....	Byrd motion: Sergeant at Arms to request attendance. (87-5)
			ARMS CONTROL NEGOTIATIONS (S. Res. 94)
27	2–17	....	Adoption. (93-2)
			ENERGY STANDARDS FOR APPLIANCES (S. 83, P.L. 100-12)
28	2–17	....	Passage. (89-6)
			PHILIPPINE RESOLUTION (S. Res. 103)
29	2–19	....	Adoption. (98-0)
			CENTRAL AMERICAN INITIATIVE SUPPORT (S. Con. Res. 24)
30	3–12	....	Adoption. (97-1)
			CONTRA AID DISAPPROVAL (S.J. Res. 81)
31	3–18	....	Adoption (rejected). (48-52)
			SENATE PROCEDURE—ATTENDANCE
32	3–19	....	Byrd motion: Sergeant at Arms to request attendance. (88-6)
			HIGHWAY AUTHORIZATIONS, 1987-91 (H.R. 2, Vetoed, Became P.L. 100-17, without approval)
33	3–19	....	Adoption of conference report. (79-17)
			JAPAN-U.S. SEMICONDUCTOR TRADE AGREEMENT VIOLATIONS (S. Res. 164)
34	3–19	....	Adoption. (93-0)
			SPEED LIMIT INCREASE (H. Con. Res. 77, Action Completed)
35	3–20	....	Adoption. (60-21)
			CONTRA AID MORATORIUM (H.J. Res. 175)
36	3–23	....	*Reid, et al., cloture motion on motion to bring up resolution. (46-45)*
37	3–24	....	*Byrd, et al., second cloture motion on motion to bring up resolution. (50-50)*
38	3–25	....	*Byrd, et al., third cloture motion on motion to bring up resolution. (54-46)*
			EUROPEAN COMMUNITY TAX ON SOYBEANS (S. Con. Res. 21)
39	3–26	....	Adoption. (99-0)
			CANADIAN TARIFF ON U.S. CORN (S. Con. Res. 27)
40	3–26	....	Adoption. (99-0)

Vote No.	*Date 1987*	*Voting Position*	
			SAVINGS AND LOAN RECAPITALIZATION (S. 790, in P.L. 100-86)
41	3–27	....	*Graham amendment (as substitute for Garn amendment): Allows grandfathered nonbank bank to acquire failing thrift institution in another State if acquisition is specifically authorized by State laws where acquired institution is located. (52-42)*
42	3–27	....	Byrd motion to table Dole amendment: Expresses sense of Senate that, if veto of Highway bill is sustained, Senate committee will report new bill within 7 days. (49-45)
43	3–27	....	Garn amendment: Strikes Titles I and II relating to regulation of banks and nonbank banks. (35-54)
44	3–27	....	Passage. (79-11)
			HOUSING AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT (S. 825, P.L. 100-242)
45	3–30	....	*Riegle-Cranston-D'Amato modified amendment: Postpones flood plain management standards; protects State and local officials from liability for complying with Federal verification system under Immigration and Naturalization Act of 1986; raises maximum FHA mortgage ceiling; permanently authorizes and modifies housing voucher program; caps UDAG project funding for most projects at $6 million; and permits State and local governments to operate urban homesteading program through qualified nonprofit community organizations. (75-0)*
46	3–31	....	Nickles amendment: Strikes Title V (Nehemiah Housing Opportunity Program). (44-54)
47	3–31	....	Reid amendment: Reduces from 30 percent to 25 percent amount that elderly person must contribute from income to live in low-income assisted housing. (43-55)
48	3–31	....	Humphrey amendment: Terminates Urban Development Action Grant Program (UDAG). (23-75)
49	3–31	....	Passage. (71-27)
			SENATE PROCEDURE—ATTENDANCE
50	3–31	....	Byrd motion: Sergeant at Arms to request attendance. (88-9)
			HIGHWAY AUTHORIZATIONS, 1987-91 (H.R. 2, Vetoed, Became P.L. 100-17, without approval)
51	4–1	....	Reconsideration of vetoed bill. (65-35)
52	4–1	....	Byrd motion to table Dole motion to indefinitely postpone Byrd motion to reconsider Vote No. 51. (61-39)
53	4–1	....	Dole motion to table Byrd motion to reconsider Vote No. 51. (36-64)
54	4–1	....	Byrd motion to table Dole motion to postpone Byrd motion to reconsider Vote No. 51. (62-37)
55	4–2	....	Byrd motion: Sergeant at Arms to request attendance. (94-6)
56	4–2	....	Byrd motion to table Dole motion to postpone Byrd motion to reconsider Vote No. 51. (57-41)
57	4–2	....	Byrd motion: Sergeant at Arms to request attendance. (88-10)
58	4–2	....	Byrd motion to table Simpson motion to postpone Byrd motion to reconsider Vote No. 51. (57-43)
59	4–2	....	Byrd motion to reconsider Vote No. 51. (59-41)
60	4–2	....	Reconsideration of Vote No. 51. (67-33)
			JOBS FOR EMPLOYABLE DEPENDENT INDIVIDUALS (JEDI) (S. 514)
61	4–2	....	Passage. (99-0)
			MEXICO ANTI-DRUG EFFORT CERTIFICATION (S.J. Res. 92)
62	4–3	....	Pell motion to table resolution disapproving President's certification that Mexico has cooperated fully in drug interdiction and eradication. (49-38)
			PANAMA ANTI-DRUG EFFORT CERTIFICATION (S.J. Res. 91)
63	4–3	....	Pell motion to table resolution disapproving President's certification that Panama has cooperated fully in drug interdiction and eradication. (31-58)
			BAHAMAS ANTI-DRUG EFFORT CERTIFICATION (S.J. Res. 90)
64	4–3	....	Pell motion to table resolution disapproving President's certification that Bahamas have cooperated fully in drug interdiction and eradication. (54-34)

Vote No.	*Date 1987*	*Voting Position*	
			DAIRY COMMISSION REPORT EXTENSION (Panama) (H.R. 1123, P.L. 100-28)
65	4–7	....	Leahy motion to table Helms amendment: Makes retroactive to before April 1, 1987, disapproval of President's certification that Panama has cooperated fully in drug interdiction and eradication. (49-48)
			FTC AUTHORIZATION, 1988-90 (S. 677)
66	4–8	....	Byrd motion: Sergeant at Arms to request attendance. (91-7)
67	4–8	....	*Metzenbaum-Rockefeller-Simon modified amendment: Requires FTC to report to Congress comprehensive study of: (1) unfair or misleading practices in sale of health insurance to elderly (MediGap); and (2) increase in property and casualty insurance rates to small businesses, local governments, physicians, dentists, and child care centers, and, if necessary, rate increases for self-insurers. (80-18)*
68	4–8	....	Gore motion to table Boschwitz amendment: Deletes provision denying FTC authority to investigate agricultural marketing orders. (71-26)
69	4–8	....	Passage. (88-9)
			HOMELESS ASSISTANCE (H.R. 558, P.L. 100-77)
70	4–8	....	Byrd substitute amendment (for Humphrey, et al., amendment which rolls back salary of Members of Congress and top Federal officials, excluding Federal judges, to amount prior to March 1 increase): Directs Secretary of Senate to develop form to assist any Senator who chooses to forego all or part of pay raise which went into effect on March 1. (30-70)
71	4–9	....	*Byrd substitute amendment (for Gramm, et al., amendment): Requires appropriations pursuant to this authorization be made only in accordance with Gramm-Rudman-Hollings, thereby prohibiting appropriations which would increase deficit for FY 1987. (100-0)*
72	4–9	....	*Wallop, et al., amendment: States sense of Senate that Secretary of State should not meet with Soviet Foreign Minister in Moscow unless thorough examination of security situation in Moscow finds facilities to be secure. (70-30)*
73	4–9	....	*Byrd, et al., cloture motion on Byrd-Dole substitute amendment: Authorizes funds for homeless, including funds for emergency food and shelter, health care and mental health services, and job training. (68-29)*
74	4–9	....	*Byrd-Dole substitute amendment, as amended: Authorizes funds for homeless including emergency food and shelter, health care and mental health services, and job training. (85-12)*
			FAIRNESS DOCTRINE (S. 742, Vetoed)
75	4–21	....	Passage. (59-31)
			WHEAT ACREAGE DIVERSION PROGRAM/DISASTER ASSISTANCE (H.R. 1157, P.L. 100-45)
76	4–22	....	Byrd motion: Sergeant at Arms to request attendance. (88-7)
77	4–22	....	*Gramm amendment: Provides that appropriations made pursuant to this authorization shall not cause deficit to exceed levels established by Gramm-Rudman-Hollings. (96-0)*
78	4–22	....	Byrd motion: Sergeant at Arms to request attendance. (86-11)
79	4–23	....	Boschwitz motion to waive Budget Act (which prohibits consideration of amendment that provides new budget authority for fiscal year until budget resolution for that fiscal year has been adopted) in order to allow consideration of Boschwitz, et al., amendment: Establishes marketing loan programs for soybeans at $5.02 per bushel and sunflowers at no less than 8-1/2 cents per pound; precludes Secretary from reducing 1987 soybean price support level by more than five percent; and offsets any resulting additional outlays by selling rural development insurance fund loans. (33-63)
			STAR SCHOOLS, 1988-92 (S. 778)
80	4–23	....	Passage. (77-16)
			NOMINATION OF TRUSTEN F. CRIGLER TO BE AMBASSADOR TO SOMALIA
81	4–24	....	Confirmation. (65-14)
			FIRST BUDGET RESOLUTION, FY 1988 (H. Con. Res. 93, Action Completed)
82	4–28	....	Byrd motion to proceed to consideration of bill. (51-45)
83	4–28	....	Chiles motion to table Domenici appeal of Chair ruling that Chiles perfecting amendment (to Chiles substitute amendment) containing dual accounting estimates, is in order. (50-46)

Vote No.	*Date 1987*	*Voting Position*	
84	4–29	....	*Chiles perfecting amendment (to Chiles substitute amendment): Contains dual accounting estimates for Chiles budget plan. (50-49)*
			NOMINATION OF ARNOLD L. RAPHEL TO BE AMBASSADOR TO PAKISTAN
85	5–1	....	Confirmation. (76-19)
			NOMINATION OF MELISSA F. WELLS TO BE AMBASSADOR TO MOZAMBIQUE
86	5–1	....	Byrd motion to proceed to executive session to consider nomination of Melissa F. Wells to be Ambassador to Mozambique. (56-28)
			FIRST BUDGET RESOLUTION, FY 1988 (H. Con. Res. 93, Action Completed)
87	5–6	....	*Chiles perfecting substitute amendment (Chiles II) (for Chiles amendment): Increases defense spending to provide for zero real growth, upon President's signature of reconciliation bill which will make domestic cuts of $12.4 billion and provide for domestic initiatives of $3.8 billion, increase revenues by $18.3 billion to pay for defense and reduce deficit, allow REA loan prepayments of $7.2 billion and IRS initiative of $1.8 billion; resulting in OMB-estimated FY 1988 deficit of $107.8 billion, CBO-estimated deficit of $133.6 billion, and balanced budget by 1991. (57-42)*
88	5–6	....	*Dole-Byrd-Bentsen, et al., amendment (to Chiles amendment, as amended—Vote No. 87): Expresses sense of Senate that revenue levels will not be achieved by either raising or delaying individual or corporate income tax rates. (90-10)*
89	5–6	....	Chiles motion to table Symms-Hecht-Pressler perfecting amendment (to Chiles amendment, as amended—Vote No. 87): Reduces International Affairs, increases Energy, Natural Resources, Health, and General Purpose Fiscal Assistance Functions. (60-39)
90	5–6	....	Chiles perfecting amendment (as substitute for Chiles amendment, as amended—Vote No. 87): Contains President's budget which increases defense spending by $7.8 billion and contains domestic cuts of $26.2 billion. (18-81)
91	5–6	....	Domenici perfecting amendment (as substitute for Chiles amendment, as amended—Vote No. 87): Increases defense spending, cuts domestic spending, provides for asset sales of $4.4 billion, and provides less revenue increases. (29-70)
92	5–6	....	Chiles motion to table Roth-Domenici-Quayle perfecting amendment (to Chiles amendment, as amended—Vote No. 87): States sense of Congress that biennial budget and appropriations process should be enacted this year. (53-45)
93	5–6	....	Chiles motion to table Chafee-Durenberger-Heinz perfecting amendment (to Chiles amendment, as amended—Vote No. 87): Restores $1 billion in Medicare cuts and adds $1 billion in Medicaid funding for FY 1988. (69-29)
94	5–6	....	Chiles motion to table Murkowski-Stevens, et al., perfecting amendment (to Chiles amendment, as amended—Vote No. 87): Increases Veterans Benefits Function, offset by reductions in General Government Function. (50-48)
95	5–6	....	Chiles motion to table Evans, et al., perfecting amendment (to Chiles amendment, as amended—Vote No. 87): Increases Energy, Natural Resources and Environment, and General Purpose Fiscal Assistance Functions, and offsets by cutting International Affairs Function. (57-41)
96	5–6	....	Chiles motion to table Grassley perfecting amendment (to Chiles amendment, as amended—Vote No. 87): Decreases defense spending and decreases revenues. (82-16)
97	5–6	....	Passage. (56-42)
			SUPPLEMENTAL APPROPRIATIONS, 1987 (H.R. 1827, P.L. 100-71)
98	5–7	....	Byrd motion to waive Budget Act to allow consideration of bill. (51-48)
			GI BILL CONTINUATION (H.R. 1085, P.L. 100-48)
99	5–8	....	Passage. (89-0)
			SUPPLEMENTAL APPROPRIATIONS, 1987 (H.R. 1827, P.L. 100-71)
100	5–12	....	Byrd motion: Sergeant at Arms to request attendance. (89-5)
			SENATE PROCEDURE—ADJOURNMENT
101	5–13	....	Byrd motion to adjourn for one minute. (48-44)
			SENATE PROCEDURE—JOURNAL APPROVAL
102	5–13	....	Byrd motion to approve Journal to date. (65-35)

Vote No.	*Date 1987*	*Voting Position*	
103	5–13	....	Question of Chair whether it is permissible for Senator from Virginia to decline his right to vote on motion to approve Journal for reason that he has not read Journal. (44-56)
104	5–13	....	Question of Chair whether Senator from Indiana may decline to vote (on Vote No. 103) for reason that Senator should not be compelled to vote. (44-56)
105	5–13	....	Byrd motion to table Dole appeal of Chair ruling that quorum call is not in order during rollcall vote on motion to approve Journal. ~~(54-46)~~
106	5–13	....	Dole motion to table Byrd appeal of Chair ruling that point of order is not in order during rollcall vote on motion to approve Journal. (46-54)
107	5–13	....	Chair ruling that Senator from Kansas had adequately stated reasons for declining to vote and that Senator may not continue "forever" in stating such reasons. (55-45)
108	5–13	....	Chair ruling that point of order is not in order during rollcall vote on motion to approve Journal. (46-54)
			SAVINGS AND LOAN RECAPITALIZATION (H.R. 27, P.L. 100-86)
109	5–14	....	*Proxmire substitute amendment: Inserts provisions of S. 790 as passed by Senate on March 27, 1987 (Vote No. 44). (93-3)*
110	5–14	....	Garn amendment: Strikes Title I, which closes nonbank bank loophole and prohibits nonbank banks from commencing new activities, and Title II, which imposes moratorium on expansion of securities, insurance, and real estate activities by banks and bank holding companies. (37-62)
			PUBLIC DEBT LIMIT TEMPORARY EXTENSION (H.R. 2360, P.L. 100-40)
111	5–14	....	Passage. (58-36)
			DOD AUTHORIZATION, 1988-89 (H.R. 1748, P.L. 100-180)
112	5–15	....	*Ford, et al., cloture motion on motion to proceed to bill. (52-36)*
113	5–19	....	Byrd motion: Sergeant at Arms to request attendance. (91-6)
114	5–19	....	*Ford, et al., second cloture motion on motion to proceed to bill. (58-41)*
			NOMINATION OF WILLIAM H. WEBSTER TO BE DIRECTOR OF CIA
115	5–19	....	Confirmation. (94-1)
			DOD AUTHORIZATION, 1988-89 (H.R. 1748, P.L. 100-180)
116	5–20	....	*Byrd, et al., third cloture on motion to proceed to bill. (59-39)*
			SUPPLEMENTAL APPROPRIATIONS, 1987 (H.R. 1827, P.L. 100-71)
117	5–20	....	Inouye-Kasten motion to table Helms amendment: Eliminates $257 million for multilateral development banks. (57-38)
118	5–21	....	Inouye motion to table Pressler amendment—Vote No. 119. (35-58)
119	5–21	....	*Pressler amendment: Prohibits funds for assistance to any country within Southern Africa Development Coordination Conference until President certifies that it has renounced "necklacing" used against South African blacks. (77-15)*
120	5–21	....	*Byrd-Dole-Sasser amendment: Requires Secretary of Defense to submit report to Congress prior to implementation of any agreement between U.S. and Kuwait for U.S. military protection of Kuwaiti ships. (91-5)*
121	5–21	....	*DeConcini, et al., amendment: States sense of Senate condemning Soviet-Cuban buildup in Angola and human rights violations of Angolan government. (94-0)*
122	5–21	....	Danforth motion to table Helms amendment: Prohibits funds for providing drugs to prolong life of individual with AIDS by any State, unless State requires testing negative for AIDS as condition for granting marriage license and adds AIDS to list of dangerous, contagious diseases for which person may be denied entry into U.S. (63-32)
123	5–21	....	*Danforth motion to table Committee amendment: Appropriates $30 million for emergency provision of drugs determined to prolong life of those who suffer from AIDS. (21-74)*
124	5–21	....	*Committee amendment: Extends, by four months, public information period during which implementation of employer sanction provisions of immigration law will be delayed. (48-45)*
125	5–27	....	*Melcher amendment: Requires Secretary of Labor to develop, and submit to Congress, Consumer Price Index which reflects impact of inflation on older Americans. (95-0)*
126	5–27	....	Heinz motion to waive Budget Act to allow consideration of Heinz, et al., modified amendment: Provides additional $10 million in budget authority and $2 million in outlays

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			for community service employment for older Americans, offset by $2 million reduction for foreign military credit sales for Philippines, Morocco, and Kenya. (74-21)
127	5–27	....	*Heinz, et al., modified amendment: Provides additional $10 million in budget authority and $2 million in outlays for community service employment for older Americans, offset by $2 million reduction for foreign military credit sales for Philippines, Morocco, and Kenya. (88-7)*
128	5–27	....	Dixon motion to waive Budget Act to allow consideration of Dixon, et al., amendment: Provides $100 million for summer youth employment offset by decrease for World Bank. (33-62)
129	5–27	....	*Melcher, et al., modified amendment: Imposes moratorium on issuance of all oil shale patents (except for 10 pending patents) unless Congress directs otherwise. (94-1)*
130	5–28	....	Harkin motion to table DeConcini motion to reconsider Vote No. 124. (47-43)
131	5–28	....	Grassley motion to waive Budget Act to allow consideration of Dole-Grassley, et al., amendment: Accelerates deficiency payments for 1986 corn crop by making $2.77 billion available now rather than on October 1, 1988. (33-60)
132	5–28	....	D'Amato motion to waive Budget Act to allow consideration of Cranston-D'Amato, et al., amendment: Fully funds Homeless Act passed earlier this year and transfers $20 million of VA funds to provide for homeless veterans. (47-46)
133	5–28	....	*Dixon, et al., amendment: States sense of Senate that no funds provided under this Act may be used for severance pay to any World Bank employee. (90-3)*
134	5–28	....	Johnston motion to table Symms, et al., amendment: Strikes all provisions of bill except $6.7 billion for Commodity Credit Corporation. (61-30)
135	5–28	....	Hatfield motion to table Helms-Symms, et al., amendment: Earmarks $5 million to continue retrofitting of stockpiled MIRV'd Minuteman III ICBM's into existing Minuteman II silos. (57-32)
136	5–28	....	Johnston motion to table Levin-Gramm motion to recommit bill. (52-39)
137	5–29	....	Johnston motion to waive Budget Act to allow consideration of bill. (55-34)
138	5–29	....	Melcher motion to waive Budget Act to allow consideration of Melcher amendment: Transfers $1.4 million of unobligated FY 1985 and 1986 funds from another Older Americans Act program to Meals on Wheels program. (66-16)
139	5–29	....	*Melcher amendment: Transfers $1.4 million of unobligated FY 1985 and 1986 funds from another Older Americans Act program to Meals on Wheels program. (70-5)*
140	6–2	....	Johnston motion to reconsider Vote No. 137. (66-30)
141	6–2	....	Reconsideration of Vote No. 137 on Johnston motion to waive Budget Act in order to allow consideration of bill. (64-32)
142	6–2	....	*Helms modified amendment: Requires President to add AIDS to list of dangerous, contagious diseases for which person may be denied entry into U.S. (96-0)*
143	6–2	....	Burdick motion to table Gramm amendment: Offsets additional funding for agricultural disaster assistance programs (CCC) and aid to homeless by reducing by $500 million amount of loans that may be financed by Rural Housing Insurance Funds and directs Secretary of Agriculture to sell sufficient Rural Development Insurance Fund loans to realize $70 million in revenues. (68-26)
144	6–2	....	Johnston motion to table Gramm amendment: Deletes $85 million for operations and maintenance for defense, $51 million for economic aid for Southern Africa, $23 million for Fish and Wildlife Management, $20 million for training and employment services, $30.6 million for agricultural research grants, $11 million for Forest Service, $2.1 million for Bureau of Land Management, $3.1 million for Bureau of Indian Affairs, and $7.2 million for Peace Corps. (61-33)
145	6–2	....	Passage. (71-23)
			ECONOMIC SUMMIT AT VENICE (S. Res. 225)
146	6–4	....	Adoption. (90-1)
			OZONE RESOLUTION (S. Res. 226)
147	6–5	....	Adoption. (80-2)

Vote No.	*Date 1987*	*Voting Position*	
			CAMPAIGN FINANCING REFORM (S. 2)
148	6–9	....	*Byrd, et al., cloture motion on Committee substitute for bill. (52-47)*
149	6–11	....	Byrd motion to waive Budget Act to allow consideration of bill. (46-42)
150	6–16	....	*Matsunaga, et al., second cloture motion on Committee substitute for bill. (49-46)*
151	6–17	....	*Byrd, et al., third cloture motion on Committee substitute for bill. (51-47)*
152	6–18	....	*Byrd, et al., fourth cloture motion on Committee substitute for bill. (50-47)*
153	6–19	....	*Adams, et al., fifth cloture motion on Committee substitute for bill. (45-43)*
			FAIRNESS DOCTRINE (S. 742, Vetoed)
154	6–23	....	Hollings motion to refer veto message to Committee. (53-45)
			FIRST BUDGET RESOLUTION, FY 1988 (H. Con. Res. 93, Action Completed)
155	6–24	....	Chiles motion to table D'Amato motion to refer conference report to Finance Committee. (56-43)
156	6–24	....	Chair ruling against Domenici point of order that conferees exceeded their authority by including reconciliation instruction to Finance Committee to report debt limit bill. (54-45)
157	6–24	....	Adoption of conference report. (53-46)
			TRADE AND COMPETITIVENESS ACT (H.R. 3)
158	6–25	....	Bentsen motion to table Specter, et al., amendment: Provides for private right of action to allow injured American parties to sue in Federal court for damages from foreign manufacturers and exporters who receive subsidies or "dump" goods in U.S. and makes importers of subsidized or "dumped" exports also liable. (69-27)
			DRUG ABUSE AND ILLICIT TRAFFICKING—U.N. CONFERENCE (S. Res. 238)
159	6–26	....	Adoption. (94-0)
			TRADE AND COMPETITIVENESS ACT (H.R. 3)
160	6–26	....	Bentsen-Pell motion to table Armstrong amendment—Vote No. 161. (44-49)
161	6–26	....	*Armstrong amendment: Suspends Romania's most-favored-nation trading status for six months. (57-36)*
			PANAMA—HUMAN RIGHTS (S. Res. 239)
162	6–26	....	Cranston motion to table Dodd, et al., amendment (as substitute for resolution): Deletes sense of Senate provision specifically directing current commander of Panama Defense Force and any other implicated officials to relinquish their duties pending outcome of independent investigation. (73-13)
163	6–26	....	Adoption. (84-2)
			TRADE AND COMPETITIVENESS ACT (H.R. 3)
164	6–26	....	*Humphrey-Proxmire modified amendment: Authorizes President to prohibit trade between U.S. and USSR-sponsored Afghan regime. (83-0)*
			KOREAN RESOLUTION (S. Res. 241)
165	6–27	....	Adoption. (74-0)
			TRADE AND COMPETITIVENESS ACT (H.R. 3)
166	6–27	....	*Reid amendment: Requires National Critical Materials Council to prepare national Federal program plan for advanced materials research and development. (73-0)*
			HOMELESS ASSISTANCE (H.R. 558, P.L. 100-77)
167	6–27	....	Adoption of conference report. (65-8)
			TRADE AND COMPETITIVENESS ACT (H.R. 3)
168	6–27	....	*Division I of Gramm, et al., amendment, as amended: Requires that Congress complete action on Constitutional amendment to require balanced Federal budget no later than October 1, 1987, and requires President to submit balanced budget by September 15, 1987. (59-11)*
169	6–30	....	*Exon-Melcher, et al., amendment: Requires FDA to issue regulations for labeling of food products which are imported or which contain significant amount of imported ingredients. (73-19)*
170	6–30	....	*McConnell, et al., amendment: Requires that annual appropriations to reimburse Commodity Credit Corporation for net realized losses be made by means of current indefinite appropriations. (80-15)*

Vote No.	*Date 1987*	*Voting Position*	
171	6–30	....	Shelby motion to table Garn-Heinz-Proxmire, et al., amendment (to Shelby amendment)—Vote No. 172. (19-78)
172	6–30	....	*Garn-Heinz-Proxmire, et al., amendment (to Shelby amendment): Requires President to impose sanctions on importation of products of Toshiba Corporation and Kongsberg Vaapenfabrik for not less than two years. (92-5)*
173	6–30	....	*Melcher-Exon, et al., amendment: States sense of Congress that GATT negotiations process should be used to achieve significant reduction in high tariffs imposed on wheat gluten by other countries. (94-0)*
174	7–1	....	*Wilson, et al., amendment: States sense of Congress that Japan should lower high tariffs and remove quotas on competitive agricultural U.S. exports. (94-0)*
175	7–1	....	*Bradley-Packwood, et al., amendment: Strikes oil import section. (55-41)*

SUPPLEMENTAL APPROPRIATIONS, 1987 (H.R. 1827, P.L. 100-71)

Vote No.	*Date 1987*	*Voting Position*	
176	7–1	....	Stennis motion to table Melcher amendment (as substitute for House amendment to Senate amendment): Requires Secretary of Labor to develop consumer price index which reflects impact of inflation on older Americans. (50-42)

TRADE AND COMPETITIVENESS ACT (H.R. 3)

Vote No.	*Date 1987*	*Voting Position*	
177	7–7	....	*Pell motion to table Nickles, et al., amendment: Instructs U.S. representatives to multilateral development banks to withhold funds for subsidization of foreign competition in minerals or agricultural products that are surplus in world market, effective October 2, 1987. (34-58)*
178	7–7	....	Packwood-Evans-Roth amendment: Restores President's discretionary Section 201 authority to weigh general public good and Nation's economic interest in deciding whether to grant relief to industries injured by fair import competition. (41-55)
179	7–8	....	*Domenici, et al., amendment: Gives President discretionary Section 301 authority to retaliate against foreign subsidization of excess capacity to produce nonagricultural, fungible goods such as copper, aluminum, and other minerals. (71-28)*
180	7–9	....	Quayle-Boren amendment: Strikes plant closing provisions which require employers of 100 full-time workers to give 60 days notice of plant closings and mass layoffs. (40-60)
181	7–9	....	*Sasser, et al., cloture motion on Moynihan, et al., amendment: Expresses sense of Congress that U.S. should seek settlement of Iran-Iraq war through diplomatic means and proposed reflagging of Kuwaiti tankers should be delayed pending outcome of initiatives. (57-42)*
182	7–9	....	Stevens motion to table DeConcini-Dole-Chiles, et al., amendment: Prohibits importation of products from Angola and exportation of U.S. goods to Angola except for disaster relief and certain U.S. petroleum extraction products or upon Presidential certification that all Cuban and Soviet troops have been withdrawn from Angola and Angola has made certain democratic changes to its government. (61-38)
183	7–9	....	Bumpers motion to table Bumpers-Hatfield-Adams amendment: Postpones reflagging of any Kuwaiti naval vessels for 89 days following enactment of this legislation. (42-56)
184	7–9	....	Byrd motion: Sergeant at Arms to request attendance. (74-15)
185	7–9	....	Armstrong, et al., amendment: Caps at $400 million per year amount which may be spent on Trade Adjustment Assistance. (39-59)
186	7–10	....	Ford motion to table Chafee, et al., amendment: Strikes provision that makes tobacco eligible for export promotion programs with any resulting losses to be borne by CCC. (51-43)
187	7–10	....	*Danforth perfecting amendment (to Byrd-Dole, et al., amendment): Requires U.S. Trade Representative to: (1) identify foreign countries that maintain consistent pattern of import barriers and trade distorting practices, (2) evaluate their effect on U.S. exports and estimate value in lost trade to U.S. during preceding year; and (3) negotiate agreements with each foreign country either to eliminate trade barriers or to provide alternative export opportunities and, if no agreement is reached, requires countermeasures against those countries under Section 301; and allows Senate Finance and House Ways and Means Committees to file Section 301 petition with USTR for investigation of suspect foreign country. (87-7)*
188	7–14	....	Byrd motion: Sergeant at Arms to request attendance. (84-10)
189	7–14	....	*Exon, et al., second cloture motion on Moynihan, et al., amendment: Expresses sense of Congress that U.S. should seek settlement of Iran-Iraq war through diplomatic means and proposed reflagging of Kuwaiti tankers should be postponed pending outcome of initiatives. (53-40)*

Vote No.	*Date 1987*	*Voting Position*	
190	7–14	....	Hollings motion to table Glenn perfecting amendment (to language to be struck by Hollings, et al., amendment): Strikes trade reorganization section and reduces funding for Advanced Civilian Technology Agency. (73-21)
191	7–14	....	Helms motion to table Baucus, et al., amendment: Requires President to maintain list of agricultural commodities and products that may be exported to Cuba. (71-25)
192	7–14	....	Metzenbaum motion to table Gramm-Boren motion to recommit bill to Committee with instructions to report back forthwith with all amendments agreed to, all pending amendments in status quo, and provision to repeal windfall profits tax. (36-57)
193	7–14	....	Gramm motion to table Cranston amendment (to Bradley amendment to Gramm-Boren motion to recommit bill): Increases cigarette excise tax to 34 cents per pack. (74-20)
194	7–14	....	Gramm motion to table Byrd amendment (to Bradley amendment to Gramm-Boren motion to recommit bill): Increases cigarette excise tax to 35 cents per pack. (77-18)
195	7–14	....	Gramm motion to table Bradley amendment (to Gramm-Boren motion to recommit bill taking with it Byrd amendment regarding U.S. policy toward protecting reflagged Kuwaiti tankers in Persian Gulf): Increases cigarette excise tax to 33 cents per pack. (75-19)
196	7–15	....	*Bumpers, et al., cloture motion on Bumpers-Hatfield-Adams amendment: Prohibits funds to reflag any Kuwaiti naval vessels for 89 days following enactment of this legislation. (54-44)*
197	7–15	....	*Byrd-Dole, et al., amendment: Imposes trade embargo against Iran, or any other Persian Gulf state, which launches purposeful military or terrorist attack on U.S. vessels, facilities, or personnel with "silkworm" missiles or other weapons; and urges President to persuade all nations to discontinue transferring offensive weaponry to belligerent nations in region. (82-16)*
198	7–15	....	Armstrong motion to table Danforth-Metzenbaum, et al., amendment: Permits President to continue Romania's most-favored-nation trading status if he reports to Congress that denial would make human rights improvements and emigration more difficult. (53-44)
199	7–15	....	Gramm-Armstrong amendment: Strikes title establishing international debt management agency. (49-50)
200	7–16	....	*Boren-Gramm, et al., amendment: Repeals windfall profits tax. (58-40)*
201	7–17	....	Hollings motion to table Harkin, et al., amendment: Requires foreign investors to register their U.S. investments with Department of Commerce and, if they own 25 percent interest, to disclose information required of U.S. companies whose stock is traded on stock exchanges. (83-11)
202	7–17	....	Johnston motion to table Chafee amendment: Eliminates cane sugar drawback provision allowing import duties paid on raw cane sugar to be refunded upon its refinement and export. (49-44)
203	7–17	....	Packwood motion to table Wilson-Hollings amendment: Repeals expedited procedures for passage of any trade agreements implementing legislation. (68-9)
204	7–21	....	*Byrd-Danforth-Dole-Bingaman amendment: States sense of Senate that Secretary of Defense should continue negotiating with Japan for commitment to purchase U.S. fighter planes. (96-0)*
205	7–21	....	Packwood-Bentsen motion to table Heinz amendment: Strikes new procedures that allow noncontroversial duty suspensions under expedited procedures and upon President's approval. (88-9)
206	7–21	....	Packwood motion to table Specter amendment: States sense of Senate that President should direct USTR to place highest priority in Uruguay round of multilateral trade negotiations (GATT) on strengthening existing remedies against unfair dumping, subsidization, and customs fraud, and negotiate international rules authorizing private right of action against unfair dumping practices and customs fraud. (65-31)
207	7–21	....	Packwood motion to table Daschle-Pryor amendment: Exempts newsprint from Section 218 import fee which will fund TAA program. (69-29)
208	7–21	....	Passage. (71-27)
			PUBLIC DEBT LIMIT (Gramm-Rudman-Hollings) (H.J. Res. 324, P.L. 100-119)
209	7–23	....	Chiles motion to table Domenici substitute amendment (to Chiles motion to waive section 306 of Budget Act to allow consideration of Chiles amendment): Waives Budget Act for not-yet-offered Domenici-Gramm-Rudman amendment as well as pending Chiles amendment. (50-47)

Vote No.	*Date 1987*	*Voting Position*	
210	7–23	....	Chiles motion to waive section 306 of Budget Act to allow consideration of Chiles amendment—Vote No. 211: Modifies sequester process of Gramm-Rudman-Hollings. (71-25)
211	7–23	....	Chiles modified amendment: Provides for maximum sequester order of $36 billion to take effect in October of each year unless Congress and President act to avoid sequester. (25-71)
212	7–23	....	Domenici motion to waive Budget Act to allow consideration of Domenici-Gramm-Rudman amendment: Modifies sequester process of Gramm-Rudman-Hollings and gives OMB responsibility for determining deficit size and sequester order. (47-49)
			VIETNAM MIA NEGOTIATIONS (S. Res. 255)
213	7–28	....	Adoption. (92-0)
			POSTAL EMPLOYEE APPEAL RIGHTS (H.R. 348, P.L. 100-90)
214	7–28	....	Helms-Thurmond substitute amendment: Extends to all postal employees right to appeal adverse personnel actions to Merit Systems Protection Board and allows appeal of Board decisions to Federal Circuit Court of Appeals. (18-74)
			HAITIAN HUMAN RIGHTS (Soviet Embassy) (S. Res. 248)
215	7–30	....	*Pell motion to table Symms-D'Amato amendment: Expresses sense of Senate that President should void current embassy site and construction agreements between U.S. and Soviet Union and seek agreement under which Soviet Union will move its new embassy to D.C. site that is no more than 90 feet above mean sea level. (26-71)*
			PUBLIC DEBT LIMIT (Gramm-Rudman-Hollings) (H.J. Res. 324, P.L. 100-119)
216	7–31	....	*Johnston amendment: Extends public debt limit increase until May 1, 1989, instead of October 1, 1988, in amount of $2.8 trillion. (58-35)*
217	7–31	....	Johnston, et al., modified perfecting amendment (to Gramm-Chiles amendment): Lowers deficit target for FY 1988 to $140 billion with $5 billion cushion, instead of $150 billion with $10 billion cushion, or requires at least $36 billion cut in baseline deficit; and lowers deficit target for 1989 from $130 billion to $120 billion with $10 billion cushion. (41-52)
218	7–31	....	*Gramm-Chiles amendment: Establishes new deficit targets; maintains current $10 billion cushion; establishes maximum sequester order of $36 billion in FY 1989, which can be avoided only by reducing deficit $36 billion below baseline or reaching $130 billion deficit target; changes sequester procedure under which GAO will review OMB/CBO report and issue its own sequester report and OMB will issue final sequester report and explain differences with GAO; sustains current sequester formula of 50 percent defense/50 percent domestic spending; permits flexibility in military personnel cuts; and allows flexibility for cuts in other defense programs only if requested by President and approved by both Houses. (71-21)*
219	7–31	....	Stennis motion to table Evans, et al., amendment—Vote No. 220. (43-49)
220	7–31	....	Evans, et al., amendment: Provides that each title of continuing appropriations resolution will be enrolled as separate joint resolution for presentation to President. (41-48)
221	7–31	....	Conrad motion to waive Budget Act to allow consideration of Conrad-Boschwitz amendment: Provides two percent across-the-board cut on all spending levels in FY 1988 budget except for social security, payroll tax portion of Medicare, and enforcement functions of IRS. (36-53)
222	7–31	....	Packwood-Byrd, et al., motion to table Humphrey, et al., amendment: Repeals pay raise for Members of Congress and executive branch that went into effect on March 1, 1987 (while maintaining pay raise for judiciary). (49-40)
223	7–31	....	*Grassley, et al., amendment: Requires, beginning in 1990, affirmative vote by Congress to approve recommendation of President's Commission for Congressional Pay Raise. (84-4)*
224	7–31	....	Passage. (54-31)
			NOMINATION OF ALAN GREENSPAN TO BE CHAIRMAN OF FED
225	8–3	....	Confirmation. (91-2)
			SAVINGS AND LOAN RECAPITALIZATION (H.R. 27, P.L. 100-86)
226	8–4	....	Adoption of conference report. (96-2)
			SCHOOL LUNCH/NUTRITION PROGRAM (H.R. 1340, P.L. 100-237)
227	8–5	....	Passage. (97-0)

Vote No.	*Date 1987*	*Voting Position*	
			NOMINATION OF DAVID S. RUDER TO BE CHAIRMAN OF SEC
228	8–6	....	Confirmation. (81-17)
			OLDER AMERICANS (H.R. 1451, P.L. 100-175)
229	8–6	....	Passage. (98-0)
			NOMINATION OF M. PETER MCPHERSON TO BE DEPUTY SECRETARY OF TREASURY
230	8–6	....	Confirmation. (95-2)
			IRAN-IRAQ CEASEFIRE (H.J. Res. 216, P.L. 100-96)
231	8–7	....	Passage. (96-0)
			NOMINATION OF NICHOLAS PLATT TO BE AMBASSADOR TO PHILIPPINES
232	8–7	....	Confirmation. (88-5)
			PUBLIC DEBT LIMIT TEMPORARY INCREASE (H.R. 3190, P.L. 100-84)
233	8–7	....	Passage. (51-39)
			NOMINATION OF MELISSA F. WELLS TO BE AMBASSADOR TO MOZAMBIQUE
234	9–9	....	*Fowler, et al., cloture motion on nomination of Melissa F. Wells to be Ambassador to Mozambique. (65-24)*
235	9–9	....	Chair ruling that Helms amendment (stating sense of Senate that Secretary of State should seek meeting with opposing Mozambican armed forces to seek negotiated settlement of civil war and that humanitarian aid to Mozambique will be of marginal use until all foreign troops have left country and civil war has ended) to Executive Journal is not in order. (59-28)
			ETHICAL CONDUCT OF SENATE POLITICAL COMMITTEES (S. Res. 279)
236	9–9	....	Adoption. (87-0)
			NOMINATION OF MELISSA F. WELLS TO [illegible] AMBASSADOR TO MOZAMBIQUE
237	9–9	....	Confirmation. (64-24)
			NOMINATION OF DAVID B. SENTELLE TO U.S. DISTRICT JUDGE FOR D.C.
238	9–9	....	Confirmation. (87-0)
			CAMPAIGN FINANCING REFORM (S. 2)
239	9–10	....	*Boren, et al., sixth cloture motion on Committee substitute for bill. (53-42)*
			DOD AUTHORIZATION, 1988-89 (H.R. 1748, P.L. 100-180)
240	9–11	....	Byrd motion to bring up bill. (79-4)
			PHILIPPINES RESOLUTION (S. Res. 282)
241	9–11	....	Adoption. (73-0)
			CAMPAIGN FINANCING REFORM (S. 2)
242	9–15	....	*Adams, et al., seventh cloture motion on Committee substitute for bill. (51-44)*
			DOD AUTHORIZATION, 1988-89 (H.R. 1748, P.L. 100-180)
243	9–15	....	Byrd motion: Sergeant at Arms to request attendance. (67-14)
244	9–15	....	*Byrd-Nunn perfecting amendment (to Glenn, et al., amendment): States that Senate supports President's efforts to negotiate verifiable arms reduction treaties with Soviet Union and cautions that neither Congress nor President should take actions which are unilateral concessions to USSR. (92-1)*
245	9–15	....	Warner-Dole, et al., perfecting amendment (to Glenn amendment): States that Senate declares that Congress supports President's negotiations with USSR and recognizes President's Constitutional role as sole voice of U.S. treaty negotiations; and that Congress must not seek to establish, in U.S. domestic law, positions on matters such as ASAT, nuclear testing, SALT II compliance, ABM Treaty interpretation, and role of chemical weapons when such sensitive arms control subjects are being negotiated. (35-59)
246	9–16	....	Byrd motion: Sergeant at Arms to request attendance. (83-10)
247	9–16	....	*Quayle amendment: States congressional findings that President has certified that Krasnoyarsk radar is unequivocal violation of 1972 ABM Treaty and states sense of Congress that Soviet Union is in violation of legal obligation under Treaty. (89-0)*

Vote No.	*Date 1987*	*Voting Position*	
248	9–17	....	Nunn motion to table Warner, et al., amendment: Strikes section that prohibits funds for testing or developing mobile or space-based ABM's unless President submits detailed report to Congress and Congress so approves by joint resolution. (58-38)
249	9–17	....	*Dixon-Simon amendment: Permits DOD to procure manual typewriters from Warsaw Pact countries that have most-favored-nation trading status (Poland) with U.S. (53-41)*
250	9–17	....	Glenn motion to table Warner modified perfecting amendment (to Glenn amendment): Loosens standard by which Secretary of Defense may award SDI contract to foreign firm. (50-45)
251	9–17	....	*Nunn-Quayle-Warner amendment: Provides that prohibition on awarding SDI research contracts to foreign firms shall not apply to contract awarded to foreign government or firm which agrees to fund substantial portion of total cost. (61-32)*
252	9–17	....	*Exon motion to table Stevens-Heflin, et al., amendment: Strikes section that allows State governors to withhold consent unconditionally for active duty for Federal training of Air National Guard units unless President certifies to governor that U.S. national security requires such action. (29-66)*
253	9–17	....	*Helms-Symms, et al., perfecting amendment (to Helms, et al., amendment): States sense of Senate that U.S. policy toward Central America should be based on principles of Monroe Doctrine. (90-2)*
254	9–17	....	Nunn motion to table modified Helms, et al., amendment: Authorizes $310 million for military assistance to Contras for period ending March 31, 1989, unless President certifies to Congress before September 30, 1987, that there are no Soviet, Cuban, or communist bloc bases established in Nicaragua, Nicaragua poses no military threat to its neighbors, and Nicaraguan government respects basic human rights of its people. (61-31)
255	9–18	....	Byrd motion: Sergeant at Arms to request attendance. (73-8)
256	9–18	....	Warner motion to table Hatfield-Bumpers-Adams-Murkowski amendment (taking with it Adams perfecting amendment): Provides that War Powers Resolution shall be deemed to apply in Persian Gulf beginning 48 hours after designation of imminent danger zone on August 25, 1987. (50-41)
257	9–18	....	Dixon motion to table Helms amendment: Requires 50 existing single-warhead Minuteman II missiles be replaced with MIRVed Minuteman III missiles. (51-33)
			SENATE PROCEDURE—ATTENDANCE
258	9–22	....	Byrd motion: Sergeant at Arms to request attendance. (79-7)
			DOD AUTHORIZATION, 1988-89 (H.R. 1748, P.L. 100-180)
259	9–22	....	Exon motion to table Johnston-Proxmire-Evans, et al., amendment: Authorizes $3.7 billion for SDI rather than $1 billion increase. (50-50, with Vice President voting yea to break tie)
260	9–22	....	Quayle motion to table Kerry-Chafee-Simon, et al., amendment: Continues existing two-year moratorium on testing of ASAT against object in space until October 1, 1988, or until President certifies to Congress that Soviet Union has conducted such test. (51-47)
			SENATE PROCEDURE—ATTENDANCE
261	9–23	....	Byrd motion: Sergeant at Arms to request attendance. (80-8)
			PUBLIC DEBT LIMIT (Gramm-Rudman-Hollings) (H.J. Res. 324, P.L. 100-119)
262	9–23	....	Adoption of conference report. (64-34)
			DOD AUTHORIZATION, 1988-89 (H.R. 1748, P.L. 100-180)
263	9–23	....	Bingaman motion to table Weicker amendment: Transfers $200 million in each FY 1988 and 1989 from DOD research, development, test, and evaluation funding to NIH to support medical research related to Armed Forces personnel. (64-34)
264	9–24	....	*McCain-Warner-Dole amendment: States sense of Congress that U.S. would welcome initiative by Japan to assume politically acceptable and significant global security role consistent with its economic status by increasing its development assistance funding, especially outside of East Asia. (96-1)*
265	9–24	....	*Symms amendment: Requires President to void current embassy site and construction agreements between U.S. and Soviet Union and enter into negotiations for new agreement for USSR to move its new embassy to site that is 90 feet or less above sea level. (70-27)*

Vote No.	Date 1987	Voting Position	
266	9–24	....	*Dodd, et al., amendment: States sense of Congress that U.S. should cease all economic and military assistance to Panama and prohibit sugar imports from Panama. (97-0)*
267	9–24	....	Reid motion to table Hatfield-Kennedy, et al., amendment: Imposes two-year moratorium on spending to conduct underground nuclear explosions of more than one kiloton each, in weak-coupling geologic media, outside "designated test area," and unless test has been announced 30 days prior to explosion; provides that testing moratorium shall cease if President certifies to Congress that USSR has made certain violations or agreement is reached regarding underground nuclear explosion. (61-36)
268	9–24	....	Nunn motion to table Hatfield-Pryor, et al., amendment: Prohibits funds for final assembly of lethal binary chemical weapons before October 1, 1988. (53-44)
269	9–24	....	Shelby motion to table Pryor-Hatfield, et al., amendment: Prohibits funds for procurement or assembly of BIGEYE binary chemical bomb until specific authorizing legislation is enacted. (49-48)
270	9–24	....	*Helms amendment: States sense of Senate that U.S. Navy is justified in sinking any Iranian vessel which threatens safe passage of American warship or any other vessel known to have U.S. citizen on board. (91-4)*
271	9–24	....	Dixon motion to table Helms amendment: States sense of Senate that it should not consent to ratification of any treaty with USSR to limit intermediate nuclear forces unless treaty is unquestionably verifiable nor should any such treaty be signed until President has certified to Congress that USSR is no longer violating ABM Treaty. (62-28)

TREASURY-POSTAL SERVICE APPROPRIATIONS, 1988 (H.R. 2907, in P.L. 100-202)

Vote No.	Date 1987	Voting Position	
272	9–25	....	Passage. (84-7)

DOD AUTHORIZATION, 1988-89 (H.R. 1748, P.L. 100-180)

Vote No.	Date 1987	Voting Position	
273	9–25	....	Dixon motion to table Roth amendment: Makes non-NATO allies eligible to bid on DOD maintenance contracts and to perform that work outside equipment area. (49-48)

CONTINUING APPROPRIATIONS, 1988 (H.J. Res. 362, P.L. 100-120)

Vote No.	Date 1987	Voting Position	
274	9–25	....	Passage. (70-27)

DOD AUTHORIZATION, 1988-89 (H.R. 1748, P.L. 100-180)

Vote No.	Date 1987	Voting Position	
275	9–25	....	*Heinz, et al., amendment: Provides that 50 percent of U.S. assessed contributions to U.N. may not be obligated until President certifies to Congress that significant progress has been made in eliminating excessive use of "secondment" by member states and blatant control of U.N. employees by their national governments. (95-0)*
276	9–25	....	Glenn motion to table Lautenberg, et al., amendment—Vote No. 277. (42-55)
277	9–25	....	*Lautenberg, et al., amendment: Permits members of Armed Forces to wear item of religious apparel while in uniform if it is neat and does not interfere with performance of military duty. (55-42)*
278	9–25	....	Dixon motion to table Helms-D'Amato amendment: Provides that members of foreign diplomatic missions and foreign consular posts (other than diplomatic agents and consular officers) shall not be entitled to immunity for crimes committed in U.S. (48-46)

NOMINATION OF WILLIAM S. SESSIONS TO BE DIRECTOR OF FBI

Vote No.	Date 1987	Voting Position	
279	9–25	....	Confirmation. (90-0)

DOD AUTHORIZATION, 1988-89 (H.R. 1748, P.L. 100-180)

Vote No.	Date 1987	Voting Position	
280	9–29	....	*Conrad, et al., amendment: Expresses sense of Congress that President should negotiate with NATO nations and Japan for purpose of reaching agreement on more equitable distribution of defense spending or a system of offsetting payments designed to achieve a division of responsibility for defense spending between those allies and U.S. (90-4)*
281	9–29	....	*Dole, et al., amendment: States sense of Senate that U.S. Armed Forces members who participated in September 21-22 operation directed at Iranian mine-laying ship acted in finest traditions of Armed Forces and displayed exemplary professionalism. (96-0)*
282	9–29	....	*Byrd-Nunn amendment: Requires Secretary of Defense to report to Congress regarding nuclear deterrence in Europe and requires that report be submitted within 90 days or upon President's submission of INF treaty to Senate for ratification. (96-0)*
283	9–29	....	*Dole-Byrd, et al., amendment: Prohibits importation of all products into U.S. from Iran. (98-0)*

Vote No.	Date 1987	Voting Position	
284	9–29	....	Dixon motion to table Gramm amendment: Limits application of Davis-Bacon Act to DOD construction projects by increasing contract threshold from $2,000 to $250,000, above which Secretary of Labor must make prevailing wage rate determinations. (56-41)
285	9–29	....	Dixon motion to table Gramm amendment: Limits application of Service Contracting Act (SCA) to defense contracts by raising threshold from $2,500 to $1 million, below which prevailing wage rate determinations of SCA shall not apply. (67-30)
286	9–29	....	*Helms-Dixon amendment: Prohibits Department of State from declaring itself to be foreign diplomatic mission (as it did during visit of Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze). (90-7)*
287	9–29	....	*Dixon motion to table Wilson-Cranston amendment: Requires Secretary of Army to lease to San Francisco property on Presidio Army Base for use in treating AIDS patients. (23-75)*
			INTERIOR APPROPRIATIONS, 1988 (H.R. 2712, in P.L. 100-202)
288	9–30	....	Passage. (92-4)
			DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA APPROPRIATIONS, 1988 (H.R. 2713, in P.L. 100-202)
289	9–30	....	Harkin motion to table Nickles amendment (as substitute for Committee amendment): Prohibits use of Federal and D.C. funds to perform abortions except where life of mother would be endangered if carried to term. (60-39)
290	9–30	....	*Harkin motion to table Helms amendment: Prohibits funds for payment to District of Columbia after December 31, 1987, if D.C. City Council has not repealed D.C. Law 6-170, which prohibits insurance companies from requiring applicants to test for AIDS, using any test to deny, amend, cancel, or refuse to renew coverage, or raising premiums for five years for those who test positive. (44-55)*
291	9–30	....	Passage. (76-23)
			DOD AUTHORIZATION, 1988-89 (H.R. 1748, P.L. 100-180)
292	9–30	....	Byrd motion to table Byrd-Nunn, et al., modified perfecting amendment (to Weicker-Hatfield amendment): States that Congress determines that circumstances in Persian Gulf and Gulf of Oman meet conditions established in War Powers Resolution; requires President to report to Congress on reflagging policy and to terminate reflagging and escort policy unless Congress has specifically authorized such policy. (1-99)
			LEGISLATIVE APPROPRIATIONS, 1988 (H.R. 2714, in P.L. 100-202)
293	9–30	....	Passage. (79-19)
			DOD AUTHORIZATION, 1988-89 (H.R. 1748, P.L. 100-180)
294	10–1	....	Byrd motion: Sergeant at Arms to request attendance. (89-9)
295	10–1	....	Warner motion to table Bumpers-Leahy-Chafee, et al., amendment—Vote No. 299. (44-55)
296	10–1	....	*Byrd, et al., cloture motion on Byrd-Nunn, et al., modified perfecting amendment (to Weicker-Hatfield amendment): States congressional findings that Congress determines that circumstances in Persian Gulf and Gulf of Oman meet conditions established in War Powers Resolution; requires President to report to Congress on reflagging policy and to terminate reflagging and escort policy unless Congress has specifically authorized such policy. (54-45)*
297	10–1	....	*Dole, et al., cloture motion on bill. (41-58)*
298	10–2	....	*Dole-Warner-Byrd amendment: Provides that U.S. shall not be obligated to abide by SALT II Treaty unless Senate has amended Treaty or ratified it, USSR has agreed to all Senate amendments, and each country has ratified Treaty. (97-0)*
299	10–2	....	*Bumpers-Leahy-Chafee, et al., amendment: Prohibits funds to overhaul, maintain, operate, or deploy more than aggregate total of 1,320 MIRVed launchers and heavy bombers (ICBM's, SLBM's, bombers, and cruise missiles); and lifts moratorium if President certifies to Congress that USSR deploys strategic forces exceeding that level or new agreement between U.S. and USSR becomes effective. (57-41)*
300	10–2	....	Passage. (56-42)
			IRANIAN IMPORT BAN (S. 1748)
301	10–6	....	Passage. (93-0)
			STATE DEPARTMENT AUTHORIZATION (S. 1394, in P.L. 100-204)
302	10–6	....	Pell motion to table Helms modified perfecting amendment (to Wallop, et al., amendment): Prohibits impeding or delaying any national defense program in order to comply with any treaty which President has certified that USSR is violating unless President certifies that

Vote No.	Date 1987	Voting Position	
			USSR is no longer violating it and USSR has given formal assurance that it will not again use impact areas adjacent to Hawaii or any other State for testing any nuclear weapons delivery system. (52-43)
303	10–6	....	*Wallop, et al., amendment, as amended: States sense of Congress that Soviet ICBM test near Hawaii has increased risk of nuclear war; Congress condemns Soviet actions and demands apology; and President should report to Congress in 10 days on matter. (96-0)*
304	10–6	....	*Pell-Helms amendment: States sense of Congress that U.S. condemns human rights violations in Tibet by People's Republic of China (PRC) and requires Presidential determination that Chinese government is acting to resolve human rights issues in Tibet must accompany any sale of any defense article to PRC. (98-0)*
305	10–6	....	Danforth motion to table Helms amendment (taking with it Helms modified perfecting amendment which would force Secretary of State to negotiate with RENAMO rebel forces in Mozambique): Prohibits authorization of funds for constructing, acquiring, studying, planning, or soliciting funds for residence for Secretary of State. (61-34)
			SENATE PROCEDURE—ATTENDANCE
306	10–7	....	Breaux motion: Sergeant at Arms to request attendance. (85-13)
			STATE DEPARTMENT AUTHORIZATION (S. 1394, in P.L. 100-204)
307	10–7	....	*Pell motion to table Roth-Dole amendment: Imposes same travel restrictions on diplomats who are in this country from Eastern Europe and Cuba (which do not restrict travel of U.S. diplomats) as apply to Soviet diplomats. (36-60)*
308	10–7	....	Pell motion to table Symms amendment: Expresses sense of Senate that Senate ought not to have consented to ratification of Panama Canal Treaties and that they are voidable unless Panama formally accepts DeConcini Reservation. (59-39)
309	10–7	....	*Hatfield-Pell-Boschwitz, et al., amendment: Requires President to report to Congress on merits of transferring authority to admit all refugees under Immigration and Naturalization Act from Attorney General to Secretary of State. (63-33)*
310	10–7	....	*Melcher modified amendment: States sense of Congress that President should enter negotiations with government benefitting from U.S. military protection of reflagged Kuwaiti oil ships in Persian Gulf to secure reimbursements. (95-2)*
311	10–7	....	Simpson motion to table Chafee-Pell-Moynihan, et al., amendment: Permits spouse and/or children of illegal alien who has already qualified for legalization of residence status (by entering country prior to January 1, 1982, and maintaining continous residence since that date) to also qualify for legalization. (55-45)
312	10–8	....	Byrd motion: Sergeant at Arms to request attendance. (77-11)
313	10–8	....	*Wilson-DeConcini, et al., amendment: States sense of Congress that Soviet Union should not be included in any Arab-Israeli Peace Conference until USSR has done certain things. (95-0)*
314	10–8	....	*Helms amendment: Prohibits State Department from soliciting or receiving funds for purpose of providing living quarters for Secretary of State. (48-47)*
315	10–8	....	Passage. (85-8)
			SENATE PROCEDURE—ATTENDANCE
316	10–9	....	Byrd motion: Sergeant at Arms to request attendance. (72-13)
			WAR POWERS/PERSIAN GULF (S.J. Res. 194)
317	10–9	....	Dole motion to table resolution. (37-52)
			PROMPT PAYMENT ACT (S. 328)
318	10–9	....	Passage. (86-0)
			SENATE PROCEDURE—ATTENDANCE
319	10–13	....	Byrd motion: Sergeant at Arms to request attendance. (67-12)
			NOMINATION OF C. WILLIAM VERITY, JR., TO BE SECRETARY OF COMMERCE
320	10–13	....	*Byrd, et al., cloture motion on nomination of C. William Verity, Jr., to be Secretary of Commerce. (85-8)*
321	10–13	....	Confirmation. (84-11)

Vote No.	*Date 1987*	*Voting Position*	
			SENATE PROCEDURE—ATTENDANCE
322	10–14	....	Byrd motion: Sergeant at Arms to request attendance. (55-34)
			LABOR-HHS-EDUCATION APPROPRIATIONS, 1988 (H.R. 3058, in P.L. 100-202)
323	10–14	....	*Helms modified amendment: Prohibits use of funds provided to Centers for Disease Control to provide AIDS information and activities that encourage homosexual sexual activities or intravenous use of illegal drugs. (94-2)*
324	10–14	....	Weicker motion to waive Budget Act to allow consideration of Weicker amendment: Increases by $585 million funding for Low Income Home Energy Assistance Program. (47-50)
325	10–14	....	Chiles motion to table Rudman-Kasten amendment: Increases by $432.3 million funding for Low Income Home Energy Assistance Program and offsets increase by across-the-board cut of 1.94 percent in all other spending. (68-28)
326	10–14	....	Passage. (81-15)
			ARIAS NOBEL PEACE PRIZE (S. Con. Res. 83)
327	10–15	....	Passage. (92-3)
			HUD APPROPRIATIONS, 1988 (H.R. 2783, in P.L. 100-202)
328	10–15	....	*Cranston, et al., amendment: Increases by $45.2 million VA medical care funding including $20 million for AIDS treatment, $21.2 million for health care personnel recruitment, and $4 million for start-up costs for six satellite out-patient clinics. (93-2)*
329	10–15	....	Johnston motion to table DeConcini amendment: Adds $75 million for VA medical care field personnel pay increases, offset by reducing NASA's manned space station research. (84-12)
330	10–15	....	Garn motion to table Humphrey amendment: Reduces funding for UDAG by $100 million and cuts veterans medical care by $10 billion. (92-5)
331	10–15	....	Garn motion to table Humphrey-Hecht amendment: Adds $5.9 million for veterans medical care, offset by reducing funds for UDAG by $100 million. (67-31)
332	10–15	....	Passage. (86-12)
			COMMERCE-JUSTICE-STATE APPROPRIATIONS, 1988 (H.R. 2763, in P.L. 100-202)
333	10–15	....	Passage. (82-9)
			SENATE PROCEDURE—ATTENDANCE
334	10–16	....	Byrd motion: Sergeant at Arms to request attendance. (63-29)
			INDEPENDENT COUNSEL REAUTHORIZATION (H.R. 2939, P.L. 100-191)
335	10–16	....	Byrd motion to bring up bill. (65-28)
			VETERANS' TRAVEL PAYMENTS (H.R. 2327, P.L. 100-159)
336	10–16	....	Murkowski, et al., amendment (as substitute for Title III of bill): Extends for one year date by which "storefront" readjustment centers for Vietnam veterans must be relocated to VA medical centers. (33-57)
337	10–16	....	Passage. (89-1)
			WAR POWERS/PERSIAN GULF (S.J. Res. 194)
338	10–16	....	Weicker motion to table resolution. (3-87)
339	10–20	....	*Byrd, et al., cloture motion on Warner-Byrd substitute amendment. (67-28)*
340	10–20	....	*Helms perfecting amendment (to Helms amendment—Vote No. 341): States that nothing in resolution should be construed as inconsistent with proposition that U.S. has preeminent interest in freedom of seas. (93-2)*
341	10–20	....	*Helms amendment, as amended by Vote No. 340: States that nothing in resolution shall prohibit U.S. Navy from destroying any Iranian vessel or Iranian installation which threatens safe passage of any American ship or vessel known to have U.S. citizen on board. (82-10)*
342	10–20	....	*Boren-Byrd-Dole, et al., modified amendment (to Warner-Byrd amendment): States sense of Senate that Senate approves and supports U.S. response to Iranian attack on U.S. flagged ship in Kuwaiti waters on October 16, 1987. (92-1)*
343	10–21	....	*Dole-Byrd-D'Amato amendment (to Byrd-Warner modified amendment): States that nothing in resolution should be construed as limiting President's Constitutional powers as*

Vote No.	Date 1987	Voting Position	
			Commander-in-Chief to utilize American military forces in self-defense operations, or as urging withdrawal of U.S. forces from Persian Gulf. (94-0)
344	10–21	....	*Weicker modified amendment (to Byrd-Warner modified amendment): Requires Presidential report to Congress on situation in Persian Gulf to be submitted within 30 days (rather than 60 days) after enactment. (59-38)*
345	10–21	....	*Warner-Byrd first degree modified amendment and Byrd-Warner second degree modified amendment, en bloc: Requires President to report to Congress within 30 days of enactment on U.S. commitments and military involvements in Persian Gulf region, including duration of reflagging and escort operation and its objectives, costs, and impact; provides for expedited consideration of resolution dealing with U.S. policy and commitments in Persian Gulf; and states that nothing in resolution shall be construed as complying with, modifying, or negating any War Powers Resolution provision. (47-51)*
346	10–21	....	Byrd motion to reconsider Vote No. 345. (58-40)
347	10–21	....	*Reconsideration of Vote No. 345 and passage. (54-44)*
			NOMINATION OF ROBERT H. BORK TO BE U.S. SUPREME COURT JUSTICE
348	10–23	....	Confirmation (rejected). (42-58)
			MILITARY CONSTRUCTION APPROPRIATIONS, 1988 (H.R. 2906, in P.L. 100-202)
349	10–27	....	Passage. (93-0)
			MEDICARE CATASTROPHIC ILLNESS COVERAGE (H.R. 2470)
350	10–27	....	*Heinz-Mitchell, et al., modified amendment: Phases in Medicare prescription drug coverage. (88-9)*
351	10–27	....	Wallop-Helms amendment: Permits voluntary participation in catastrophic program. (18-77)
352	10–27	....	Bentsen motion to table Helms amendment: States sense of Senate that Federal tax rates should not be increased or included in any budget discussions between President and Congress. (65-32)
353	10–27	....	Passage. (86-11)
			AIRPORT CAPACITY EXPANSION BUDGET WAIVER (S. Res. 242)
354	10–28	....	Passage. (92-5)
			AIRPORT CAPACITY EXPANSION (H.R. 2310, P.L. 100-223)
355	10–28	....	Pressler motion to table Kassebaum amendment (as substitute for Exon-Baucus, et al., amendment): Reauthorizes Essential Air Service Program through September 30, 1990. (57-37)
356	10–28	....	Passage. (96-1)
			DOT APPROPRIATIONS, 1988 (H.R. 2890, in P.L. 100-202)
357	10–29	....	Byrd motion: Sergeant at Arms to request attendance. (80-16)
358	10–29	....	Passage. (84-10)
			AIR PASSENGER PROTECTION (H.R. 3051)
359	10–29	....	*Inouye motion to table Danforth-Hollings, et al., amendment: Requires mandatory pre-employment, periodically recurring, random, reasonable suspicion and post-accident testing of airmen, crew members, airport security screening personnel, and other safety-sensitive air employees for alcohol or any controlled substance; forbids such individuals from using, without lawful authority, alcohol or controlled substances on or off job; and requires similar programs for railroad and commercial motor vehicle operators. (7-83)*
360	10–30	....	*Adams amendment (as substitute for Adams amendment): Contains provisions of Airline Merger Transfer Act of 1987 which sunsets authority of Secretary of Transportation over airline mergers, acquisitions, consolidations, and interlocking directorates, including authority to exempt such transactions from antitrust laws. (64-28)*
361	10–30	....	Passage. (88-5)
			FHA EXTENSION (S.J. Res. 209, P.L. 100-154)
362	10–30	....	Cranston motion to table Armstrong-Shelby-Wilson amendment: Provides for permanent extension of FHA mortgage insurance programs. (64-28)

Vote No.	Date 1987	Voting Position	
			INDEPENDENT COUNSEL REAUTHORIZATION (H.R. 2939, P.L. 100-191)
363	11–3	....	Hatch amendment: Extends current independent counsel statute until December 31, 1989, instead of for five years with major modifications. (23-72)
364	11–3	....	Cohen motion to table Armstrong, et al., amendment: Makes independent counsel statute applicable to Members of Congress, thereby removing Attorney General's authority. (49-46)
365	11–3	....	Passage. (85-10)
			SEMICONDUCTOR CHIP PROTECTION EXTENSION (S. 442)
366	11–4	....	Leahy motion to concur in House amendments. (96-0)
			ENERGY-WATER APPROPRIATIONS, 1988 (H.R. 2700, in P.L. 100-202)
367	11–4	....	Johnston motion to table Adams-Reid amendment (to first Committee amendment): Adds texts of remaining Committee amendments except for amendment incorporating Nuclear Waste Policy Act Amendments. (55-30)
			MARINE POLLUTION CONVENTION—ANNEX V (Treaty Doc. No. 100-3)
368	11–5	....	Adoption of resolution of ratification. (93-0)
			IRAN/CONTRA COMMITTEE REPORT (H. Con. Res. 195)
369	11–5	....	Inouye motion to table Helms amendment: States sense of Congress that it is not in U.S.' national security interest to prosecute any individual who appeared before Select Committees investigating Iran arms sales and Contra fund diversions for related activity unless activities resulted in their clear personal and illegal financial gain or perjury. (91-4)
			RAILROAD SAFETY, 1988-89 (S. 1539)
370	11–5	....	Passage. (93-0)
			TUNA TREATY (Treaty Doc. No. 100-5)
371	11–6	....	Adoption of resolution of ratification. (89-0)
			ENERGY-WATER APPROPRIATIONS, 1988 (H.R. 2700, in P.L. 100-202)
372	11–10	....	*Johnston, et al., cloture motion on Johnston modified perfecting amendment (to first Committee amendment): Consolidates all Committee amendments. (87-0)*
			OLDER AMERICANS (H.R. 1451, P.L. 100-175)
373	11–12	....	Adoption of conference report. (93-0)
			ENERGY-WATER APPROPRIATIONS, 1988 (H.R. 2700, in P.L. 100-202)
374	11–12	....	*Excepted Committee amendments, en bloc: Reduces President's request for Nuclear Waste Program by $140 million and directs Secretary of Energy to select by January 1, 1989, one of three nuclear waste repository sites; suspends further work on second repository in eastern U.S.; retains 70,000 metric ton limit on nuclear waste volume that may be placed in first repository; requires report by 2010 as to whether second repository is needed; authorizes construction of monitored retrievable storage facility (MRS) and directs Secretary to reconsider its location; and authorizes $100 million annually to host repository States and $50 million annually to host MRS States. (63-30)*
375	11–12	....	Reid amendment: Requires Secretary of Energy, in selecting site for permanent nuclear waste repository, to give primary consideration to potentially adverse impacts on public health and safety. (37-56)
			HOUSING AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT (S. 825, P.L. 100-242)
376	11–13	....	Cranston motion to waive section 311 of Budget Act to allow consideration of conference report. (53-40)
			ENERGY-WATER APPROPRIATIONS, 1988 (H.R. 2700, in P.L. 100-202)
377	11–13	....	*Shelby modified amendment: Prohibits funds by Departments of Energy or Justice to prosecute any individual, as officer of corporation, determined guilty of oil price overcharging and found liable with corporation. (70-13)*
			INTERNATIONAL WHEAT AGREEMENT (Treaty Doc. No. 100-1)
378	11–17	....	Adoption of resolution of ratification. (94-0)
			HOUSING AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT (S. 825, P.L. 100-242)
379	11–17	....	Byrd motion to reconsider Vote No. 376. (99-1)

Vote No.	*Date 1987*	*Voting Position*	
380	11-17	....	Reconsideration of Vote No. 376. (57-43)
			SENATE PROCEDURE—ATTENDANCE
381	11-18	....	Byrd motion: Sergeant at Arms to request attendance. (70-19)
			ENERGY-WATER APPROPRIATIONS, 1988 (H.R. 2700, in P.L. 100-202)
382	11-18	....	Breaux-Simpson motion to recommit bill with instructions to report back forthwith with Breaux-Simpson amendment: Requires Secretary of Energy to develop and conduct surface-based testing plan at all three candidate nuclear waste sites (in Washington, Texas, and Nevada, examining whether or not "fatal flaws" are present at any site; requires Secretary to prepare environmental impact statement on selected site; requires any monitored retrievable storage (MRS) facility to have license conditions that link capacity and acceptance date for fuel to progress in repository's construction; removes 70,000 ton waste limit on first nuclear waste repository; requires Secretary to consider proximity of surface water for any second repository that may be needed; removes provision on additional MRS facilities co-located with defense production facilities; and prohibits construction of MRS facility if found unnecessary by MRS Commission. (34-61)
383	11-18	....	Passage. (86-9)
			DOD AUTHORIZATION, 1988-89 (H.R. 1748, P.L. 100-180)
384	11-19	....	Adoption of conference report. (86-9)
			NOMINATION OF FRANK C. CARLUCCI TO BE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE
385	11-20	....	Confirmation. (91-1)
			INDEPENDENT COUNSEL REAUTHORIZATION (H.R. 2939, P.L. 100-191)
386	11-20	....	Adoption of conference report. (85-7)
			NOMINATION OF JAMES BURNLEY IV TO BE SECRETARY OF TRANSPORTATION
387	11-30	....	Confirmation. (74-0)
			SENATE PROCEDURE—ATTENDANCE
388	12-1	....	Byrd motion: Sergeant at Arms to request attendance. (73-16)
			ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION, 1988-93 (H.R. 5)
389	12-1	....	*Helms perfecting amendment (to Symms modified amendment): Prohibits any person (not just minors) from having access to "dial-a-porn" operation. (98-0)*
390	12-1	....	Passage. (97-1)
			SENATE PROCEDURE—ATTENDANCE
391	12-2	....	Bentsen motion: Sergeant at Arms to request attendance. (76-21)
			FHA EXTENSION (H.J. Res. 404, P.L. 100-179)
392	12-2	....	Dixon motion to table Armstrong-Gramm amendment: Provides for a permanent extension of FHA mortgage insurance programs. (59-37)
			FARM CREDIT (H.R. 3030, P.L. 100-233)
393	12-2	....	Melcher motion to table Inouye-Evans-McCain amendment: Strikes language that authorizes State, county, or municipality to levy and collect taxes on real property taken into trust by U.S. for Indians. (48-42)
			SENATE PROCEDURE—ATTENDANCE
394	12-3	....	Byrd motion: Sergeant at Arms to request attendance. (75-19)
			VETERANS BENEFITS AND SERVICES (H.R. 2616)
395	12-3	....	*Cranston motion to table DeConcini, et al., amendment: Strikes section 333 that prohibits mandatory random drug testing of VA employees. (29-67)*
396	12-3	....	*Cranston motion to table Helms amendment: Requires VA to offer to test for AIDS inpatients who are veterans under age 40, intravenous drug abuse patients, patients with AIDS-related diseases, and other high risk patients. (24-68)*
			FARM CREDIT (H.R. 3030, P.L. 100-233)
397	12-4	....	Passage. (87-6)

Vote No.	*Date 1987*	*Voting Position*	
			HAITI ELECTION COLLAPSE (S. Res. 336)
398	12–4	....	Adoption. (90-0)
			VETERANS BENEFITS AND SERVICES (H.R. 2616)
399	12–4	....	McClure motion to table Thurmond amendment (taking with it Metzenbaum-Thurmond-Kassebaum, et al., perfecting amendment): Makes it unlawful to manufacture, import, sell, possess, or deliver any firearm which is not detectable by metal detectors. (47-42)
400	12–4	....	Passage. (88-0)
			BUDGET RECONCILIATION, FY 1988 (H.R. 3545, P.L. 100-203)
401	12–10	....	Byrd motion to waive Budget Act to allow consideration of Byrd-Dole, et al., amendment, Kassebaum-Boren, et al., amendment thereto, Gramm perfecting amendment,and Gramm motion to recommit with instructions, and, upon adoption of any, waives Budget Act for any of these provisions which are included in conference report. (81-13)
402	12–10	....	Harkin motion to waive Budget Act to allow consideration of Harkin-Heinz, et al., perfecting amendment (to Byrd-Dole, et al., amendment): Requires strict adherence to $50,000 farm deficiency payment limitation per person, and prohibits corporations that are not 90 percent owned by U.S. nationals and any foreign national from receiving U.S. farm program payments. (47-49)
403	12–10	....	Pryor motion to table Exon, et al., amendment (to Byrd-Dole, et al., amendment): Strikes provision allowing family corporation that must change from cash to accrual accounting to place tax deferrals in suspense account. (53-41)
404	12–10	....	Chiles motion to table Gramm modified perfecting amendment (to Byrd-Dole, et al., amendment): Reduces discretionary spending for defense by $700 million in budget authority (BA) and for nondefense items by $1.9 billion in BA in FY 1988. (72-24)
405	12–10	....	Chiles motion to table Kassebaum-Boren, et al., amendment (as substitute for Byrd-Dole, et al., amendment): Cuts additional $1.4 billion in defense outlays and additional $2.1 billion in domestic outlays to freeze all defense and domestic discretionary spending; limits to two percent all COLA's except SSI; freezes reimbursements to doctors and hospitals under Medicare; freezes all current tax rates for one year (except standard deduction and personal exemption); and makes defense and domestic appropriations ceilings on budget authority and outlays binding for 1988 only. (71-25)
406	12–10	....	Pressler motion to waive Budget Act to allow consideration of Pressler perfecting amendment (to Byrd-Dole, et al., amendment): Exempts Guaranteed Student Loan program guarantee agencies that are contractually required to maintain minimum reserve level from provision requiring all guarantee agencies to reduce their existing reserves. (23-72)
407	12–10	....	*Danforth amendment (to Byrd-Dole, et al., amendment): Strikes provisions which impose FCC fees on broadcast license transfers and Coast Guard user fees during FY 1988-90. (66-28)*
			NOMINATION OF ANN DORE MCLAUGHLIN TO BE SECRETARY OF LABOR
408	12–11	....	Confirmation. (94-0)
			CONTINUING APPROPRIATIONS, 1988 (H.J. Res. 395, P.L. 100-202)
409	12–11	....	*Johnston amendment: Changes date resolution becomes effective from November 20 to December 16. (93-0)*
410	12–11	....	Rudman motion to table Gramm, et al., amendment: Earmarks $299.7 million of $310 million appropriation for Legal Services Corporation solely for direct delivery of dispute resolution for poor. (70-28)
411	12–11	....	Evans, et al., amendment: Requires separate presentation to President of each title of any continuing appropriations conference report agreed to by both Houses and prohibits consideration of any continuing appropriations measure covering more than 30 days unless each title corresponds to regular appropriations bill. (44-51)
412	12–12	....	Kerry modified perfecting amendment (to Stevens amendment): Prohibits obligation of $9 million of humanitarian assistance to Contras (provided in Stevens amendment) unless majority of five Central American presidents who signed Guatemala Peace Accord verify to President that such aid is consistent with accord or negotiated ceasefire is in place. (38-56)
413	12–12	....	Dole motion to table Harkin amendment: Repeals expedited procedures under which military aid requests for Contras are considered by Congress. (60-33)

Vote No.	*Date 1987*	*Voting Position*	
414	12–12	....	Passage. (72-21)
			FARM CREDIT (H.R. 3030, P.L. 100-233)
415	12–19	....	Adoption of conference report. (85-2)
			AGRICULTURE COMMITTEE SUPPLEMENTAL (S. Res. 304)
416	12–19	....	Adoption. (52-35)
			COMMITTEE SUPPLEMENTALS (S. Res. 306, 311, 319, 321, 322, 325)
417	12–19	....	Adoption. (64-22)
			NOMINATION OF MARVIN T. RUNYON TO BE MEMBER OF TVA
418	12–19	....	Confirmation. (81-5)
			BUDGET RECONCILIATION, FY 1988 (H.R. 3545, P.L. 100-203)
419	12–22	....	Adoption of conference report. (61-28)
			CONTINUING APPROPRIATIONS, 1988 (H.J. Res. 395, P.L. 100-202)
420	12–22	....	Adoption of conference report. (59-30)

Prepared and compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

100th Congress, 1st Session **January 6, 1987, through December 22, 1987**

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Robert C. Byrd, Chairman**

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Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

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SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 1

100th Congress
1st Session

January 6, 1987, 5:12 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-100

IRAN/CONTRA INVESTIGATION

BILL NO.: S. Res. 23

SUBJECT: **Adoption of the resolution establishing the Select Committee on Secret Military Assistance to Iran and the Nicaraguan Opposition to investigate activities of the National Security Council, any foreign government, or any other individual, group, corporation, entity, or organization with respect to the sale, shipment, or other provision of arms to Iran and the use of the proceeds from such transaction to provide assistance to any faction or insurgency in Nicaragua or in any other foreign country, in order to determine whether any activity was illegal, improper, unauthorized, or unethical.**

S. Res. 23: Vote No. 1.

RESULT: RESOLUTION AGREED TO

YEAS (88)

Democrats (53 or 98%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Gore
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Simon
Stennis
Wirth
Zorinsky

Republicans (35 or 92%)

Armstrong
Bond
Cochran
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Evans
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Heinz
Kassebaum
Kasten
Lugar
McCain
McConnell
Nickles
Packwood
Pressler
Quayle
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Specter
Stafford
Stevens
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Warner
Weicker
Wilson

NAYS (4)

Democrats (1 or 2%)

Hollings

Republicans (3 or 8%)

Hecht
Helms
Humphrey

NOT VOTING (8)

Democrats (1)

Biden—2

Republicans (7)

Boschwitz—2
Chafee—2
Cohen—2
Garn—2AY
Hatfield—2AY
McClure—2
Murkowski—2AY

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 98%
Republicans— 92%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (88)
Democrats— 53 or 60%
Republicans— 35 or 40%

Against (4)
Democrats— 1 or 25%
Republicans— 3 or 75%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

MAJOR PROVISIONS

Establishes a Senate Select Committee on Secret Military Assistance to Iran and the Nicaraguan Contras to investigate activities by (1) members and staff of the National Security Council (NSC), (2) any foreign government or any of its agencies, officers, or employees, or (3) any other individual, group, corporation, entity, or organization with respect to the direct or indirect sale, shipment, or other provision of arms to Iran and the use of the proceeds from such transaction to provide assistance to any faction or insurgency in Nicaragua or any other foreign country, in order to determine whether any activity was illegal, improper, unauthorized, or unethical.

Directs the Committee to study and reveal the full facts about the suitability of the structure and operations of the NSC, and persons serving as staff, consultants, or agents thereto, for any function related to the formulation, implementation, or conduct of American national security policy; directs the Committee to make recommendations, including recommendations for new legislation and amendments to existing law.

Provides that the Select Committee shall consist of 11 Senators—six appointed upon the recommendation of the Majority Leader, including the Chairman of the Committee, and five appointed by the recommendation of the Minority Leader, including the Vice Chairman. (The following Senators were appointed to the Committee: Inouye [Chairman], Mitchell, Nunn, Sarbanes, Heflin, Boren, Rudman [Vice Chairman], McClure, Hatch, Cohen, and Trible.)

Specifies that a majority of the voting members of the Select Committee shall constitute a quorum for reporting a matter or recommendation to the Senate and allows the Committee to fix a lesser number as a quorum in order to take testimony or conduct other business.

Mandates that the Select Committee make every effort to fulfill the right of Congress and the public to know the essential facts and implications of the activities of U.S. officials and other individuals with respect to the matters being investigated, but shall take into account: the rights of persons subject to investigation and inquiry; consideration of national security, including the protection of intelligence sources and methods; and the interests of U.S. foreign relations.

Empowers the Select Committee, or its authorized representative, to issue subpoenas to obtain testimony and/or documentary or physical evidence and to recommend to the Senate any appropriate action, including criminal or civil enforcement, regarding the willful failure or refusal by any individual(s) to: obey a Committee subpoena or order; answer questions or give testimony as a witness before the Committee, at a deposition, or in response to interrogatories; or provide documentation or physical evidence as specified in any Committee subpoena or order.

Authorizes the Committee, or its authorized representative, to access any relevant data, evidence, information, report, analysis, document, or paper which is in the custody or under the control of any U.S government department, agency, entity, officer, or employee without regard to the jurisdiction or authority of any other Senate committee.

Provides for the protection of confidential and classified information and requires all staff members and consultants, as a condition of employment, to agree in writing to abide by the conditions of any appropriate nondisclosure agreement promulgated by the Select Committee.

Encourages the Select Committee, in order to expedite the investigation and promote efficiency among the various current investigations of this matter, to seek (1) the full cooperation of all relevant investigatory bodies, and (2) access to all information acquired and developed by such entities.

Gives the Select Committee access to all records, files, documents, and other materials obtained or produced by the Intelligence Committee during its investigation of this matter and empowers the Select Committee to enforce any subpoenas issued by the Intelligence Committee.

Requests any independent counsel, who may be appointed to investigate this matter, to make available to the Select Committee, as expeditiously as possible, all documents and information which may assist it in its investigation and study.

Makes funds available from the contingent fund of the Senate for salaries and other expenses of the Select Committee.

Requires the Select Committee to report the final results of its investigation to the Senate, together with any recommendations, by October 30, 1987.

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 2

100th Congress
1st Session

January 6, 1987, 5:43 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-101

AFGHANISTAN RESOLUTION

BILL NO.: S. Res. 31

SUBJECT: **Adoption of the resolution which renews the Senate's condemnation of the continued Soviet invasion and occupation of Afghanistan against the will of the Afghan people, an activity which has been reflected in seven United Nations resolutions of condemnation; renews the Senate's commitment to support the Afghan people through the provision of appropriate material support; urges the Soviet Union to present, through its Afghan representatives, an expeditious timetable of no more than four months for the complete withdrawal of its forces at the next session of U.N.-sponsored indirect negotiations with representatives of Pakistan (scheduled for February 1987); and urges the government of Pakistan to resist Soviet pressure to accept anything less than such a timetable for withdrawal at those negotiations.**

S. Res. 31: Vote No. 2.

RESULT: RESOLUTION AGREED TO

YEAS (92)

Democrats (54 or 100%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Gore
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Hollings
Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Simon
Stennis
Wirth
Zorinsky

Republicans (38 or 100%)

Armstrong
Bond
Cochran
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Evans
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hecht
Heinz
Helms
Humphrey
Kassebaum
Kasten
Lugar
McCain
McConnell
Nickles
Packwood
Pressler
Quayle
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Specter
Stafford
Stevens
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Warner
Weicker
Wilson

NAYS (0)

Democrats (0 or 0%)

Republicans (0 or 0%)

NOT VOTING (8)

Democrats (1)

Biden—2

Republicans (7)

Boschwitz—2
Chafee—2
Cohen—2
Garn—2AY
Hatfield—2
McClure—2
Murkowski—2AY

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 100%
Republicans— 100%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (92)
Democrats— 54 or 59%
Republicans— 38 or 41%

Against (0)
Democrats— 0 or 0%
Republicans— 0 or 0%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 3

100th Congress
1st Session

January 21, 1987, 4:00 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-1033

CLEAN WATER

BILL NO.: H.R. 1

AMENDMENT NO.: 1

TITLE: "Water Quality Act of 1987"

SUBJECT: **Dole substitute amendment which authorizes $12 billion through FY 1993 for wastewater treatment; authorizes the Environmental Protection Agency to provide, on a discretionary basis, grants from existing funds for up to 55 percent of a treatment project's cost; and allows States to use up to 11 percent of their Federal grant money with State funds for nonpoint source demonstration projects.**

NOTE: Proponents argued that the substitute amendment, which was offered on behalf of the Administration, represents a more reasonable approach to cleaning up the Nation's water supply than the bill, while costing $6 billion less. It makes the establishment of revolving loan programs and nonpoint source pollution projects discretionary, instead of under Federal direction, and requires the latter to be funded through State allotments. Making nonpoint source projects discretionary is preferable to the bill's program which amounts to Federal land use planning and would give EPA the authority to regulate development, plan highways, administer the farm bill, and run the Nation's forests and parks. The amendment maintains the same environmental and regulatory provisions as those in the bill, they claimed, and protects the special projects agreed to by the conferees. Moreover, it reduces the role of the Federal government, which, they argued, should not be responsible for building pollution control facilities, particularly since the private sector can do so faster and at half the cost.

Opponents pointed out that the amendment is a poor compromise for the clean water legislation that Congress spent the last four years developing. Although the amendment phases out the Federal Construction Grants Program, as does the bill, it does not provide funds for the creation of a revolving loan program, nor does it assist in the transition to State level clean water programs. The substitute

(OVER)

H.R. 1: Vote Nos. 3, 4, 19.
S. 1128: Vote Nos. 125, 126 (99th-1st) and 347 (99th-2nd).

RESULT: **AMENDMENT REJECTED**

YEAS (17)

Democrats (2 or 4%)

Exon
Heflin

Republicans (15 or 34%)

Armstrong
Cochran
Dole
Garn
Gramm
Hatch
Hecht
Helms
Kassebaum
McClure
Nickles
Simpson
Symms
Thurmond
Wallop

NAYS (82)

Democrats (53 or 96%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Biden
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Gore
Graham
Harkin
Hollings
Inouye
Johnston

Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Simon
Stennis
Wirth
Zorinsky

Republicans (29 or 66%)

Boschwitz
Chafee
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Domenici
Durenberger
Evans
Grassley
Hatfield
Heinz
Humphrey
Kasten
Lugar
McCain
McConnell
Murkowski
Packwood
Pressler
Quayle
Roth
Rudman
Specter
Stafford
Stevens
Trible
Warner
Weicker
Wilson

NOT VOTING (1)

Democrats (0)

Republicans (1)

Bond—3

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 96%
Republicans— 66%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (17)
Democrats— 2 or 12%
Republicans— 15 or 88%

Against (82)
Democrats— 53 or 65%
Republicans— 29 or 35%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

limits loans to 55 percent (rather than 100 percent) of a project's cost, making it more difficult to finance pollution control projects. It also does not provide any funds for controlling nonpoint source pollution—the source of more than half the remaining water pollution. In contrast, the bill requires each State to assess the extent of its nonpoint source pollution, and provides $400 million for the development of programs to combat the problem. This program does not lead to Federal land use planning because the decision to implement a nonpoint source pollution control program would be the States'. The U.S. will spend more than $100 billion by the end of the century to meet the Nation's clean water requirements, so it is unreasonable, they asserted, to reduce the bill's funding by one third. Moreover, such a reduction would go against the 1981 commitment made by the Administration to provide clean water funding of $2.4 billion a year for ten years. The amendment would delay badly needed facilities, and impede such cleanup projects as the Chesapeake Bay, which even the President has referred to as a "special national resource" It also does not include grants for improvements to specific projects in a number of States, which are provided for in the bill. Arguments against Federal involvement in water treatment ignore the substantial improvements in water quality that have been achieved as a result of government action.

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 4

100th Congress
1st Session

January 21, 1987, 4:22 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-1033

CLEAN WATER

BILL NO.: H.R. 1

TITLE: "Water Quality Act of 1987"

SUBJECT: **Passage of the bill which authorizes a total of $18 billion through FY 1994 for water treatment projects of which $8.4 billion is for a new revolving fund to provide loans to States for up to 100 percent of a project's cost (funded from 1989-94) and $9.6 billion is for the Title II construction grant program (funded from 1986-90); provides a process for States to develop and implement programs for control of nonpoint source pollution allowing them to use both grants and revolving funds for this purpose and earmarks $400 million over four years for nonpoint source pollution remedies; authorizes an increased Federal share for certain wastewater treatment projects; and makes various amendments to the construction grant program and the standards and enforcement provisions of the Act.**

NOTE: The President vetoed H.R. 1 on January 30, 1987. See Vote No. 19 on the veto override.

H.R. 1: Vote Nos. 3, 4, 19.
S. 1128: Vote Nos. 125, 126 (99th-1st) and 347 (99th-2d).

RESULT: **BILL PASSED**

ADMINISTRATION POSITION: NAY

YEAS (93)

Democrats (55 or 100%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Biden
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Gore
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Hollings
Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Simon
Stennis
Wirth
Zorinsky

Republicans (38 or 86%)

Boschwitz
Chafee
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Evans
Garn
Grassley
Hatch
Hatfield
Hecht
Heinz
Humphrey
Kassebaum
Kasten
Lugar
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Packwood
Pressler
Quayle
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Specter
Stafford
Stevens
Thurmond
Trible
Warner
Weicker
Wilson

NAYS (6)

Democrats (0 or 0%)

Republicans (6 or 14%)

Armstrong
Gramm
Helms
Nickles
Symms
Wallop

NOT VOTING (1)

Democrats (0)

Republicans (1)

Bond—3AY

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 100%
Republicans— 86%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (93)
Democrats— 55 or 59%
Republicans— 38 or 41%

Against (6)
Democrats— 0 or 0%
Republicans— 6 or 100%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

MAJOR PROVISIONS

Authorizations: Extends the Title II grant program for sewage treatment projects through FY 1990 at a funding level of $9.6 billion ($2.4 billion each in FY 1986-88 and $1.2 billion each in 1989-90) and initiates a new program of grants to States to capitalize Water Pollution Control Revolving Funds authorized from FY 1989-94 with funding of $8.4 billion ($1.2 billion each in FY 1989-90, $2.4 billion in 1991, $1.8 billion in 1992, $1.2 billion in 1993, and $600 million in 1994)—a total for both programs of $18 billion over the period FY 1986-94; authorizes a new State-by-State allocation formula for government distribution of Title II grants and Revolving Fund grants.

Provides that States would use their revolving funds, initially capitalized with Federal assistance, to make loans to cities for up to 100 percent of the construction cost of an eligible sewage treatment project which would be repaid with interest to the States and available for subsequent loan to other communities; requires States annually to contribute up front a 20 percent matching amount to the Federal contribution which would be paid on a quarterly basis; requires that loans be used to meet the standards and enforceable requirements of the Clean Water Act before they may be used for other wastewater treatment projects; permits use of the funds to buy or refinance cities' debt obligations, or as a source of revenue or security for the payment of principal and interest on a State-issued bond.

Authorizes grants for a national clearinghouse to collect and disseminate information on alternative wastewater treatment technologies; authorizes the establishment of an EPA office to coordinate Federal and State efforts to improve the quality of the Chesapeake Bay and an accompanying research program; establishes in law the Great Lakes National Program Office, and authorizes planning, management, and research activities; authorizes research on harmful effects of pollutants.

Construction Grant Amendments: Requires the Administrator to make decisions within 90 days on appeals filed over disputes on construction grant awards; authorizes Federal funding for certain types of wastewater projects; directs EPA to enter into an agreement with an applicant specifying the costs allowable for Federal funding; authorizes alternate design/build grant management procedures for certain specified waste treatment systems with an estimated total cost of $8 million or less; requires conformance with an areawide waste treatment management plan, State continuing planning process, and State biennial water quality inventory report before grants may be approved; allows use of a user charge system imposing lower charges for low-income residential users; extends through FY 1990 the minimum State share of one-half of one percent; extends through FY 1994 the construction grant set aside for water quality management planning; extends through FY 1990 the prohibition on the use of Federal funds for separate storm sewer projects; permits States to reserve a portion of their construction grant allotment for alternative sewage treatment works in small communities; extends through FY 1990 the reservation of one-half of one percent set aside to increase the Federal share of innovative and alternative wastewater system projects; reserves a portion of the set aside used for water quality management purposes for regional and interstate public planning groups; authorizes a State to reserve a portion of its allotment for combined sewer overflow effects on marine bays and estuaries and to implement a national estuary program.

Special Projects: Includes authorization for the following wastewater treatment projects having authorization levels of more than $160 million: San Diego, CA; Oakwood Beach and Red Hook Projects, NY; Boston Harbor and adjacent waters, including Deer Island Wastewater Treatment Plant, MA; San Diego Water Reclamation Agency project, CA; and Des Moines, IA; authorizes the following other projects, with grants generally to be made from funds allotted to the respective States, rather than additional authorizations: Avalon, CA; Walker and Smithfield Townships, PA; Taylor Mill, KY; Nevada County, CA; Wanaque, NJ; Lena, IL; Wyoming Valley Sanitary Authority, PA; and Altoona, PA; authorizes grants for the Chicago tunnel and reservoir project if EPA determines the project is cost-effective and the governor satisfactorily demonstrates the water quality benefits of the project.

Nonpoint Source Pollution Management: Requires States to develop and implement programs for control of nonpoint sources of pollution; allows States to reserve one percent of their annual construction grant allotment or $100,000, whichever is greater, and to use a portion of their revolving fund monies for such activities; provides financial assistance to implement nonpoint source control measures totaling $400 million over four years; requires States to prepare a nonpoint pollution assessment report; requires submission of the State management plan and approval by EPA; and contains provisions addressing administration of the program and requiring certain reports.

Standards and Enforcement: Establishes new compliance deadlines for industrial sources to attain standards under the Act; limits the waiver that industrial sources may seek from effluent limitation requirements concerning discharges of nonconventional pollutants; clarifies and restricts circumstances under which municipalities that discharge effluent into ocean waters may seek waivers from the Act's secondary treatment requirements; extends until July 1, 1988, the deadline for cities to seek extension of secondary treatment requirement; extends the compliance deadline for industrial sources using innovative technology for toxic and conventional pollutant controls; defines conditions under which EPA may grant a modification from national effluent limitation guidelines based on fundamentally different factors for direct discharges of toxic, conventional, and nonconventional pollutants or categorical pretreatment standards for indirect discharges; directs EPA to issue case-by-case determined discharge permits to certain phosphate fertilizer manufacturing facilities; authorizes issuance of modified discharge permits for certain discharges at coal remining operations; requires EPA and States to develop programs for the control of toxic pollutant discharges in waters where such discharges contribute to water quality problems after technology-based standards are in place; provides an additional two years to comply with pretreatment requirements for existing sources using innovative systems; modifies the criminal and civil penalty provisions and establishes a new administrative penalty mechanism; establishes a program to develop comprehensive conservation and management plans for estuaries of national significance; defines circumstances for issuing discharge permits to oil, gas, and mining operations; allows States to seek partial delegation of the NPDES permit program; defines and limits the circumstances under which a renewed or reissued permit may contain less stringent effluent limitations; details application and permit requirements for industrial and large municipal sources discharging stormwater; requires EPA to develop regulations for sludge contaminants, disposal, and use; details procedures applicable to permits for log transfer facilities.

Miscellaneous: Excludes agricultural stormwater discharges from the definition of point source, for enforcement purposes; establishes a consolidated procedure for review of EPA actions, and authorizes the award of attorney and expert witness fees to any prevailing or substantially prevailing party; directs EPA and the Indian Health Service to assess sewage treatment needs for Indian tribes and treats Indian tribes as States for certain purposes of the Act, including construction grants; prohibits ocean dumping of municipal sludge in the New York Bight Apex and restricts use of the 106-mile site.

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 5

100th Congress
1st Session

January 21, 1987, 4:42 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-1043

SOVIET HUMAN RIGHTS

BILL NO.: S. Con. Res. 8

SUBJECT: **Adoption of the concurrent resolution which strongly protests continued human rights repression in the Soviet Union, especially their new emigration regulations; declares that the Soviet Union's human rights abuses seriously affect the atmosphere for productive negotiations on U.S.-USSR bilateral relations; calls on Soviet authorities to permit the release and emigration of "refuseniks"; and makes congressional support of the restoration of human rights to all Soviet citizens, especially the internationally recognized right of Soviet Jews and others to emigrate, a priority of the 100th Congress.**

S. Con. Res. 8: Vote No. 5.

RESULT: CONCURRENT RESOLUTION AGREED TO

YEAS (99)

Democrats
(55 or 100%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Biden
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Gore
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Hollings
Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Simon
Stennis
Wirth
Zorinsky

Republicans
(44 or 100%)

Armstrong
Boschwitz
Chafee
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Evans
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hatfield
Hecht
Heinz
Helms
Humphrey
Kassebaum
Kasten
Lugar
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Packwood
Pressler
Quayle
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Specter
Stafford
Stevens
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Warner
Weicker
Wilson

NAYS (0)

Democrats
(0 or 0%)

Republicans
(0 or 0%)

NOT VOTING (1)

Democrats (0)

Republicans (1)

Bond—3

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 100%
Republicans— 100%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (99)
Democrats— 55 or 56%
Republicans— 44 or 44%

Against (0)
Democrats— 0 or 0%
Republicans— 0 or 0%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 6

100th Congress
1st Session

January 28, 1987, 2:49 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-1237

SENATE COMMITTEE FUNDING

BILL NO.: S. Res. 80

AMENDMENT NO.: 4

TITLE: "Omnibus Committee Funding Resolution of 1987"

SUBJECT: **Ford motion to table the Symms-Nickles amendment to reduce each Senate Committee's budget by five percent across-the-board.**

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment contended that the most obvious place for Congress to get control of the budget is with its own operations. The vote on this amendment will show how serious Senators are about ending deficit spending. If there had been smaller staffs in the 1960's and 1970's, they argued, there would have been fewer laws passed and fewer regulations to impede American economic competitiveness.

Opponents of the amendment noted that the Senate Rules Committee already has reduced the committees' budget requests by nearly $700,000. In fact, because of previous reductions in committee budgets and continuous restraint over the past six years, the 1987 real spending levels still are below those authorized for 1980. This is not the appropriate time to reduce committee budgets when staff expertise is needed for dealing with the monumental problems faced by the Nation's veterans, senior citizens, farmers, miners, and others.

S. Res. 80: Vote No. 6.

RESULT: MOTION TO TABLE AGREED TO

YEAS (58)

Democrats (50 or 93%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Biden
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Gore
Graham
Harkin
Hollings
Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Simon
Stennis

Republicans (8 or 20%)

Cohen
D'Amato
Evans
Hatfield
Packwood
Stafford
Warner
Weicker

NAYS (36)

Democrats (4 or 7%)

Conrad
Heflin
Proxmire
Zorinsky

Republicans (32 or 80%)

Boschwitz
Chafee
Cochran
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hecht
Heinz
Helms
Humphrey
Kassebaum
Kasten
Lugar
McCain
McClure
Murkowski
Nickles
Pressler
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Specter
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Wilson

NOT VOTING (6)

Democrats (1)

Wirth—2

Republicans (5)

Armstrong—2
Bond—3
McConnell—2
Quayle—2
Stevens—2

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 93%
Republicans— 80%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (58)
Democrats— 50 or 86%
Republicans— 8 or 14%

Against (36)
Democrats— 4 or 11%
Republicans— 32 or 89%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 7

100th Congress
1st Session

January 29, 1987, 4:37 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-1359

FEDERAL PAY RAISE DISAPPROVAL

BILL NO.: S.J. Res. 34

AMENDMENT NO.: 5

SUBJECT: **Weicker substitute amendment which, effective February 4, 1987, establishes the annual rate of pay for Members of Congress at $120,000; prohibits Members of Congress from earning any honoraria (defined as a payment of money or anything of value for an appearance, speech, or article); permits Members of Congress to receive actual and necessary travel expenses while away from the Washington, D.C., area; and establishes the annual rate of pay for Members of the executive and judicial branches at 88 percent of the individual recommendations of the Federal Pay Commission, as contained in its December 15, 1986, report.** (See also Vote Nos. 8, 9, and 12.)

NOTE: Proponents declared that the substitute amendment would ensure that Members of Congress are fairly compensated entirely by taxpayers and not indebted to special interest groups for 30 to 40 percent of their salaries. Honoraria represent "a corruption waiting to happen" and should be eliminated. Fair and sensible compensation is not self-serving; it is a necessary component for encouraging and enabling qualified men and women of all financial means to consider public service. Proponents also noted that the amendment's proposed salary of $120,000 still would be less than the President's recommendation which would total $125,300 when coupled with the maximum allowable honoraria.

Opponents emphasized that the Senate has committed itself to balancing the budget and reducing the Federal deficit and must deny itself this pay raise—whether merited or not. Many contended that the mechanism for granting congressional pay raises by Presidential recommendation and congressional inaction was an unconstitutional delegation of authority from Congress to the President and must be changed. Some claimed that prudent public policy demands that the recommended salary increases be awarded to the other two government branches in order to recruit and retain qualified civil service personnel. Some called the proposed pay raises "obscene," and maintained that a pay raise should not be considered until the Federal budget is under control.

S.J. Res. 34: Vote Nos. 7-9.

RESULT: AMENDMENT REJECTED

YEAS (2)

Democrats
(0 or 0%)

Republicans
(2 or 5%)

Stafford
Weicker

NAYS (93)

Democrats
(55 or 100%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Biden
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Gore
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Hollings
Inouye

Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Simon
Stennis
Wirth
Zorinsky

Republicans
(38 or 95%)

Armstrong
Boschwitz
Chafee
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Evans
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hecht
Heinz
Helms
Humphrey

Kassebaum
Kasten
Lugar
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Packwood
Pressler
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Specter
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Warner
Wilson

NOT VOTING (5)

Democrats (0)

Republicans (5)

Bond—^{3}
Hatfield—^{2AN}
Quayle—^{2}
Stevens—^{2AN}
Wallop—^{2AN}

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion	**Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on**	
	For (2)	*Against* (93)
Democrats— 100%	Democrats— 0 or 0%	Democrats— 55 or 59%
Republicans— 95%	Republicans— 2 or 100%	Republicans— 38 or 41%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 8

100th Congress
1st Session

January 29, 1987, 5:23 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-1362

FEDERAL PAY RAISE DISAPPROVAL

BILL NO.: S.J. Res. 34

AMENDMENT NO.: 6

SUBJECT: **Wilson-Warner-Gramm amendment which disapproves the President's recommended pay raise for Members of Congress only (thereby allowing the recommended pay increases for executive and judicial positions to take effect).** (See also Vote Nos. 7, 9, and 12.)

NOTE: Proponents contended that the amendment would address recruiting and attrition problems in the judicial and executive branches while rightly denying Members of Congress an unearned pay increase. Remuneration for Federal officials and judges must remain comparable with the private sector, they insisted, if qualified individuals are going to be attracted to Federal service. Congress cannot justify granting itself a 16 percent pay increase, however, at the same time it is slashing vital Federal programs and is demanding sacrifices from the American public in order to reduce the deficit.

Opponents contended that judiciary and high-level Administration officials should not be singled out for a pay increase. They neither work harder nor have greater responsibilities than Members of Congress. The Constitution provides for a balance of power among the three branches of government, and the compensation should be comparable. Lower pay for Congressmen would wrongfully relegate the legislative branch to a lower status. Congress must bring the Federal deficit under control; then the issue of salary increases for all three government branches can be reexamined.

S.J. Res. 34: Vote Nos. 7-9.

RESULT: AMENDMENT REJECTED

YEAS (27)

Democrats (15 or 28%)	Republicans (12 or 31%)
Baucus	Cochran
Bentsen	Cohen
Bradley	D'Amato
Bumpers	Durenberger
Chiles	Gramm
Gore	Hatch
Graham	Lugar
Heflin	McCain
Lautenberg	Packwood
Leahy	Specter
Mitchell	Warner
Moynihan	Wilson
Pryor	
Sarbanes	
Shelby	

NAYS (66)

Democrats (39 or 72%)		Republicans (27 or 69%)
Adams	Kennedy	Armstrong
Biden	Kerry	Boschwitz
Bingaman	Levin	Chafee
Boren	Matsunaga	Danforth
Breaux	Melcher	Dole
Burdick	Metzenbaum	Domenici
Byrd	Mikulski	Evans
Conrad	Nunn	Garn
Daschle	Pell	Grassley
DeConcini	Proxmire	Hecht
Dixon	Reid	Heinz
Dodd	Riegle	Helms
Exon	Rockefeller	Humphrey
Ford	Sanford	Kassebaum
Fowler	Sasser	Kasten
Glenn	Simon	McClure
Harkin	Stennis	McConnell
Hollings	Wirth	Murkowski
Inouye	Zorinsky	Nickles
Johnston		Pressler
		Rudman
		Simpson
		Stafford
		Symms
		Thurmond
		Trible
		Weicker

NOT VOTING (6)

Democrats (1)	Republicans (5)
Cranston—^{2}	Bond—^{3}
	Hatfield—^{2PN}
	Quayle—^{2}
	Stevens—^{2AN}
	Wallop—^{2PY}

VOTING PRESENT (1)

Roth

GENERAL PAIRS

Wallop-Hatfield

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion	Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on: *For* (27)	*Against* (66)
Democrats— 72%	Democrats— 15 or 56%	Democrats— 39 or 59%
Republicans— 69%	Republicans— 12 or 44%	Republicans— 27 or 41%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 9

100th Congress
1st Session

January 29, 1987, 5:58 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-1366

FEDERAL PAY RAISE DISAPPROVAL

BILL NO.: S.J. Res. 34

SUBJECT: **Passage of the joint resolution which disapproves the pay raise for Members of Congress, Federal judges, and other top executive branch officials as recommended by the President in his FY 1988 Budget, transmitted to Congress on January 5, 1987.** (Identical language disapproving the President's pay recommendations was added by the Senate as a floor amendment to H.J. Res. 102, the Emergency Food and Shelter Program Appropriations—see Vote No. 12.)

NOTE: The proposed pay increase (under which salaries of Members of Congress would be raised from $77,400 to $89,500) automatically becomes effective on March 1, 1987, unless a joint resolution of disapproval is passed by both Houses and signed into law by the President within 30 days. The 30-day period expired at midnight, February 3, 1987. The House did not disapprove the pay increase until February 4, 1987.

S.J. Res. 34: Vote Nos. 7-9.

RESULT: JOINT RESOLUTION PASSED

YEAS (88)

Democrats (51 or 94%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Biden
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Gore
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Hollings
Inouye
Johnston
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Simon
Stennis
Wirth
Zorinsky

Republicans (37 or 93%)

Armstrong
Boschwitz
Chafee
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hecht
Heinz
Helms
Humphrey
Kassebaum
Kasten
Lugar
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Packwood
Pressler
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Specter
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Warner
Wilson

NAYS (6)

Democrats (3 or 6%)

Breaux
Glenn
Kennedy

Republicans (3 or 8%)

Evans
Stafford
Weicker

NOT VOTING (6)

Democrats (1)

Cranston—^{2}

Republicans (5)

Bond—^{3AY}
Hatfield—^{2AY}
Quayle—^{2AY}
Stevens—^{2PN}
Wallop—^{2PY}

GENERAL PAIRS

Wallop-Stevens

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—94%
Republicans—93%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (88)
Democrats—51 or 58%
Republicans—37 or 42%

Against (6)
Democrats—3 or 50%
Republicans—3 or 50%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 10

100th Congress
1st Session

January 29, 1987, 7:16 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-1374

EMERGENCY FOOD AND SHELTER PROGRAM APPROPRIATIONS, FY 1987 FEDERAL PAY RAISE DISAPPROVAL

BILL NO.: H.J. Res. 102

SUBJECT: **Chiles motion to waive section 302(f) (which creates a point of order against legislation providing new outlays in excess of those remaining in the Appropriations Committee section 302(b) allocations) and section 311(a) (which creates a point of order against any legislation that would result in increased outlays) of the Budget Act with respect to H.J. Res. 102, the "homeless" bill, as reported by the Appropriations Committee.**

NOTE: Proponents of the motion stated that the Budget Act should serve as a framework for meeting deficit reduction requirements, but should not stand in the way of achieving what a substantial majority of the Senate considers to be in the national interest. Rather than create a precedent for shifting funds from various accounts that will ultimately have to be replenished, the matter should be put before the Senate, so that Senators can decide whether it is in the national interest to provide this assistance for the Nation's homeless. Some proponents suggested that the waiver is superfluous, insisting that the bill is revenue neutral because it rescinds budget authority from a program that is already appropriated—disaster relief.

Opponents of the motion argued that this measure is the first test of the 100th Congress of whether the Senate is committed to achieving a balanced budget. Rather than take funds from an account that will have to be replenished and set a precedent for other special programs, the Senate should find funds for this purpose somewhere in the $1 trillion budget, or take steps to spend the remaining $67 million of the $70 million Congress appropriated last year for the homeless.

H.J. Res. 102: Vote Nos. 10-12.

RESULT: MOTION TO WAIVE BUDGET ACT AGREED TO, 3/5THS HAVING VOTED IN THE AFFIRMATIVE

YEAS (67)

Democrats (46 or 90%)

Adams
Baucus
Biden
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Daschle
DeConcini
Dodd
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Gore
Graham
Harkin
Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Simon
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans (21 or 55%)

Boschwitz
Chafee
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Evans
Heinz
McClure
McConnell
Packwood
Roth
Simpson
Specter
Stafford
Trible
Weicker
Wilson

NAYS (22)

Democrats (5 or 10%)

Exon
Heflin
Hollings
Proxmire
Zorinsky

Republicans (17 or 45%)

Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hecht
Helms
Humphrey
Kassebaum
Kasten
Lugar
McCain
Nickles
Pressler
Rudman
Symms
Thurmond
Warner

NOT VOTING (11)

Democrats (4)

Bentsen—^{2}
Cranston—^{2}
Dixon—^{2}
Metzenbaum—^{2}

Republicans (7)

Armstrong—^{2}
Bond—^{3}
Hatfield—^{2}
Murkowski—^{2}
Quayle—^{2}
Stevens—^{2}
Wallop—^{2AN}

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion	Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on	
	For (67)	*Against* (22)
Democrats— 90%	Democrats— 46 or 69%	Democrats— 5 or 23%
Republicans— 55%	Republicans— 21 or 31%	Republicans— 17 or 77%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 11

100th Congress
1st Session

January 29, 1987, 8:07 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-1377

EMERGENCY FOOD AND SHELTER PROGRAM APPROPRIATIONS, FY 1987 FEDERAL PAY RAISE DISAPPROVAL

BILL NO.: H.J. Res. 102

AMENDMENT NO.: 9

SUBJECT: **Proxmire motion to table the Murkowski, et al., amendment which authorizes the Veterans' Administration (VA) to contract residential psychiatric treatment for homeless and certain other chronically mentally ill veterans and transfers $5 million of the $50 million transferred to FEMA's emergency food and shelter program to the VA for this purpose.** (Subsequently, the amendment was agreed to by voice vote.)

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment stated that it would clarify existing program authority and provide funds for the treatment and housing of homeless, chronically mentally ill veterans. The VA is the largest single provider of care for long-term psychiatric patients in the U.S. The VA's Inspector General found that the primary reason for not discharging many chronically mentally ill veterans from VA facilities is a lack of appropriate alternatives. Deinstitutionalization of the mentally ill is a leading cause of homelessness, and between 250,000 and three million of the Nation's veterans are among the victims. The amendment would target some of this measure's funds to programs that provide community residential care for potentially homeless, mentally ill veterans. The Nation's veterans cannot be adequately repaid for their service, but excluding them from the assistance offered by this bill is entirely inappropriate.

Opponents of the amendment pointed out that the Chairman of the Veterans' Affairs Committee has stated that legislation addressing this issue will be offered next week, and hearings already have been scheduled. While all Members want to provide all possible assistance to homeless veterans, the committee of jurisdiction should be allowed to give the matter thorough and timely consideration and make its recommendations to the full Senate. Passage of this emergency legislation should not be jeopardized by attaching provisions that the House has twice rejected. Furthermore, the Senate should not set a costly precedent by creating a separate program for homeless veterans.

H.J. Res. 102: Vote Nos. 10-12.

RESULT: **MOTION TO TABLE FAILED**

YEAS (2)

Democrats (2 or 4%)

Proxmire
Stennis

Republicans (0 or 0%)

NAYS (82)

Democrats (47 or 96%)

Adams
Baucus
Biden
Bingaman
Boren
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Daschle
DeConcini
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Gore
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Hollings
Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Simon
Wirth
Zorinsky

Republicans (35 or 100%)

Boschwitz
Chafee
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Evans
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hecht
Heinz
Helms
Humphrey
Kassebaum
Kasten
Lugar
McCain
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Packwood
Pressler
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Specter
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Warner
Wilson

NOT VOTING (16)

Democrats (6)

Bentsen—2
Bradley—2
Cranston—2
Dixon—2
Lautenberg—2
Sanford—2

Republicans (10)

Armstrong—2
Bond—3
Durenberger—2
Hatfield—2
McClure—2
Quayle—2
Stafford—2
Stevens—2
Wallop—2AN
Weicker—2

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 96%
Republicans— 100%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (2)
Democrats— 2 or 100%
Republicans— 0 or 0%

Against (82)
Democrats— 47 or 57%
Republicans— 35 or 43%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 12

100th Congress
1st Session

January 29, 1987, 8:27 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-1383

EMERGENCY FOOD AND SHELTER PROGRAM APPROPRIATIONS, FY 1987 FEDERAL PAY RAISE DISAPPROVAL

BILL NO.: H.J. Res. 102

SUBJECT: **Passage of the joint resolution which provides, by transfer, $50 million for FEMA's emergency food and shelter program, of which $5 million shall be transferred to the Veterans' Administration for homeless veterans with chronic mental illness; rescinds $7.5 million in FEMA disaster relief funds; disapproves the deferral of $28 million in temporary food assistance funds; and disapproves the pay raise for Members of Congress, Federal judges, and top executive branch officials, as recommended by the President in his FY 1988 budget transmitted to Congress on January 5, 1987.** (See also Vote No. 9 by which the Senate passed a joint resolution containing identical language disapproving the President's pay recommendations.)

NOTE: The proposed pay increase (under which the salaries of Members of Congress would be raised from $77,400 to $89,500) would automatically become effective on March 1, 1987, unless a joint resolution of disapproval is passed by both Houses and signed into law by the President within 30 days of its transmission to the Congress. The 30-day period expired at midnight, February 3, 1987.

The House, on February 4, 1987, agreed to the Senate amendments thus clearing the bill for the President. Because the House did not act prior to the midnight, February 3, 1987, deadline, the Federal pay raise took effect. The Senate, also on February 4, 1987, passed by voice vote S.J. Res. 42 to repeal the pay raise.

H.J. Res. 102 became Public Law 100-6, approved February 12, 1987.

H.J. Res. 102: Vote Nos. 10-12.

RESULT: **JOINT RESOLUTION PASSED**

YEAS (78)

Democrats (49 or 100%)

Adams
Baucus
Biden
Bingaman
Boren
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Daschle
DeConcini
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Gore
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Hollings
Inouye
Johnston

Kennedy
Kerry
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
†Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Simon
Stennis
Wirth
Zorinsky

Republicans (29 or 85%)

Boschwitz
Chafee
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Evans
Garn
Grassley
Hatch
Hecht
Heinz
Kassebaum
Kasten
Lugar
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Packwood
Pressler
Roth
Simpson
Specter
Thurmond
Trible
Warner
Wilson

NAYS (5)

Democrats (0 or 0%)

Republicans (5 or 15%)

Gramm
Helms
Humphrey
Rudman
Symms

NOT VOTING (17)

Democrats (6)

Bentsen—^{2AY}
Bradley—^{2}
Cranston—^{2}
Dixon—^{2}
Lautenberg—^{2}
Sanford—^{2}

Republicans (11)

Armstrong—^{2}
Bond—^{3}
Durenberger—^{2PY}
Hatfield—^{2AY}
McCain—^{2}
McClure—^{2}
Quayle—^{2}
Stafford—^{2}
Stevens—^{2}
Wallop—^{2PN}
Weicker—^{2}

GENERAL PAIRS

Durenberger-Wallop

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

†Perm. Record Correction, S-1439, 2/2/87

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 100%
Republicans— 85%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (78)
Democrats— 49 or 63%
Republicans— 29 or 37%

Against (5)
Democrats— 0 or 0%
Republicans— 5 or 100%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 13

100th Congress
1st Session

February 2, 1987, 4:28 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-1452

HIGHWAY AUTHORIZATIONS
(BUDGET WAIVER)

BILL NO.: S. Res. 85

SUBJECT: **Adoption of the resolution waiving section 303(a) of the Congressional Budget Act (which creates a point of order against legislation providing new budget authority for a fiscal year for which a budget resolution has not been adopted) in order to allow consideration of S. 387, the Federal-Aid Highway Act of 1987.**

NOTE: Proponents pointed out that this waiver, which was reported favorably by the Budget Committee, is technically a procedural waiver under the Budget Act because the bill creates spending authority in FY 1988, a year for which there is no approved budget resolution. This bill is consistent with budget resolution assumptions for FY 1987 outlays and FY 1988-89 direct spending and falls within the Environment and Public Works Committee's section 302(b) allocation. The obligation limit for Federal-aid highway programs is less than that passed in the FY 1987 Continuing Resolution. Proponents further pointed out that contract authority for highways is used for sound policy reasons, has historical precedence, and is an allowable method of funding because of the use of trust fund revenues.

No statements were made in opposition.

S. Res. 85: Vote No. 13.

RESULT: **RESOLUTION AGREED TO**

YEAS (91)

Democrats (50 or 100%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Bingaman
Boren
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Gore
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Hollings
Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Simon
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans (41 or 98%)

Armstrong
Bond
Boschwitz
Chafee
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Evans
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hecht
Heinz
Humphrey
Kassebaum
Kasten
Lugar
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Pressler
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Specter
Stafford
Stevens
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Warner
Weicker
Wilson

NAYS (1)

Democrats (0 or 0%)

Republicans (1 or 2%)

Helms

NOT VOTING (8)

Democrats (5)

Biden—2
Bradley—2
Chiles—2
Riegle—2
Zorinsky—2

Republicans (3)

Hatfield—2
Packwood—2
Quayle—2

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 100%
Republicans— 98%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (91)
Democrats— 50 or 55%
Republicans— 41 or 45%

Against (1)
Democrats— 0 or 0%
Republicans— 1 or 100%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 14

100th Congress
1st Session

February 3, 1987, 2:03 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-1539

HIGHWAY AUTHORIZATIONS

BILL NO.: S. 387 (H.R. 2) **AMENDMENT NO.:** 11

TITLE: "Federal-Aid Highway Act of 1987"

SUBJECT: **Symms-Burdick, et al., amendment which permits States to raise the speed limit to 65 miles per hour (mph) on interstate highway segments located outside any urbanized area having a population of 50,000 or more. (See also Vote Nos. 180-282, 99th-2nd.)**

NOTE: Proponents maintained that the 55 mph speed limit has outlived its usefulness, and the responsibility for regulating speed limits should be returned to the States where it rightfully belongs. Increasing the speed limit to 65 mph would cause only an 0.18 percent increase in energy consumption but would save about one billion hours of passenger time. It also would allow States to divert valuable public safety personnel, equipment, and funds used to enforce an unrealistic speed limit to other more important enforcement efforts. While the public purports to support maintaining the 55 mph limit, the noncompliance rate continues to grow—encouraging drivers to ignore other traffic laws as well. A significant drop in highway fatalities occurred immediately after the national speed limit was instituted, but much of that decrease can be attributed to reduced travel and improved vehicle safety. Although drivers have gradually resumed traveling at increased speeds, highway fatality rates have continued to decline. The fatality rate on rural interstates is less than five percent although they carry 19 percent of all traffic, and 75 percent of the drivers exceed the 55 mph speed limit. State officials should be trusted to determine which rural interstate segments could safely carry traffic at increased speeds without posing a significant hazard to motorists.

Opponents asserted that the reasons for maintaining the 55 mph speed limit far outweigh the arguments for change. Public opinion polls show continued strong support for the 55 mph limit, and the National Safety Council has called it the Nation's best single device for saving lives and preventing injuries. From 1974-85, the national speed limit saved between 20,000 and 36,000 lives and prevented 82,000 injuries due to traffic accidents. The lower speed limit also has resulted in energy savings of 167,000 gallons of fuel per day. While many drivers are not obeying the speed limit, it remains a strong deterrent to excessive speeding. Those who break the law now will continue to do so even if the interstate speed limit is increased, and some experts predict a "spillover" of increased driving speeds on other, less safe roads as well. Arguments that a higher speed limit would save time and be economically

(OVER)

S. 387 (H.R. 2): Vote Nos. 14-17, 20, 21, 33, 51-60.

RESULT: **AMENDMENT AGREED TO**

YEAS (65)				NAYS (33)		NOT VOTING (2)	
Democrats (35 or 64%)		**Republicans (30 or 70%)**		**Democrats (20 or 36%)**	**Republicans (13 or 30%)**	**Democrats (0)**	**Republicans (2)**
Baucus	Heflin	Armstrong	Lugar	Adams	Boschwitz		Hatfield—2
Bentsen	Johnston	Bond	McCain	Bradley	Chafee		Packwood—2
Biden	Kennedy	Cochran	McClure	Byrd	Cohen		
Bingaman	Kerry	Dole	McConnell	Dixon	D'Amato		
Boren	Leahy	Domenici	Murkowski	Exon	Danforth		
Breaux	Matsunaga	Durenberger	Nickles	Glenn	Evans		
Bumpers	Melcher	Garn	Pressler	Gore	Heinz		
Burdick	Nunn	Gramm	Quayle	Hollings	Roth		
Chiles	Pryor	Grassley	Rudman	Inouye	Specter		
Conrad	Reid	Hatch	Simpson	Lautenberg	Stafford		
Cranston	Riegle	Hecht	Stevens	Levin	Trible		
Daschle	Sanford	Helms	Symms	Metzenbaum	Warner		
DeConcini	Sasser	Humphrey	Thurmond	Mikulski	Weicker		
Dodd	Shelby	Kassebaum	Wallop	Mitchell			
Ford	Stennis	Kasten	Wilson	Moynihan			
Fowler	Wirth			Pell			
Graham	Zorinsky			Proxmire			
Harkin				Rockefeller			
				Sarbanes			
				Simon			

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 64%
Republicans— 70%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (65)
Democrats— 35 or 54%
Republicans— 30 or 46%

Against (33)
Democrats— 20 or 61%
Republicans— 13 or 39%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

beneficial are not supported by statistics. Raising the speed limit to 65 mph would save only three minutes per trip with little or no economic value. While Congress has delegated much of the responsibility for the Federal highway program to the States, it still is responsible for regulating interstate commerce and establishing national policy which is in the public interest, such as the 55 mph speed limit. Other opponents supported allowing States to raise speed limits but questioned whether the House is any more willing to accept this change now than last year. Enactment of the urgently needed highway bill should not be delayed by attaching this amendment.

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 15

100th Congress
1st Session

February 3, 1987, 3:48 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-1554

HIGHWAY AUTHORIZATIONS

BILL NO.: S. 387 (H.R. 2)

AMENDMENT NO.: 13

TITLE: "Federal-Aid Highway Act of 1987"

SUBJECT: **Ford motion to table the Stafford-Moynihan, et al., amendment to add a modified version of the highway beautification reform amendment contained in the 1986 Senate-passed bill which prohibits the erection of new signs or displays outside urban areas after February 1, 1987; permits new billboards of up to 75 square feet to be erected in commercial or industrialized urban areas; requires cash payment for billboard removal due to Federal statute; gives States the choice of providing cash payment or amortization in enforcing local billboard removal statutes; requires States to maintain a permit system or accurate inventory of billboards along interstate and primary systems; requires States to remove illegal signs within 90 days of identification; and prohibits the removal of trees or vegetation for the purpose of improving a billboard's visibility.**

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment argued that billboards blight the landscape, erode the quality of life, lower property values, waste energy, and destroy architectural, historic, and natural resources. Billboards have been successfully banned in Vermont, Maine, Hawaii, and Oregon, and in resorts such as Lake Tahoe and Williamsburg, without harm to their thriving tourist economies. In 1985, for example, the State of Maine received $1.55 billion from sales to visitors, making tourism its second largest industry. Current law requires cash compensation for the removal of nonconforming billboards through a 75-25 Federal-State match, but because no new funds have been appropriated since 1982, removal of billboards has come to a virtual halt. Amortization is a reasonable alternative to cash compensation. This amendment would not require elimination of currently standing legal billboards but would put an end to the proliferation of new signs in rural areas and return control to the States where it belongs. It is inconsistent for the Senate, on the same day, to give States the right to determine speed limits in rural areas of the Interstate System but deny them the traditional right to remove illegal

(OVER)

S. 387 (H.R. 2): Vote Nos. 14-17, 20, 21, 33, 51-60.

RESULT: MOTION TO TABLE AGREED TO

YEAS (57)

Democrats (31 or 57%)

Adams
Boren
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Gore
Heflin

Inouye
Johnston
Levin
Melcher
Mikulski
Nunn
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sasser
Shelby
Simon
Zorinsky

Republicans (26 or 60%)

Armstrong
Bond
Boschwitz
Cochran
D'Amato
Dole
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hecht
Helms
Kasten
Lugar
McClure
Murkowski
Nickles
Pressler
Quayle
Simpson
Specter
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Weicker

NAYS (40)

Democrats (23 or 43%)

Baucus
Bentsen
Biden
Bingaman
Bradley
Chiles
DeConcini
Glenn
Graham
Harkin
Hollings
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Matsunaga
Metzenbaum
Mitchell
Moynihan
Pell
Proxmire
Sarbanes
Wirth

Republicans (17 or 40%)

Chafee
Cohen
Danforth
Domenici
Durenberger
Evans
Heinz
Humphrey
Kassebaum
McCain
McConnell
Roth
Rudman
Stafford
Stevens
Warner
Wilson

NOT VOTING (3)

Democrats (1)

Stennis—2

Republicans (2)

Hatfield—2
Packwood—2

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 57%
Republicans— 60%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (57)
Democrats— 31 or 54%
Republicans— 26 or 46%

Against (40)
Democrats— 23 or 57.5%
Republicans— 17 or 42.5%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

and nonconforming billboards. The main opposition to this amendment comes from the billboard industry, which reaps substantial profits from the Interstate highway system but contributes nothing to the Federal government for the construction or maintenance of those highways.

While admitting that the amendment's goals are reasonable, opponents objected to the means by which it seeks to achieve them. The amendment is unnecessary, they maintained, because current law is working as intended. As of September 1986, 93 percent of illegal signs and 52 percent of nonconforming signs have been removed from the Federal control areas. States can choose between totally banning billboards or having a limited amount of advertising in rural areas. The amendment would force small billboard manufacturing companies out of business and cause damage to thousands of businesses which spent over $1 billion on outdoor advertising in 1986, and to municipalities that depend heavily on the billboard business to attract travelers.

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 16

100th Congress
1st Session

February 3, 1987, 5:08 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S -1574

HIGHWAY AUTHORIZATIONS

BILL NO.: S. 387 (H.R. 2)

AMENDMENT NO.: 15

TITLE: "Federal-Aid Highway Act of 1987"

SUBJECT: **Moynihan motion to table the Cochran-Thurmond-Melcher amendment which adds cement and cement clinker to the list of "Buy America" products which must be purchased for highway and mass transit projects costing more than $500,000.** (See also Vote No. 285, 99th-2nd.)

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment claimed that the domestic cement industry is facing unfair competition from foreign governments which subsidize cement sold in the U.S. at prices far below those in their own countries. As a direct result, employment in the cement industry has dropped, the market share for domestic cement has declined, and production facilities have closed and are being acquired by foreign investors. Rather than allow a vital industry to decline, cement should be added to the "Buy America" section of the bill, where it had been prior to being deleted by the committees of jurisdiction in 1984. The amendment affects only cement used in Federal aid highway projects—seven percent of the market—and does not restrict imports. Even if cement rose by $10 a ton as a result of this amendment, project costs would increase only 1/100th of one percent. The ITC should not be referred to in this debate, they insisted, since the duties and responsibilities of the Senate are different.

Opponents of the amendment pointed out that special protection for the cement industry is unnecessary because, according to the ITC, it is "not experiencing material injury, but is thriving." The fact that foreign companies are investing in U.S. cement companies and that 75 percent of all foreign cement is purchased by domestic producers—which are operating at full capacity and cannot meet the domestic demand—is a further indication that the industry is in good shape. The amendment would drive up cement prices, restrict supply which is already limited in some parts of the nation, and require companies to engage in the costly procedure of maintaining separate stockpiles for domestic and foreign cement. It would hurt the current international effort to renegotiate the GATT Government Procurement Code and damage relations with Canada, from which the U.S. imports the most cement. Some argued that this was a "killer" amendment and noted that it risked the President's veto of the four-year highway program.

S. 387 (H.R. 2): Vote Nos. 14-17, 20, 21, 33, 51-60.

RESULT: MOTION TO TABLE AGREED TO

YEAS (65)				NAYS (33)		NOT VOTING (2)	
Democrats (31 or 57%)		**Republicans (34 or 77%)**		**Democrats (23 or 43%)**	**Republicans (10 or 23%)**	**Democrats (1)**	**Republicans (1)**
Adams	Inouye	Armstrong	Lugar	Boren	Cochran	Biden^{-2}	Hatfield^{-2}
Baucus	Johnston	Bond	McCain	Bumpers	Cohen		
Bentsen	Kennedy	Boschwitz	McConnell	Byrd	Domenici		
Bingaman	Kerry	Chafee	Murkowski	Daschle	Grassley		
Bradley	Lautenberg	D'Amato	Nickles	DeConcini	Heinz		
Breaux	Leahy	Danforth	Packwood	Ford	McClure		
Burdick	Matsunaga	Dole	Quayle	Glenn	Pressler		
Chiles	Moynihan	Durenberger	Roth	Harkin	Simpson		
Conrad	Nunn	Evans	Rudman	Heflin	Specter		
Cranston	Pell	Garn	Stafford	Hollings	Thurmond		
Dixon	Proxmire	Gramm	Stevens	Levin			
Dodd	Riegle	Hatch	Symms	Melcher			
Exon	Sanford	Hecht	Trible	Metzenbaum			
Fowler	Simon	Helms	Wallop	Mikulski			
Gore	Zorinsky	Humphrey	Warner	Mitchell			
Graham		Kassebaum	Weicker	Pryor			
		Kasten	Wilson	Reid			
				Rockefeller			
				Sarbanes			
				Sasser			
				Shelby			
				Stennis			
				Wirth			

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 57%
Republicans— 77%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (65)
Democrats— 31 or 48%
Republicans— 34 or 52%

Against (33)
Democrats— 23 or 70%
Republicans— 10 or 30%

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 17

100th Congress
1st Session

February 3, 1987, 6:35 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-1585

HIGHWAY AUTHORIZATIONS

BILL NO.: S. 387 (H.R. 2)

AMENDMENT NO.: 18

TITLE: "Federal-Aid Highway Act of 1987"

SUBJECT: **Hollings-Gore amendment (as a substitute for the Danforth amendment which addresses provisions in the House-passed bill by adding the Senate-passed version of the 1986 National Highway Traffic Safety Administration [NHTSA] Authorization bill and certain amendments relating to motor vehicle safety requirements) expressing the sense of the Senate that automobile safety issues are of critical national importance and that the Senate Commerce Committee should act to address these issues in separate authorizing legislation for the NHTSA to be reported to the Senate by April 1, 1987.**

NOTE: Proponents stated that the substitute amendment would ensure judicious, timely consideration of the NHTSA authorization through orderly legislative channels and within the proper jurisdictional committee. They objected to the Danforth amendment's attempt to circumvent the regular legislative process, as well as the lack of hearings on its safety provisions. The House leadership already has indicated its unwillingness to accept the NHTSA provisions as an amendment to the highway bill. Adoption of the Danforth amendment will not serve the public interest but will jeopardize enactment of the much needed highway bill.

Opponents described the substitute amendment as an "empty, vacuous" proposal that promises nothing, guarantees nothing, and is a setback for highway safety. The Senate should adopt the Danforth amendment which contains the NHTSA authorization, as passed unanimously by the Senate last year with two additional motor vehicle safety provisions. The House has accepted seven provisions to its highway bill which would more appropriately be contained in a NHTSA authorization bill. The Senate has the right and obligation to address these provisions through substantive action. Any delay in enactment of the highway legislation because of the Danforth amendment's adoption would be minor. Those who object to the lack of hearings during the 100th Congress on the NHTSA provisions should note that hearings have not been held on the highway bill either.

S. 387 (H.R. 2): Vote Nos. 14-17, 20, 21, 33, 51-60.

RESULT: **AMENDMENT AGREED TO**

YEAS (58)

Democrats (53 or 98%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Gore
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Hollings
Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Simon
Stennis
Wirth
Zorinsky

Republicans (5 or 11%)

Gramm
Helms
Humphrey
Nickles
Warner

NAYS (40)

Democrats (1 or 2%)

Proxmire

Republicans (39 or 89%)

Armstrong
Bond
Boschwitz
Chafee
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Evans
Garn
Grassley
Hatch
Hecht
Heinz
Kassebaum
Kasten
Lugar
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Packwood
Pressler
Quayle
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Specter
Stafford
Stevens
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Weicker
Wilson

NOT VOTING (2)

Democrats (1)

Biden—2

Republicans (1)

Hatfield—2

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 98%
Republicans— 89%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (58)
Democrats— 53 or 91%
Republicans— 5 or 9%

Against (40)
Democrats— 1 or 2.5%
Republicans— 39 or 97.5%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee

[illegible]

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 18

100th Congress
1st Session

February 4, 1987, 11:33 a.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-1671

URBAN MASS TRANSPORTATION
(BUDGET WAIVER)

BILL NO.: S. Res. 83

SUBJECT: **Adoption of the resolution waiving section 303(a) of the Congressional Budget Act (which creates a point of order against legislation providing new budget authority for a fiscal year for which the budget resolution has not been adopted) in order to allow consideration of S. 382, the Urban Mass Transportation Authorization bill, as reported by the Banking Committee, as an amendment to the Federal-Aid Highway Act of 1987.**

NOTE: Proponents stated that a waiver is needed in order to consider the mass transit bill which creates direct spending authority for FY 1988-89. The bill is consistent with budget resolution assumptions for FY 1987 outlays and FY 1988-89 direct spending, and is within the Banking Committee's allocation to the Housing Subcommittee under section 302(b) of the Budget Act. It is vital that Congress adopt legislation which will bring stability to the Nation's highway and mass transit problems at a low cost.
No opposing arguments were heard.

S. Res. 83: Vote No. 18.

RESULT: RESOLUTION AGREED TO

YEAS (84)

Democrats
(52 or 95%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Biden
Bingaman
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Gore
Graham
Harkin
Hollings
Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Simon
Stennis
Wirth
Zorinsky

Republicans
(32 or 71%)

Bond
Boschwitz
Chafee
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Evans
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatfield
Hecht
Heinz
Kassebaum
Kasten
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Packwood
Pressler
Rudman
Specter
Stafford
Stevens
Warner
Weicker
Wilson

NAYS (16)

Democrats
(3 or 5%)

Boren
Heflin
Proxmire

Republicans
(13 or 29%)

Armstrong
Hatch
Helms
Humphrey
Lugar
Nickles
Quayle
Roth
Simpson
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop

NOT VOTING (0)

Democrats (0) **Republicans (0)**

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion	**Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on**	
	For (84)	*Against* (16)
Democrats— 95%	Democrats— 52 or 62%	Democrats— 3 or 19%
Republicans— 71%	Republicans— 32 or 38%	Republicans— 13 or 81%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 19

100th Congress
1st Session

February 4, 1987, 2:59 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-1708

CLEAN WATER
(VETO OVERRIDE)

BILL NO.: H.R. 1

TITLE: "Water Quality Act of 1987"

SUBJECT: **Reconsideration of the vetoed bill which authorizes a total of $18 billion through FY 1994 for water treatment projects of which $8.4 billion is for a new revolving fund to provide loans to States for up to 100 percent of a project's cost (funded from 1989-94) and $9.6 billion is for the Title II construction grant program (funded from 1986-90); provides a process for States to develop and implement programs for control of nonpoint source pollution allowing them to use both grants and revolving funds for this purpose and earmarks $400 million over four years for nonpoint source pollution remedies; authorizes an increased Federal share for certain wastewater treatment projects; and makes various amendments to the construction grant program and the standards and enforcement provisions of the Act.** (See Vote No. 4 for the major provisions of the bill.)

NOTE: The President vetoed H.R. 1 on January 30, 1987. In his veto message, President Reagan objected to what he termed "excessive funding" for the sewage treatment grant program; the increase in the Federal share of the costs of certain municipal projects; and the establishment of a Federally-controlled and directed program to control "nonpoint" source pollution. In the 99th Congress, an identical bill, S. 1128, was pocket vetoed by the President for the same reasons following the *sine die* adjournment of the Congress.

The House overrode the veto on February 3, 1987, by a vote of 401 to 26. H.R. 1 became Public Law 100-4, without approval on February 4, 1987.

H.R. 1: Vote Nos. 3, 4, 19.
S. 1128: Vote Nos. 125, 126 (99th-1st) and 347 (99th-2nd).

RESULT: **VETO OVERRIDDEN, 2/3RDS HAVING VOTED IN THE AFFIRMATIVE**

ADMINISTRATION POSITION: NAY

YEAS (86)

Democrats (54 or 98%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Biden
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Gore
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Hollings
Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Simon
Stennis
Wirth
Zorinsky

Republicans (32 or 71%)

Bond
Boschwitz
Chafee
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Domenici
Durenberger
Evans
Grassley
Hatch
Hatfield
Hecht
Heinz
Humphrey
Kasten
McCain
McConnell
Murkowski
Packwood
Pressler
Quayle
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Specter
Stafford
Stevens
Trible
Warner
Weicker
Wilson

NAYS (14)

Democrats (1 or 2%)

Exon

Republicans (13 or 29%)

Armstrong
Cochran
Dole
Garn
Gramm
Helms
Kassebaum
Lugar
McClure
Nickles
Symms
Thurmond
Wallop

NOT VOTING (0)

Democrats (0) **Republicans (0)**

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 98%
Republicans— 71%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (86)
Democrats— 54 or 63%
Republicans— 32 or 37%

Against (14)
Democrats— 1 or 7%
Republicans— 13 or 93%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 20

100th Congress
1st Session

February 4, 1987, 4:17 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-1714

HIGHWAY AUTHORIZATIONS

BILL NO.: S. 387 (H.R. 2) AMENDMENT NO.: 28

TITLE: "Federal-Aid Highway Act of 1987"

SUBJECT: **Gramm amendment (to the Dixon amendment No. 23 authorizing Federal mass transit assistance programs through FY 1990 embodying the Urban Mass Transportation Act of 1987) which overrides transit labor protection provisions, including collective bargaining rights, in the Urban Mass Transportation Act of 1964 in order to provide unrestricted rights for mass transit grant recipients to negotiate transit service contracts with private companies.** (Subsequently, the Dixon amendment was agreed to by voice vote.)

NOTE: Proponents claimed that certain provisions of section 13(c) of the Urban Mass Transportation Act of 1964 are being improperly used to disapprove Federal grants for contracts with private companies. The section originally was included in the Act to protect workers' rights during the period when private transit authorities were becoming public entities through the infusion of Federal funds. However, there are now instances of labor unions refusing to sign off on Federal grants when the transit operator intends to use it for privatization or contracting out, even though such contracts do not affect union workers or the protections offered by 13(c). This refusal prevents competition and blocks the desperately needed investment of private capital in urban transportation. The amendment, which is endorsed by UMTA, in no way threatens workers' rights but would prevent grants from being disapproved solely on the basis of a transit operator's intent to contract with a private company.

Opponents pointed out that the amendment would strip transit workers of their rights to negotiate for protection against subcontracting away their jobs to private operators. This could compromise workers' collective bargaining rights, in the same manner that USX employees were compelled to give up wages

(OVER)

S. 387 (H.R. 2): Vote Nos. 14-17, 20, 21, 33, 51-60.

RESULT: AMENDMENT REJECTED

YEAS (30)

Democrats
(0 or 0%)

Republicans
(30 or 67%)

Armstrong
Bond
Cochran
Cohen
Dole
Evans
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hecht
Helms
Humphrey
Kassebaum
Kasten
Lugar
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Nickles
Pressler
Quayle
Rudman
Simpson
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Warner
Wilson

NAYS (70)

Democrats
(55 or 100%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Biden
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Gore
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Hollings
Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Simon
Stennis
Wirth
Zorinsky

Republicans
(15 or 33%)

Boschwitz
Chafee
D'Amato
Danforth
Domenici
Durenberger
Hatfield
Heinz
Murkowski
Packwood
Roth
Specter
Stafford
Stevens
Weicker

NOT VOTING (0)

Democrats (0)

Republicans (0)

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 100%
Republicans— 67%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (30)
Democrats— 0 or 0%
Republicans— 30 or 100%

Against (70)
Democrats— 55 or 79%
Republicans— 15 or 21%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

and benefits in order to limit the company's contracting out of work. Since Federal grants account for only 15 percent of a transit operator's budget, agreements between transit operators and their employees regarding privatization would be more difficult to reach. Furthermore, consideration of the amendment is premature: there have been no hearings on this amendment; a joint agency task force set up by the Labor and Transportation Departments to review 13(c) has not yet issued any recommendations; and the Labor Department has indicated that it has received "few, if any" complaints with regard to 13(c). The proper role of the Federal government is not to favor the public or private sector, but to encourage transit systems to provide the most cost-effective service possible.

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 21

100th Congress
1st Session

February 4, 1987, 6:02 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-1731

HIGHWAY AUTHORIZATIONS

BILL NO.: H.R. 2 (S. 387)

TITLE: "Federal-Aid Highway Act of 1987"

SUBJECT: **Passage of the bill which authorizes $52,387,600,000 from the Highway Trust Fund over the four-year period FY 1987-90, for the Federal-aid Highway Program; authorizes the Federal Urban Mass Transit programs through FY 1990; establishes a new Federal-aid Interstate-Primary Program consisting of traditional Primary Program System projects and Interstate construction, resurfacing, restoration, rehabilitation and reconstruction (4R) projects; establishes an obligation limitation of $12.35 billion in each of FY 1987-90; and permits States to raise the speed limit to 65 miles per hour on interstate highway segments located outside any urbanized area having a population of 50,000 or more.**

H.R. 2 (S. 387): Vote Nos. 14-17, 20, 21, 33, 51-60.
H.R. 3129 (S. 2405): Vote Nos. 280-288 (99th-2nd).

RESULT: **BILL PASSED**

YEAS (96)

Democrats (53 or 100%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Gore
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Hollings
Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Simon
Stennis
Wirth
Zorinsky

Republicans (43 or 96%)

Bond
Boschwitz
Chafee
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Evans
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hatfield
Hecht
Heinz
Helms
Humphrey
Kassebaum
Kasten
Lugar
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Packwood
Pressler
Quayle
Rudman
Simpson
Specter
Stafford
Stevens
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Warner
Weicker
Wilson

NAYS (2)

Democrats (0 or 0%)

Republicans (2 or 4%)

Armstrong
Roth

NOT VOTING (2)

Democrats (2)

Biden—2AY
Cranston—2

Republicans (0)

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 100%
Republicans— 96%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (96)
Democrats— 53 or 55%
Republicans— 43 or 45%

Against (2)
Democrats— 0 or 0%
Republicans— 2 or 100%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

MAJOR PROVISIONS

Authorizes a total of $52,387,600,000 from the Highway Trust Fund over the four-year period, FY 1987-90, for the Federal-aid Highway Program (which includes annually $8.15 billion for the Interstate Primary Program, $750 million for the Federal-aid urban system, $600 million for the Federal-aid secondary system, and $1.5 billion for the bridge replacement and rehabilitation program); establishes an obligation limitation of $12.35 billion in each of FY 1987-90 (exclusive of Emergency Relief and Minimum Allocation funds).

Federal-Aid Interstate-Primary Program: Establishes a new Federal-aid Interstate-Primary Program consisting of traditional Primary Program System projects and Interstate construction, resurfacing, restoration, rehabilitation, and reconstruction projects; sets the Federal share for Interstate-Primary funds used on the Primary system (other than the Interstate) at not to exceed 75 percent of construction costs; provides that the Federal share of a highway emergency relief project would be 100 percent for emergency work done in the first 30 days after the occurrence.

ICE/ISCE: Provides that funds for the Interstate Cost Estimate (ICE) and Interstate Substitute Cost Estimate (ISCE) would be administratively released.

Interstate Substitute Program: Authorizes $650 million annually in FY 1987-90 for highway substitution projects; deletes the deadline for project approval; makes substitution funds available in a State for two years.

Apportionment: Sets aside funds for the Strategic Highway Research Program from Federal-aid Interstate-Primary, Urban, Secondary, Bridge, Highway Substitution, Railway-Highway Crossing and Hazard Elimination authorizations; provides a formula for the new Interstate-Primary Program which apportions $3.0 billion based on the administratively adjusted ICE, $2.8 billion based on the existing Interstate 4R formula, and $2.35 billion based on the existing Primary formula; permits a State to transfer up to 50 percent of its apportionment between the Urban and Secondary Systems and to use 1.5 percent of apportioned Interstate Highway Transfer funds for highway planning and research activities.

Availability: Provides four-year availability of Interstate-Primary program funds and bridge replacement and rehabilitation funds; provides that bridge discretionary funds would remain available for obligation during the year of allocation.

Interstate System Resurfacing: Requires a reduction of up to ten percent of a State's Interstate portion of the Interstate-Primary apportionment for not adequately maintaining the Interstate System.

Highway Trust Fund: Extends the present Highway Trust Fund excise taxes and the authority to spend from the trust fund through FY 1992; makes the heavy vehicle use tax applicable to trucks registered in Canada and Mexico.

South African Sanction: Specifies that any State or local government that has adopted legislation concerning public contracts with persons doing business in South Africa may apply the legislation to contracts funded pursuant to the Federal-Aid Highway Act of 1986, as long as any resulting cost increase is paid by the State or local government; makes this provision void when South Africa ends its apartheid laws and policies.

Right-of-Way Donation: Allows 100 percent of a private contribution of right-of-way to be credited at its fair market value at the time of donation to the State's matching share for the project; permits land donations for a prospective highway project in advance of the environmental and planning process; and encourages the promotion of joint projects where private citizens and governmental entities participate in the cost of projects.

Bridge Replacement Funds: Gives States the option of using a portion of their bridge replacement funds to replace ferryboat operations, bridges destroyed prior to 1960, low water crossings, and road bridges rendered obsolete as a result of Corps of Engineers flood control or channelization projects and not rebuilt with Corps funds.

Vehicle Weight Limitations: Withholds the Interstate construction portion of Federal-aid Interstate-Primary funds for vehicle weight violations.

Toll Facilities: Requires toll authorities to certify to the Governor that sufficient reserves are available to cover the construction, operation, maintenance, or replacement of toll facilities ineligible for Federal-aid highway funds.

Minimum Allocation: Adds total allocations as well as apportionments to the calculation of the 85 percent minimum funds; makes this provision permanent and authorizes the minimum allocation for FY 1987-90.

Territorial Highways: Authorizes a Federal-aid system in each territory similar to the Primary system; places a $5 million fiscal year cap on emergency relief funds available in the territories.

Bicycle Projects: Permits States to use Federal-aid highway funds to design and construct bicycle facilities.

Emergency Relief Cap: Raises the emergency relief cap from $30 million to $100 million per disaster per State.

Buy America: Exempts projects costing $500,000 or less from domestic content requirements.

Disadvantaged Business Enterprise (DBE) Program: Establishes a DBE to encourage the participation of disadvantaged business enterprises in the highway program.

Historic Bridges: Makes reasonable costs associated with mitigating harm to an historic bridge eligible for Federal-aid bridge funds if the bridge remains part of the highway system.

Wildflowers: Requires, generally, that .25 percent of Federal-aid highway funds expended for landscaping on a project be used to plant wildflowers or seedlings.

Combined Road Plan Demonstration Program: Authorizes the Secretary to conduct a combined road demonstration program under which up to ten States would participate in a block grant program for Federal-aid Secondary, Federal-aid Urban, and off-system, Urban, and Secondary Bridge projects.

Speed Limit: Permits States to raise the speed limit to 65 miles per hour on Interstate highway segments located outside any urbanized area having a population of 50,000 or more.

Urban Mass Transit: Authorizes the Federal Mass Transit Assistance programs through FY 1990; calls for a feasibility study to implement tactile mobility aids in DOT projects; authorizes the establishment of a Rural Transit Assistance Program; provides that a State would be apportioned 80 percent of its tax payments to the Mass Transit account.

Uniform Relocation Assistance and Real Property Acquisition: Reforms the Uniform Relocation Assistance and Real Property Acquisition Policies Act to make its administration more equitable and efficient at all levels of government.

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 22

100th Congress
1st Session

February 5, 1987, 11:23 a.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-1835

SENATE PROCEDURE
(ATTENDANCE)

SUBJECT: **Byrd motion to instruct the Sergeant at Arms to compel the attendance of absent Senators.** (See also Vote No. 23.)

Vote Nos. 22, 23, 32, 50, 258, 261, 306, 316, 319, 322, 334, 381, 388, 391, 394.

RESULT: MOTION FOR ATTENDANCE AGREED TO

YEAS (88)

Democrats (53 or 100%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Biden
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Gore
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Hollings
Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Simon
Stennis
Wirth
Zorinsky

Republicans (35 or 92%)

Bond
Boschwitz
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Evans
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatfield
Hecht
Heinz
Helms
Kasten
Lugar
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Packwood
Pressler
Roth
Simpson
Specter
Stafford
Stevens
Thurmond
Trible
Warner
Wilson

NAYS (3)

Democrats (0 or 0%)

—

Republicans (3 or 8%)

Quayle
Wallop
Weicker

NOT VOTING (9)

Democrats (2)

Cranston—2
Exon—2

Republicans (7)

Armstrong—2
Chafee—2
Hatch—2
Humphrey—2
Kassebaum—2
Rudman—2
Symms—2

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion	**Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on**	
	For (88)	*Against* (3)
Democrats— 100%	Democrats— 53 or 60%	Democrats— 0 or 0%
Republicans— 92%	Republicans— 35 or 40%	Republicans— 3 or 100%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 23

100th Congress
1st Session

February 5, 1987, 11:56 a.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-1836

SENATE PROCEDURE
(ATENDANCE)

SUBJECT: **Byrd motion to instruct the Sergeant at Arms to request the attendance of absent Senators.** (See also Vote No. 22.)

Vote Nos. 22, 23, 32, 50, 258, 261, 306, 316, 319, 322, 334, 381, 388, 391, 394.

RESULT: **MOTION FOR ATTENDANCE AGREED TO**

YEAS (90)

Democrats
(53 or 100%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Biden
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Gore
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Hollings
Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Simon
Stennis
Wirth
Zorinsky

Republicans
(37 or 93%)

Armstrong
Bond
Boschwitz
Chafee
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Evans
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatfield
Hecht
Helms
Humphrey
Kasten
Lugar
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Packwood
Pressler
Roth
Simpson
Specter
Stafford
Stevens
Thurmond
Trible
Warner
Wilson

NAYS (3)

Democrats
(0 or 0%)

Republicans
(3 or 8%)

Quayle
Wallop
Weicker

NOT VOTING (7)

Democrats (2)

Cranston^{-2}
Sanford^{-2}

Republicans (5)

Hatch^{-2}
Heinz^{-2}
Kassebaum^{-2}
Rudman^{-2}
Symms^{-2}

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 100%
Republicans— 93%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (90)
Democrats— 53 or 59%
Republicans— 37 or 41%

Against (3)
Democrats— 0 or 0%
Republicans— 3 or 100%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 24

100th Congress
1st Session

February 5, 1987, 12:18 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-1837

SENATE PROCEDURE
(JOURNAL APPROVAL)

SUBJECT: **Byrd point of order that a quorum call which delays a vote on a motion to approve the Journal, after a quorum has been established, is out of order in that such quorum calls are dilatory and violate the intent of S. Res. 28, 99th Congress, which authorized this new motion. The question is: "Is the point well taken?"**

NOTE: Proponents of the point of order stated that with the advent of television in the Senate, the Rules Committee issued new rules in order to speed up the operation of the Senate and avoid the "spectacle" of long filibusters, including a new nondebatable motion to approve the Journal of the Senate to date. The point of order, they argued, supports the objective of the new motion.

Opponents of the point of order pointed out that the Minority was simply using its rights under Senate procedures to prevent a motion that denied debate on calling up a bill. It is part of the rights of the Minority, they argued, and "when we trample on those rights, we hurt the body."

Vote Nos. 24, 25. 102-108.

RESULT: POINT OF ORDER SUSTAINED

YEAS (51)			NAYS (38)				NOT VOTING (11)	
Democrats (50 or 98%)		**Republicans (1 or 3%)**	**Democrats (1 or 2%)**	**Republicans (37 or 97%)**			**Democrats (4)**	**Republicans (7)**
Adams	Johnston	Weicker	Metzenbaum	Armstrong	Humphrey		Breaux—2	Hatch—2
Baucus	Kennedy			Bond	Kasten		Cranston—2	Kassebaum—2
Bentsen	Kerry			Boschwitz	Lugar		Dodd—2	McClure—2
Biden	Lautenberg			Chafee	McCain		Sanford—2	Pressler—2
Bingaman	Leahy			Cochran	McConnell			Rudman—2
Boren	Levin			Cohen	Murkowski			Stevens—2
Bradley	Matsunaga			D'Amato	Nickles			Symms—2
Bumpers	Melcher			Danforth	Packwood			
Burdick	Mikulski			Dole	Quayle			
Byrd	Mitchell			Domenici	Roth			
Chiles	Moynihan			Durenberger	Simpson			
Conrad	Nunn			Evans	Specter			
Daschle	Pell			Garn	Stafford			
DeConcini	Proxmire			Gramm	Thurmond			
Dixon	Pryor			Grassley	Trible			
Exon	Reid			Hatfield	Wallop			
Ford	Riegle			Hecht	Warner			
Fowler	Rockefeller			Heinz	Wilson			
Glenn	Sarbanes			Helms				
Gore	Sasser							
Graham	Shelby							
Harkin	Simon							
Heflin	Stennis							
Hollings	Wirth							
Inouye	Zorinsky							

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 98%
Republicans— 97%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (51)		*Against* (38)	
Democrats— 50	or 98%	Democrats— 1	or 3%
Republicans— 1	or 2%	Republicans— 37	or 97%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 25

100th Congress
1st Session

February 5, 1987, 12:55 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-1837

SENATE PROCEDURE
(JOURNAL APPROVAL)

SUBJECT: **Byrd motion to approve the Journal of the Senate proceedings to date.**

NOTE: The motion to approve the Journal of the Senate was delayed by parliamentary maneuvers for more than two hours, which, under Rule VIII, Paragraph 2, made the motion to proceed to S. 83, the Energy Standards for Appliances bill, a debatable motion.

Vote Nos. 24, 25, 102-108.

RESULT: **MOTION AGREED TO**

YEAS (53)

Democrats (52 or 100%)

- Adams
- Baucus
- Bentsen
- Biden
- Bingaman
- Boren
- Bradley
- Breaux
- Bumpers
- Byrd
- Chiles
- Conrad
- Daschle
- DeConcini
- Dixon
- Exon
- Ford
- Fowler
- Glenn
- Gore
- Graham
- Harkin
- Heflin
- Hollings
- Inouye
- Johnston
- Kennedy
- Kerry
- Lautenberg
- Leahy
- Levin
- Matsunaga
- Melcher
- Metzenbaum
- Mikulski
- Mitchell
- Moynihan
- Nunn
- Pell
- Proxmire
- Pryor
- Reid
- Riegle
- Rockefeller
- Sanford
- Sarbanes
- Sasser
- Shelby
- Simon
- Stennis
- Wirth
- Zorinsky

Republicans (1 or 3%)

- Weicker

NAYS (39)

Democrats (0 or 0%)

Republicans (39 or 98%)

- Armstrong
- Bond
- Boschwitz
- Chafee
- Cochran
- Cohen
- D'Amato
- Danforth
- Dole
- Domenici
- Durenberger
- Evans
- Garn
- Gramm
- Grassley
- Hatfield
- Hecht
- Heinz
- Helms
- Humphrey
- Kasten
- Lugar
- McCain
- McConnell
- Murkowski
- Nickles
- Packwood
- Pressler
- Quayle
- Roth
- Simpson
- Specter
- Stafford
- Stevens
- Thurmond
- Trible
- Wallop
- Warner
- Wilson

NOT VOTING (8)

Democrats (3)

- Burdick—2
- Cranston—2
- Dodd—2

Republicans (5)

- Hatch—2
- Kassebaum—2
- McClure—2
- Rudman—2
- Symms—2

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 100%
Republicans— 98%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (53)
Democrats— 52 or 98%
Republicans— 1 or 2%

Against (39)
Democrats— 0 or 0%
Republicans— 39 or 100%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 26

100th Congress
1st Session

February 5, 1987, 2:52 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-1846

ENERGY STANDARDS FOR APPLIANCES

BILL NO.: S. 83

TITLE: "National Appliance Energy Conservation Act of 1987"

SUBJECT: **Byrd motion to instruct the Sergeant at Arms to request the attendance of absent Senators.**

S. 83: Vote Nos. 26, 28.

RESULT: MOTION FOR ATTENDANCE AGREED TO

YEAS (87)				NAYS (5)		NOT VOTING (8)	
Democrats (52 or 100%)		**Republicans (35 or 88%)**		**Democrats (0 or 0%)**	**Republicans (5 or 13%)**	**Democrats (3)**	**Republicans (5)**
dams	Johnston	Armstrong	Kasten		Boschwitz	Bumpers—4	Hatch—2
aucus	Kennedy	Bond	Lugar		Cohen	Cranston—2	Kassebaum—2
entsen	Kerry	Chafee	McCain		Quayle	Pryor—4	McClure—2
iden	Lautenberg	Cochran	McConnell		Wallop		Rudman—2
ngaman	Leahy	D'Amato	Murkowski		Weicker		Symms—2
oren	Levin	Danforth	Nickles				
radley	Matsunaga	Dole	Packwood				
reaux	Melcher	Domenici	Pressler				
urdick	Metzenbaum	Durenberger	Roth				
yrd	Mikulski	Evans	Simpson				
hiles	Mitchell	Garn	Specter				
onrad	Moynihan	Gramm	Stafford				
aschle	Nunn	Grassley	Stevens				
eConcini	Pell	Hatfield	Thurmond				
ixon	Proxmire	Hecht	Trible				
odd	Reid	Heinz	Warner				
on	Riegle	Helms	Wilson				
ord	Rockefeller	Humphrey					
owler	Sanford						
lenn	Sarbanes						
ore	Sasser						
raham	Shelby						
arkin	Simon						
eflin	Stennis						
ollings	Wirth						
ouye	Zorinsky						

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 100%
Republicans— 88%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (87)
Democrats— 52 or 60%
Republicans— 35 or 40%

Against (5)
Democrats— 0 or 0%
Republicans— 5 or 100%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 27

100th Congress
1st Session

February 17, 1987, 2:42 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-2027

ARMS CONTROL NEGOTIATIONS

BILL NO.: S. Res. 94

SUBJECT: **Adoption of the resolution which expresses Senate support for the President's commitment to achieve mutual, equitable, verifiable, and stabilizing nuclear arms reduction agreements with the Soviet Union that serve to meet the national security interests of the United States and its allies; encourages both nations to use determined and creative diplomacy at the Geneva negotiations to resolve their remaining differences; cautions the Soviet Union against pursuing strategies designed to exploit American domestic politics or to divide the U.S. from its allies in an effort to secure advantages on arms reduction matters; urges the Soviet Union not to condition progress in all arms control matters on issues relating to strategic defense technologies; declares that an important obstacle to the achievement of acceptable arms control agreements with the Soviet Union has been its violations of existing agreements and calls upon the Soviets to rectify these violations, and in particular, to dismantle the newly constructed radar site at Krasnoyarsk, since it is in clear violation of the ABM Treaty; and urges the President to consult closely with America's allies and the Senate in the construction of sound arms reduction agreements.**

S. Res. 94: Vote No. 27.

RESULT: **RESOLUTION AGREED TO**

YEAS (93)

Democrats (51 or 98%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Gore
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Hollings
Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Simon
Stennis
Wirth
Zorinsky

Republicans (42 or 98%)

Armstrong
Bond
Boschwitz
Chafee
Cochran
Cohen
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hatfield
Hecht
Heinz
Humphrey
Kassebaum
Kasten
Lugar
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Packwood
Pressler
Quayle
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Specter
Stafford
Stevens
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Warner
Weicker
Wilson

NAYS (2)

Democrats (1 or 2%)

Proxmire

Republicans (1 or 2%)

Helms

NOT VOTING (5)

Democrats (3)

Biden—2
Bumpers—2
Pryor—3

Republicans (2)

D'Amato—2
Evans—2

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 98%
Republicans— 98%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (93)
Democrats— 51 or 55%
Republicans— 42 or 45%

Against (2)
Democrats— 1 or 50%
Republicans— 1 or 50%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 28

100th Congress
1st Session

February 17, 1987, 3:32 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-2031

ENERGY STANDARDS FOR APPLIANCES

BILL NO.: S. 83

TITLE: "National Appliance Energy Conservation Act of 1987"

SUBJECT: **Passage of the bill which establishes national energy conservation standards for major residential appliances.**

NOTE: S. 83 is similar to H.R. 5465 which was passed unanimously by both Houses in the 99th Congress and was pocket vetoed by the President on November 1, 1986. In vetoing the bill the President cited his objection to the provision requiring the Department of Energy to propose new appliance energy efficiency standards every five years, stating that it was a burden on DOE and created uncertainty in the marketplace. S. 83 omits this requirement.

S. 83 became Public Law 100-12, approved March 17, 1987.

S. 83: Vote Nos. 26, 28.

RESULT: BILL PASSED

YEAS (89)

Democrats
(52 or 100%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Gore
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Hollings
Inouye

Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Proxmire
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Simon
Stennis
Wirth
Zorinsky

Republicans
(37 or 86%)

Armstrong
Bond
Boschwitz
Chafee
Cochran
Cohen
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Garn
Grassley
Hatch
Hatfield
Hecht
Heinz
Humphrey
Kassebaum
Kasten

Lugar
McCain
McConnell
Murkowski
Packwood
Pressler
Quayle
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Specter
Stafford
Stevens
Thurmond
Trible
Warner
Weicker
Wilson

NAYS (6)

Democrats
(0 or 0%)

Republicans
(6 or 14%)

Gramm
Helms
McClure
Nickles
Symms
Wallop

NOT VOTING (5)

Democrats (3)

Biden—2
Bumpers—2
Pryor—3

Republicans (2)

D'Amato—2
Evans—2AY

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion	**Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on** *For* (89)	*Against* (6)
Democrats— 100%	Democrats— 52 or 58%	Democrats— 0 or 0%
Republicans— 86%	Republicans— 37 or 42%	Republicans— 6 or 100%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

MAJOR PROVISIONS

Appliance Conservation Standards: Establishes initial national energy conservation standards for refrigerators and freezers, room air conditioners, central air conditioners and heat pumps, water heaters, furnaces, dishwashers, clothes washers and dryers, direct heating equipment, kitchen ranges and ovens, pool heaters, and television sets; makes the Federal standards effective for periods of three to ten years beginning in 1988, 1990, 1992, or 1993, depending on the product; allows the Department of Energy (DOE) to promulgate new, more stringent standards for each product after the initial "lock-in" period; establishes criteria and procedures for the Secretary to use in prescribing new or amended conservation standards; permits individuals to petition the Secretary for a rulemaking and requires the Secretary, in deciding on such a rulemaking, to consider technological feasibility and cost effectiveness; allows for judicial review of a negative decision by the Secretary on a rulemaking petition; gives manufacturers at least five years within which to redesign their products for compliance; explicitly permits the Secretary to prescribe energy conservation standards for television sets manufactured on or after January 7, 1992; provides safeguards against the establishment of a small gas furnace standard which results in a buying preference or significant switching from gas to electric resistance heating.

Preemption: Preempts all State standards after Federal standards become effective, but allows States to petition DOE for a preemption waiver if the State regulation is needed to meet "unusual and compelling State and local interests" substantially different from those of the Nation; prohibits DOE from granting a State waiver if interested persons show that the State regulation will (1) significantly burden marketing, manufacturing, distribution, sale, or servicing of appliance products nationally, or (2) result in the unavailability in the State of a product type or of products of a particular performance class, such as frost-free refrigerators; makes waivers effective three years after being granted, or after five years if the Secretary finds that time is needed for redesign or retooling, etc.; allows adoption of related State enacted performance-based building codes if they do not require installation of covered products which have efficiencies exceeding the applicable Federal standard; contains special provisions relating to refrigerator and freezer standards already enacted in California.

Test Procedures, Enforcement, and Reporting: Retains all existing test procedures unless amended by the Secretary; authorizes the Secretary, with aid from the National Bureau of Standards, to amend existing test procedures or to prescribe one for any covered product class; requires adjustment of test procedure revisions in order to conform with the energy conservation standards; provides expeditious judicial relief if DOE fails to comply with the statutory deadlines; allows individuals to seek declaratory judgments that State building codes do not comply with the Act; authorizes DOE to require manufacturers to submit relevant information regarding the energy efficiency or energy use of any covered product, and the potential economic impact of proposed energy conservation standards; requires the agency to use existing information whenever possible and to minimize industry reporting requirements.

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 29

100th Congress
1st Session

February 19, 1987, 3:11 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-2177

PHILIPPINE RESOLUTION

BILL NO.: S. Res. 103

SUBJECT: **Adoption of the resolution which reaffirms U.S. support for the Government of the Philippines under the leadership of President Corazon Aquino on the occasion of the approval of the new constitution by the Philippine people; commends President Aquino for the progress toward democracy and justice which she has achieved in her first year of office; and praises the continued commitment of the Philippine government and people to strengthen their democracy and achieve significant economic, political, and military reform.**

S. Res. 103: Vote No. 29.

RESULT: RESOLUTION AGREED TO

YEAS (98)

Democrats
(54 or 100%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Biden
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Gore
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Hollings
Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Simon
Stennis
Wirth
Zorinsky

Republicans
(44 or 100%)

Armstrong
Bond
Boschwitz
Chafee
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Evans
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hatfield
Hecht
Heinz
Helms
Humphrey
Kassebaum
Kasten
Lugar
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Packwood
Pressler
Quayle
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Specter
Stafford
Stevens
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Warner
Weicker
Wilson

NAYS (0)

Democrats
(0 or 0%)

Republicans
(0 or 0%)

NOT VOTING (2)

Democrats (1)

Bumpers—2

Republicans (1)

McCain—2

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 100%
Republicans— 100%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (98)
Democrats— 54 or 55%
Republicans— 44 or 45%

Against (0)
Democrats— 0 or 0%
Republicans— 0 or 0%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 30

100th Congress
1st Session

March 12, 1987, 11:42 a.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-3087

CENTRAL AMERICAN INITIATIVE SUPPORT

BILL NO.: S. Con. Res. 24

SUBJECT: **Adoption of the resolution stating that Congress appreciates the recent bold initiative by the heads of state of Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, and Honduras (the Arias proposal); congratulates them on their significant contributions toward ending armed conflict and reinforcing democracy in Central America; and supports the thrust of this initiative and looks forward to the next summit meeting in Esquipulas, Guatemala, in May.**

S. Con. Res. 24: Vote No. 30.

RESULT: CONCURRENT RESOLUTION AGREED TO

YEAS (97)

Democrats
(53 or 100%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Biden
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Gore
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Hollings
Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Simon
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans
(44 or 98%)

Armstrong
Bond
Boschwitz
Chafee
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Evans
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hatfield
Hecht
Heinz
Helms
Kassebaum
Kasten
Lugar
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Packwood
Pressler
Quayle
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Specter
Stafford
Stevens
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Warner
Weicker
Wilson

NAYS (1)

Democrats
(0 or 0%)

Republicans
(1 or 2%)

Humphrey

NOT VOTING (1)

Democrats (1)

Daschle—4AY

Republicans (0)

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

NOTE: Only 99 Senators voted because of the death of Senator Edward Zorinsky (D-Neb.).

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion	Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on	
	For (97)	*Against* (1)
Democrats— 100%	Democrats— 53 or 55%	Democrats— 0 or 0%
Republicans— 98%	Republicans— 44 or 45%	Republicans— 1 or 100%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 31

100th Congress
1st Session

March 18, 1987, 4:00 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-3386

CONTRA AID DISAPPROVAL

BILL NO.: S.J. Res. 81

SUBJECT: **Adoption (rejected) of the resolution disapproving the provision of $40 million in additional assistance to the Nicaraguan democratic resistance (Contras), pursuant to title II of the Military Construction Appropriations Act of 1987, except as provided in section 211(b) thereof within the limits of funds previously made available.** (See also Vote Nos. 36-38.)

NOTE: Section 211(b) limits assistance to the Contras to humanitarian assistance, logistics advice and assistance, support for democratic political and diplomatic activities, intelligence gathering activities, and equipment and supplies necessary to defend against air attacks.

S.J. Res. 81: Vote No. 31.

RESULT: **JOINT RESOLUTION DEFEATED**

YEAS (48)

Democrats (40 or 74%)

Adams
Baucus
Biden
Bingaman
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Gore
Harkin
Inouye
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sarbanes
Sasser
Simon
Wirth

Republicans (8 or 17%)

Chafee
Durenberger
Evans
Hatfield
Packwood
Specter
Stafford
Weicker

NAYS (52)

Democrats (14 or 26%)

Bentsen
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Chiles
Dixon
Graham
Heflin
Hollings
Johnston
Nunn
Sanford
Shelby
Stennis

Republicans (38 or 83%)

Armstrong
Bond
Boschwitz
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hecht
Heinz
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes
Kassebaum
Kasten
Lugar
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Pressler
Quayle
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Stevens
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Warner
Wilson

NOT VOTING (0)

Democrats (0) **Republicans (0)**

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion	**Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on**	
	For (48)	*Against* (52)
Democrats— 74%	Democrats— 40 or 83%	Democrats— 14 or 27%
Republicans— 83%	Republicans— 8 or 17%	Republicans— 38 or 73%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 32

100th Congress
1st Session

March 19, 1987, 1:23 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-3462

SENATE PROCEDURE
(ATTENDANCE)

SUBJECT: **Byrd motion to instruct the Sergeant at Arms to request the attendance of absent Senators.**

Vote Nos. 22, 23, 32, 50, 258, 261, 306, 316, 319, 322, 334, 381, 388, 391, 394.

RESULT: **MOTION FOR ATTENDANCE AGREED TO**

YEAS (88)

Democrats (51 or 98%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Biden
Bingaman
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Gore
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Hollings
Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Simon
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans (37 or 88%)

Bond
Boschwitz
Chafee
Cochran
Cohen
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Evans
Garn
Grassley
Hatch
Hatfield
Hecht
Heinz
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes
Kasten
Lugar
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Pressler
Roth
Rudman
Specter
Stafford
Stevens
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Warner
Wilson

NAYS (6)

Democrats (1 or 2%)

Proxmire

Republicans (5 or 12%)

D'Amato
Gramm
Quayle
Wallop
Weicker

NOT VOTING (6)

Democrats (2)

Boren—2
Bradley—2

Republicans (4)

Armstrong—2
Kassebaum—2
Packwood—2
Simpson—2

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 98%
Republicans— 88%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (88)
Democrats— 51 or 58%
Republicans— 37 or 42%

Against (6)
Democrats— 1 or 17%
Republicans— 5 or 83%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 33

100th Congress
1st Session

March 19, 1987, 5:28 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-3497

HIGHWAY AUTHORIZATIONS

BILL NO.: H.R. 2 (S. 387)

TITLE: "Surface Transportation and Uniform Relocation Assistance Act of 1987"

SUBJECT: **Adoption of the conference report on the bill which authorizes for FY 1987-91 a total of $68.6 billion from the Highway Trust Fund for the Federal-aid Highway Program, $18.9 billion for the Federal Urban Mass Transit program, and $630 million for highway safety activities of the National Highway Traffic Safety Administration; provides that funds for the Interstate Cost Estimate and Interstate Substitute Cost Estimate would be administratively released annually on October 1 if Congress has not acted to approve them; and reforms the Uniform Relocation Assistance and Real Property Acquisition Policies Act to make its administration more equitable and efficient at all levels of government.**

NOTE: See Vote No. 35 on which the Senate voted to amend this conference report by adding provisions which permit States to raise the speed limit to 65 miles per hour on interstate highway segments located outside any urbanized area having a population of 50,000 or more.

On March 27, 1987, the President vetoed the bill, insisting that funding for highway projects across the country was much too high. See Vote No. 60 by which the Senate overrode the veto upon reconsideration of Vote No. 51, by which the Senate earlier had sustained the veto. (See also Vote Nos. 50-59 on procedural motions pertaining to the motion to reconsider.)

H.R. 2 (S. 387): Vote Nos. 14-17, 20, 21, 33, 51-60.
H. Con. Res. 77: Vote No. 35.

RESULT: **CONFERENCE REPORT AGREED TO** ADMINISTRATION POSITION: NAY

YEAS (79)

Democrats (51 or 98%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Gore
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Hollings

Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans (28 or 64%)

Bond
Boschwitz
Chafee
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Domenici
Durenberger
Grassley
Hecht
Karnes
Kassebaum
Kasten
Lugar
McCain
McConnell
Murkowski
Packwood
Pressler
Quayle
Specter
Stafford
Stevens
Symms
Thurmond
Weicker
Wilson

NAYS (17)

Democrats (1 or 2%)

Sanford

Republicans (16 or 36%)

Dole
Evans
Garn
Gramm
Hatch
Hatfield
Helms
Humphrey
McClure
Nickles
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Trible
Wallop
Warner

NOT VOTING (4)

Democrats (2)

Biden—^{2}
Simon—^{2AY}

Republicans (2)

Armstrong—^{2}
Heinz—^{2AY}

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—98%
Republicans—64%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (79)
Democrats—51 or 65%
Republicans—28 or 35%

Against (17)
Democrats—1 or 6%
Republicans—16 or 94%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

MAJOR PROVISIONS

Authorizes a total of $68.5 billion from the Highway Trust Fund over the five-year period, FY 1987-91, for the Federal-aid Highway Program (which includes $15.5 billion to complete the Interstate system); establishes an obligation limitation of $12.35 billion in each of FY 1987-91.

ICE/ISCE: Provides that funds for the Interstate Cost Estimate (ICE) and Interstate Substitute Cost Estimate (ISCE) would be administratively released annually on October 1 if Congress has not acted to approve them.

Apportionment: Retains the current 4R formula and the current separate Interstate and Primary programs; retains the Federal share for Interstate-Primary funds used on the Primary system (other than the Interstate) at not to exceed 75 percent of construction costs; continues the current formula for the Primary program through FY 1991; provides that the Federal share of a highway emergency relief project would be 100 percent for emergency work done in the first 30 days after the occurrence.

Minimum Allocation: Adds total allocations as well as apportionments to the calculation of the 85 percent minimum funds; makes this provision permanent and authorizes the minimum allocation for FY 1987-91; allows States to expend 1.5 percent of their minimum allocation for transportation planning in urban areas and 1.5 percent for research and planning.

Interstate Discretionary Funds: Revises the priority for the availability of Interstate Construction funds; sets aside $200 million annually from Interstate 4R funds for discretionary projects; directs the Secretary to give priority consideration to projects costing more than $10 million in high-volume urban routes or high truck-volume routes in rural areas.

Availability: Makes interstate construction and substitution funds available in a State for two years; provides for three-year availability of Interstate 4R funds; permits a State to reduce their availability to one year.

Interstate System Resurfacing: Requires a reduction of up to ten percent of a State's Interstate portion of the Interstate-Primary apportionment for not adequately maintaining the Interstate System.

Bridge Replacement Funds: Increases the amount set aside for the discretionary bridge program to $225 million annually in FY 1987-91; establishes an off-system bridge program to permit a State to credit State-only financed off-system bridge replacement and rehabilitation projects toward its share of the cost of other Federal-aid bridge projects.

Highway Trust Fund: Extends the present Highway Trust Fund excise taxes and the authority to spend from the trust fund through FY 1992; extends the general exemptions from the highway excise taxes through FY 1993 (except for taxicab fuels); extends the gasohol exemption through FY 1993; makes the heavy vehicle use tax applicable to trucks registered in Canada and Mexico at a rate of 75 percent.

Right-of-Way Donation: Allows 100 percent of a private contribution of right-of-way to be credited at its fair market value at the time of donation to the State's matching share for the project; permits land donations for a prospective highway project in advance of the environmental and planning process; and encourages the promotion of joint projects where private citizens and governmental entities participate in the cost of projects.

Vehicle Weight Limitations: Withholds the Interstate construction portion of Federal-aid Interstate-Primary funds for vehicle weight violations and provides that withheld funds would not lapse if they were subsequently released and obligated within the normal four-year availability period.

Toll Facilities: Establishes a pilot program under which seven noninterstate toll facilities could receive a Federal share of up to 35 percent of the cost of constructing, operating, and maintaining these facilities.

Strategic Highway Program: Establishes a Strategic Highway Research Program with funding to come from the State apportionments at a level of approximately $30 million per year through FY 1991.

Disadvantaged Business Enterprise (DBE) Program: Continues the DBE Program through FY 1991 to encourage the participation of disadvantaged business enterprises in the highway program.

Combined Road Plan Demonstration Program: Authorizes the Secretary to conduct a combined road demonstration program under which up to five States would participate in a block grant program for Federal-aid Secondary, Federal-aid Urban, and off-system, Urban, and Secondary Bridge projects.

Demonstration Projects: Contains an additional $178 million annually for specified demonstration projects with a State non-Federal match requirement of $71 million.

Territorial Highways: Authorizes a Federal-aid system in each territory similar to the Primary system; places a $5 million fiscal year cap on emergency relief funds available in the territories.

Bicycle Projects: Permits States to use Federal-aid highway funds to design and construct bicycle facilities.

Emergency Relief Cap: Raises, retroactively to disasters occurring after December 31, 1985, the emergency relief cap from $30 million to $100 million per disaster per State.

Historic Bridges: Makes reasonable costs associated with mitigating harm to an historic bridge eligible for Federal-aid bridge funds if the bridge remains part of the highway system.

Wildflowers: Requires, generally, that .25 percent of Federal-aid highway funds expended for landscaping on a project be used to plant wildflowers or seedlings.

Highway Safety: Authorizes $126 million in each FY 1987-91 for highway safety activities of the National Highway Traffic Safety Administration.

Urban Mass Transit: Authorizes a total of $18.9 billion for the Federal Mass Transit Assistance programs through FY 1991; calls for a feasibility study to implement tactile mobility aids in DOT projects; authorizes the establishment of a Rural Transit Assistance Program; requires new assembly facilities for transit rolling stock to increase their domestic content from 50 percent to 60 percent by 1991.

Uniform Relocation Assistance and Real Property Acquisition: Reforms the Uniform Relocation Assistance and Real Property Acquisition Policies Act to make its administration more equitable and efficient at all levels of government.

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 34

100th Congress
1st Session

March 19, 1987, 6:32 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-3505

JAPANESE-U.S. SEMICONDUCTOR AND TELECOMMUNICATIONS AGREEMENTS

BILL NO.: S. Res. 164

SUBJECT: **Adoption of the resolution which states the sense of the Senate that (1) the President should take all appropriate actions under section 301 of the Trade Act to remedy and prevent further violations by Japan of the trade agreement dealing with semiconductors signed with the U.S. on September 2, 1986, to compensate the U.S. for the harm suffered due to Japan's noncompliance, and to prevent further injury to the U.S.; and such actions should serve to increase international semiconductor trade, penalize those who have violated the agreement, and be directed so as to avoid any adverse effects on U.S. semiconductor users; and (2) declares that the President should communicate with the government of Japan to insure that Japan fulfills its commitment under the terms of the Market Opening Sector Specific telecommunications negotiations for 33 percent equity participation by foreign firms in any consortium formed to compete with Kotusai Denshin Denwa in providing international telecommunications services via a fiber optics trans-Pacific cable from Japan to the U.S. through Alaska.**

S. Res. 164: Vote No. 34.

RESULT: **RESOLUTION AGREED TO**

YEAS (93)

Democrats (50 or 100%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Burdick
Byrd
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Gore
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Hollings
Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans (43 or 100%)

Bond
Boschwitz
Chafee
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Evans
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hatfield
Hecht
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes
Kassebaum
Kasten
Lugar
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Packwood
Pressler
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Specter
Stafford
Stevens
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Warner
Weicker
Wilson

NAYS (0)

Democrats (0 or 0%)

Republicans (0 or 0%)

NOT VOTING (7)

Democrats (4)

Biden—^{2AY}
Bumpers—^{2}
Chiles—^{2}
Simon—^{2}

Republicans (3)

Armstrong—^{2}
Heinz—^{2}
Quayle—^{2}

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 100%
Republicans— 100%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (93)
Democrats— 50 or 54%
Republicans— 43 or 46%

Against (0)
Democrats— 0 or 0%
Republicans— 0 or 0%

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 35

100th Congress
1st Session

March 20, 1987, 12:26 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-3597

SPEED LIMIT INCREASE

BILL NO.: H. Con. Res. 77

SUBJECT: **Adoption of the resolution which makes an enrollment correction in the conference report on the Highway Authorizations bill, (H.R. 2—Vote Nos. 33, 51, and 60) in order to permit States to raise the speed limit to 65 miles per hour on interstate highway segments located outside any urbanized area having a population of 50,000 or more.**

H. Con. Res. 77: Vote No. 35.

RESULT: **CONCURRENT RESOLUTION AGREED TO**

YEAS (60)

Democrats
(33 or 77%)

Baucus
Bentsen
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dodd
Exon
Fowler
Gore
Graham

Harkin
Heflin
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Matsunaga
Melcher
Moynihan
Nunn
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sasser
Shelby
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans
(27 or 71%)

Bond
Cochran
D'Amato
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Gramm
Hatch
Hecht
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes
Kassebaum
Kasten
Lugar
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Pressler
Rudman
Simpson
Stevens
Symms
Thurmond
Wilson

NAYS (21)

Democrats
(10 or 23%)

Adams
Glenn
Hollings
Lautenberg
Mikulski
Mitchell
Pell
Proxmire
Sarbanes
Simon

Republicans
(11 or 29%)

Boschwitz
Chafee
Cohen
Evans
Hatfield
Packwood
Roth
Specter
Trible
Warner
Weicker

NOT VOTING (17)

Democrats (10)

Biden—2
Bingaman—2PY
Chiles—2
Dixon—2AN
Ford—2
Inouye—2
Leahy—2PY
Metzenbaum—2
Pryor—2AY
Sanford—2

Republicans (7)

Armstrong—2
Danforth—2
Garn—2AY
Grassley—2
Heinz—2PN
Quayle—2
Wallop—2PY

LIVE PAIRS (2)

PRESENT AND GIVING:	RECEIVING:
Levin (PN)	Bingaman (PY)
Stafford (PN)	Leahy (PY)

GENERAL PAIRS

Wallop-Heinz

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 77%
Republicans— 71%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (60)
Democrats— 33 or 55%
Republicans— 27 or 45%

Against (21)
Democrats— 10 or 48%
Republicans— 11 or 52%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 36

100th Congress
1st Session

March 23, 1987, 5:53 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-3689

CONTRA AID MORATORIUM
(CLOTURE)

BILL NO.: H.J. Res. 175

SUBJECT: **Reid, et al., motion to close further debate on the motion to proceed to consideration of the joint resolution which imposes a moratorium on U.S. assistance for the Nicaraguan democratic resistance (Contras) until there has been a full and adequate accounting for previous assistance.** (See also Vote Nos. 37 and 38.)

NOTE: The cloture petititon, presented on March 19, 1987, was signed by Senators Reid, Mikulski, Ford, Conrad, Daschle, Adams, Metzenbaum, Proxmire, Pryor, Sanford, Harkin, Sasser, Inouye, Mitchell, Cranston, Exon, Pell, Byrd, Sarbanes, and Moynihan.

H.J. Res. 175: Vote No. 36-38.

RESULT: CLOTURE MOTION REJECTED, 3/5THS NOT HAVING VOTED IN THE AFFIRMATIVE

YEAS (46)

Democrats (39 or 76%)

- Adams
- Baucus
- Biden
- Bradley
- Bumpers
- Burdick
- Byrd
- Conrad
- Cranston
- Daschle
- DeConcini
- Dodd
- Exon
- Ford
- Fowler
- Glenn
- Gore
- Inouye
- Kennedy
- Kerry
- Lautenberg
- Leahy
- Levin
- Matsunaga
- Melcher
- Metzenbaum
- Mikulski
- Mitchell
- Moynihan
- Pell
- Proxmire
- Pryor
- Reid
- Rockefeller
- Sanford
- Sarbanes
- Sasser
- Simon
- Wirth

Republicans (7 or 18%)

- Chafee
- Durenberger
- Hatfield
- Packwood
- Specter
- Stafford
- Weicker

NAYS (45)

Democrats (12 or 24%)

- Bentsen
- Boren
- Breaux
- Chiles
- Dixon
- Graham
- Heflin
- Hollings
- Johnston
- Nunn
- Shelby
- Stennis

Republicans (33 or 83%)

- Armstrong
- Bond
- Cochran
- Cohen
- D'Amato
- Domenici
- Evans
- Gramm
- Grassley
- Hecht
- Heinz
- Helms
- Humphrey
- Karnes
- Kassebaum
- Kasten
- Lugar
- McCain
- McClure
- McConnell
- Murkowski
- Nickles
- Pressler
- Quayle
- Roth
- Rudman
- Simpson
- Stevens
- Thurmond
- Trible
- Wallop
- Warner
- Wilson

NOT VOTING (9)

Democrats (3)

- Bingaman—2AY
- Harkin—2
- Riegle—2

Republicans (6)

- Boschwitz—2AN
- Danforth—2
- Dole—2
- Garn—2
- Hatch—2AN
- Symms—2

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 76%
Republicans— 83%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (46)
Democrats— 39 or 85%
Republicans— 7 or 15%

Against (45)
Democrats— 12 or 27%
Republicans— 33 or 73%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 37

100th Congress
1st Session

March 24, 1987, 3:05 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-3721

CONTRA AID MORATORIUM
(CLOTURE)

BILL NO.: H.J. Res. 175

SUBJECT: **Byrd, et al., second motion to close further debate on the Byrd motion to proceed to consideration of the joint resolution which imposes a moratorium on U.S. assistance for the Nicaraguan democratic resistance (Contras) until there has been a full and adequate accounting for previous assistance.** (See also Vote Nos. 36 and 38.)

NOTE: The cloture petition, presented on March 20, 1987, was signed by Senators Byrd, Cranston, Conrad, Burdick, Wirth, Moynihan, Bingaman, Rockefeller, Pell, Kerry, Leahy, Pryor, Gore, Ford, Daschle, and Kennedy.

H.J. Res. 175: Vote Nos. 36-38.

RESULT: CLOTURE MOTION REJECTED, 3/5THS NOT HAVING VOTED IN THE AFFIRMATIVE

YEAS (50)

Democrats (43 or 80%)

Adams
Baucus
Biden
Bingaman
Bradley
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Gore
Harkin
Inouye
Kennedy

Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Simon
Wirth

Republicans (7 or 15%)

Chafee
Durenberger
Hatfield
Packwood
Specter
Stafford
Weicker

NAYS (50)

Democrats (11 or 20%)

Bentsen
Boren
Breaux
Chiles
Graham
Heflin
Hollings
Johnston
Nunn
Shelby
Stennis

Republicans (39 or 85%)

Armstrong
Bond
Boschwitz
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Evans
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hecht
Heinz
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes
Kassebaum

Kasten
Lugar
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Pressler
Quayle
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Stevens
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Warner
Wilson

NOT VOTING (0)

Democrats (0) **Republicans (0)**

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 80%
Republicans— 85%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (50)
Democrats— 43 or 86%
Republicans— 7 or 14%

Against (50)
Democrats— 11 or 22%
Republicans— 39 or 78%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 38

100th Congress
1st Session

March 25, 1987, 12:05 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-3796

CONTRA AID MORATORIUM
(CLOTURE)

BILL NO.: H.J. Res. 175

SUBJECT: **Byrd, et al., third motion to close further debate on the Byrd motion to proceed to consideration of the joint resolution which imposes a moratorium on U.S. assistance for the Nicaraguan democratic resistance (Contras) until there has been a full and adequate accounting for previous assistance. (See also Vote Nos. 36 and 37.)**

NOTE: The cloture petition, presented on March 23, 1987, was signed by Senators Byrd, Matsunaga, Sasser, Mikulski, Pell, Exon, Adams, Sanford, Simon, Inouye, Biden, Rockefeller, Baucus, Glenn, Levin, Sarbanes, Fowler, Wirth, Moynihan, and Proxmire.

H.J. Res. 175: Vote Nos. 36-38.

RESULT: **CLOTURE MOTION REJECTED, 3/5THS NOT HAVING VOTED IN THE AFFIRMATIVE**

YEAS (54)

Democrats (46 or 85%)

Adams
Baucus
Biden
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Gore
Harkin
Inouye
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Simon
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans (8 or 17%)

Chafee
Durenberger
Hatfield
Heinz
Packwood
Specter
Stafford
Weicker

NAYS (46)

Democrats (8 or 15%)

Bentsen
Breaux
Chiles
Graham
Heflin
Hollings
Johnston
Shelby

Republicans (38 or 83%)

Armstrong
Bond
Boschwitz
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Evans
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hecht
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes
Kassebaum
Kasten
Lugar
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Pressler
Quayle
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Stevens
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Warner
Wilson

NOT VOTING (0)

Democrats (0) **Republicans (0)**

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 85%
Republicans— 83%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (54)
Democrats— 46 or 85%
Republicans— 8 or 15%

Against (46)
Democrats— 8 or 17%
Republicans— 38 or 83%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 39

100th Congress
1st Session

March 26, 1987, 10:30 a.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-3917

EUROPEAN COMMUNITY TAX ON SOYBEANS

BILL NO.: S. Con. Res. 21

SUBJECT: **Adoption of the resolution expressing the sense of the Congress that the Administration should (1) vigorously oppose the European Community's (EC) proposal for establishing a consumption tax on vegetable and marine fats and oils (which will affect U.S. exports, primarily soybean products); (2) continue its efforts to ensure that such a tax is not established; and (3) communicate to the EC that the U.S. will view the establishment of such a tax as inconsistent with the EC's obligations under GATT.**

S. Con. Res. 21: Vote No. 39.

RESULT: CONCURRENT RESOLUTION AGREED TO

YEAS (99)

Democrats (54 or 100%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Biden
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Gore
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Hollings
Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Simon
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans (45 or 100%)

Armstrong
Bond
Boschwitz
Chafee
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Evans
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hecht
Heinz
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes
Kassebaum
Kasten
Lugar
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Packwood
Pressler
Quayle
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Specter
Stafford
Stevens
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Warner
Weicker
Wilson

NAYS (0)

Democrats (0 or 0%)

Republicans (0 or 0%)

NOT VOTING (1)

Democrats (0)

Republicans (1)

Hatfield—2

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 100%
Republicans— 100%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (99)
Democrats— 54 or 55%
Republicans— 45 or 45%

Against (0)
Democrats— 0 or 0%
Republicans— 0 or 0%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 40

100th Congress
1st Session

March 26, 1987, 10:56 a.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-3918

CANADIAN TARIFF ON U.S. CORN

BILL NO.: S. Con. Res. 27

SUBJECT: **Adoption of the resolution expressing the sense of Congress that the U.S. Trade Representative should: (1) determine whether the imposition of a Canadian tariff of 84.9 cents per bushel on American corn is inconsistent with Canada's GATT obligations; (2) publish his determination regarding this matter in the Federal Register within 30 days; and (3) if Canada's actions are found to be unjustifiable under GATT, initiate an investigation (under section 301 of the Trade Act) and report the results to the President within 60 days.**

S. Con. Res. 27: Vote No. 40.

RESULT: CONCURRENT RESOLUTION AGREED TO

YEAS (99)

Democrats
(54 or 100%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Biden
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Gore
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Hollings
Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Simon
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans
(45 or 100%)

Armstrong
Bond
Boschwitz
Chafee
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Evans
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hecht
Heinz
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes
Kassebaum
Kasten
Lugar
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Packwood
Pressler
Quayle
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Specter
Stafford
Stevens
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Warner
Weicker
Wilson

NAYS (0)

Democrats
(0 or 0%)

Republicans
(0 or 0%)

NOT VOTING (1)

Democrats (0)

Republicans (1)

Hatfield—2

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 100%
Republicans— 100%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (99)
Democrats— 54 or 55%
Republicans— 45 or 45%

Against (0)
Democrats— 0 or 0%
Republicans— 0 or 0%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 41

100th Congress
1st Session

March 27, 1987, 12:03 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-4038

SAVINGS AND LOAN RECAPITALIZATION

BILL NO.: S. 790 **AMENDMENT NO.:** 64

TITLE: "Competitive Equality Banking Act of 1987"

SUBJECT: **Graham amendment (as a substitute for the Garn amendment No. 58) which would allow a grandfathered nonbank bank to acquire a failing thrift institution in another State if the acquisition is specifically authorized by the laws of the State in which the institution to be acquired is located.**

NOTE: Proponents stated that the Banking Committee had not contemplated allowing nonbank banks to buy failing institutions across State lines when it reported the bill. If the Senate is going to allow nonbank banks to have that authority, then it also should allow States to decide whether they want their thrifts to be bought by out-of-State institutions, since it is their financial structures that are going to be affected. This requirement is the only difference between this substitute and the Garn amendment. Each State, they noted, would have to pass a law allowing this type of transaction only once—not for each transaction.

Opponents pointed out that the Garn amendment is trying to preserve the Garn-St Germain law, which was approved in 1982, permitting failed institutions to be purchased across State lines. This law has rescued a lot of institutions, and saved FDIC and FSLIC a lot of money. The substitute would undo the intent of the Garn amendment by requiring each State to pass a law allowing this type of acquisition, which would be awkward when the buyer of a failing thrift is an out-of-State institution and the State legislature is not in session. To raise the issue of States' rights on this portion of the bill is self-serving unless the same attention is given to the rest of the bill. In fact, the bill intrudes upon States' rights to such a great degree that all fifty governors have expressed opposition to it.

S. 790: Vote Nos. 41-44.

RESULT: AMENDMENT AGREED TO

YEAS (52)

Democrats (50 or 100%)

Adams
Baucus
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Gore
Graham
Heflin
Hollings
Inouye
Johnston
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Simon
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans (2 or 5%)

Cohen
Nickles

NAYS (42)

Democrats (0 or 0%)

Republicans (42 or 95%)

Armstrong
Bond
Boschwitz
Chafee
Cochran
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Evans
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hecht
Heinz
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes
Kassebaum
Kasten
Lugar
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Packwood
Pressler
Quayle
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Specter
Stafford
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Warner
Weicker
Wilson

NOT VOTING (6)

Democrats (4)

Bentsen—2
Biden—3
Harkin—2
Kennedy—2

Republicans (2)

Hatfield—2
Stevens—2

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 100%
Republicans— 95%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (52)
Democrats— 50 or 96%
Republicans— 2 or 4%

Against (42)
Democrats— 0 or 0%
Republicans— 42 or 100%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 42

100th Congress
1st Session

March 27, 1987, 1:30 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-4047

SAVINGS AND LOAN RECAPITALIZATION
(HIGHWAY VETO)

BILL NO.: S. 790 AMENDMENT NO.: 65

TITLE: "Competitive Equality Banking Act of 1987"

SUBJECT: **Byrd motion to table the Dole amendment expressing the sense of the Senate that if the President's veto of the Highway Authorizations bill (H.R. 2) is sustained, the appropriate Senate committees should report a new bill within seven calendar days of the disposition of the veto message.**

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment argued that the Senate should be prepared to report a new highway bill in time for the current construction season if the President's veto is sustained. This is not beyond the Senate's ability, particularly since the issues have been debated at length and are well known by all Senators. The Senate reported the supplemental for the homeless in seven days and also was efficient in handling the Philippines aid legislation. The Administration has already prepared a compromise bill, under which 43 States would fare better than under the conference report. It is wrong, they argued, to criticize the President for vetoing the highway bill, since he is only exercising his constitutional power.

Opponents of the amendment insisted that suggesting that the Senate could report a new highway bill in a week "holds out false hope to the American people." A consensus does not exist to draft a new bill and move it through the five committees of jurisdiction in so short a period of time. Characterizing the bill as a budget buster is false, since it provides for $1 billion less in spending this year than last. It is not over budget, but only exceeds the President's request. Moreover, the Administration's dispute with the bill focuses not on highway projects, but on the Mass Transit Program, which the President would like to abolish. There is no indication that the President would sign a bill with fewer highway projects if it still included mass transit funding from general revenues. Some argued that the bill was vetoed for reasons that have nothing to do with its merits, but only with the President's political standing.

S. 790: Vote Nos. 41-44.

RESULT: MOTION TO TABLE AGREED TO

YEAS (49)			NAYS (45)			NOT VOTING (6)	
Democrats (48 or 96%)		**Republicans (1 or 2%)**	**Democrats (2 or 4%)**	**Republicans (43 or 98%)**		**Democrats (4)**	**Republicans (2)**
Adams	Kerry	Weicker	DeConcini	Armstrong	Kasten	Bentsen—2	Hatfield—2
Baucus	Lautenberg		Heflin	Bond	Lugar	Biden—3	Stevens—2
Bingaman	Leahy			Boschwitz	McCain	Harkin—2	
Boren	Levin			Chafee	McClure	Kennedy—2	
Bradley	Matsunaga			Cochran	McConnell		
Breaux	Melcher			Cohen	Murkowski		
Bumpers	Metzenbaum			D'Amato	Nickles		
Burdick	Mikulski			Danforth	Packwood		
Byrd	Mitchell			Dole	Pressler		
Chiles	Moynihan			Domenici	Quayle		
Conrad	Nunn			Durenberger	Roth		
Cranston	Pell			Evans	Rudman		
Daschle	Proxmire			Garn	Simpson		
Dixon	Pryor			Gramm	Specter		
Dodd	Reid			Grassley	Stafford		
Exon	Riegle			Hatch	Symms		
Ford	Rockefeller			Hecht	Thurmond		
Fowler	Sanford			Heinz	Trible		
Glenn	Sarbanes			Helms	Wallop		
Gore	Sasser			Humphrey	Warner		
Graham	Shelby			Karnes	Wilson		
Hollings	Simon			Kassebaum			
Inouye	Stennis						
Johnston	Wirth						

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion	**Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on**	
	For (49)	*Against* (45)
Democrats— 96%	Democrats— 48 or 98%	Democrats— 2 or 4%
Republicans— 98%	Republicans— 1 or 2%	Republicans— 43 or 96%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 43

100th Congress
1st Session

March 27, 1987, 2:48 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-4054

SAVINGS AND LOAN RECAPITALIZATION

BILL NO.: S. 790 **AMENDMENT NO.:** 67

TITLE: "Competitive Equality Banking Act of 1987"

SUBJECT: **Garn amendment to strike Titles I and II, which contain provisions relating to the regulation of banks and nonbank banks, from the bill.**

NOTE: Proponents argued that passing an FSLIC recapitalization bill is so important that it should not be burdened with the controversial and less urgent provisions included in Titles I and II. The two titles cover the issues of nonbank banks and overall banking structure reform, which could be dealt with more fully in separate legislation. Instead of achieving anything substantive, Titles I and II impose moratoria that prevent competition in the delivery of financial services, fuel the desire for protectionism rather than modernization in the industry, prevent States from making progress in the area of State-chartered institutions, and impair U.S. financial institutions from evolving along modern global trends. In addition, freezing the activities of foreign banks does not equalize competition and was done without input from the Commerce and State Departments. These restrictions will end up costing FSLIC more money, which makes no sense in a recapitalization bill. A proposal to focus just on FSLIC recapitalization received strong support in the Banking Committee.

Opponents countered that the intent of the bill is not just to recapitalize FSLIC, but also to force Congress to reexamine the Nation's financial structure and, in the interim, reinforce the policy of separating banking and commerce. Twelve members of the Banking Committee support this objective, and the Senate has made a commitment to complete these reforms before the moratoria expire. The six titles of the bill are aimed at protecting the U.S. financial and credit system by attacking the nonbank bank loophole. The removal of Title I would allow nonbank banks to proliferate, thus eroding the policy of separating banking and commerce. It also would subvert the rights of States to determine their own banking structure, increase the cost of recapitalizing FSLIC, create new competitive inequities, and undermine the safety of the banking system. Removal of Title II, which places moratoria on granting expanded powers to banks, would surrender Congress' responsibility for writing banking law to the Federal Reserve Board and the courts.

S. 790: Vote Nos. 41-44.

RESULT: **AMENDMENT REJECTED**

YEAS (35)			NAYS (54)			NOT VOTING (11)	
Democrats (3 or 6%)	Republicans (32 or 76%)		Democrats (44 or 94%)		Republicans (10 or 24%)	Democrats (7)	Republicans (4)
Bumpers	Armstrong	Kassebaum	Adams	Lautenberg	D'Amato	Bentsen—2	Cohen—2
Heflin	Bond	Lugar	Baucus	Leahy	Danforth	Biden—3	Hatfield—2
Hollings	Boschwitz	McCain	Bingaman	Levin	Durenberger	Gore—2	Simpson—2
	Chafee	McClure	Boren	Matsunaga	Heinz	Harkin—2	Stevens—2
	Cochran	Murkowski	Bradley	Melcher	Kasten	Johnston—2	
	Dole	Nickles	Breaux	Metzenbaum	McConnell	Kennedy—2	
	Domenici	Packwood	Burdick	Mikulski	Pressler	Reid—2	
	Evans	Quayle	Byrd	Mitchell	Specter		
	Garn	Roth	Chiles	Moynihan	Stafford		
	Gramm	Rudman	Conrad	Nunn	Weicker		
	Grassley	Symms	Cranston	Pell			
	Hatch	Thurmond	Daschle	Proxmire			
	Hecht	Trible	DeConcini	Pryor			
	Helms	Wallop	Dixon	Riegle			
	Humphrey	Warner	Dodd	Rockefeller			
	Karnes	Wilson	Exon	Sanford			
			Ford	Sarbanes			
			Fowler	Sasser			
			Glenn	Shelby			
			Graham	Simon			
			Inouye	Stennis			
			Kerry	Wirth			

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion	Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on	
	For (35)	*Against* (54)
Democrats— 94%	Democrats— 3 or 9%	Democrats— 44 or 81%
Republicans— 76%	Republicans— 32 or 91%	Republicans— 10 or 19%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 44

100th Congress
1st Session

March 27, 1987, 3:17 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-4060

SAVINGS AND LOAN RECAPITALIZATION

BILL NO.: S. 790

TITLE: "Competitive Equality Banking Act of 1987"

SUBJECT: **Passage of the bill which provides new borrowing authority of $7.5 billion for the Federal Savings and Loan Insurance Corporation (FSLIC) to be capitalized through bonds issued by a new Financing Corporation for sale to private investors and backed by the Federal Home Loan Banks, and limits borrowing to $3.75 billion annually; closes the nonbank bank loophole as of March 5, 1987, and restricts the expansion of grandfathered nonbank banks; imposes a one-year moratorium on the expansion of securities, insurance, and real estate activities of banks or bank holding companies; allows emergency interstate bank acquisitions; requires creditors to impose outside limits on adjustable rate mortgage loans; regulates consumer checkholds; requires access to government check cashing services for all consumers; and streamlines credit union operations.**

NOTE: On May 14, 1987, the Senate passed, by voice vote, the House companion bill, H.R. 27, as amended by the text of this bill.

S. 790: Vote Nos. 41-44.
H.R. 27: Vote Nos. 109, 110, 226.

RESULT: **BILL PASSED**

YEAS (79)

Democrats (48 or 100%)

Adams
Baucus
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Gore
Graham
Heflin
Hollings
Inouye
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Simon
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans (31 or 74%)

Bond
Boschwitz
Chafee
Cochran
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Evans
Gramm
Grassley
Heinz
Karnes
Kassebaum
Kasten
Lugar
McCain
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Packwood
Pressler
Quayle
Specter
Stafford
Thurmond
Trible
Warner
Weicker
Wilson

NAYS (11)

Democrats (0 or 0%)

Republicans (11 or 26%)

Armstrong
Garn
Hatch
Hecht
Helms
Humphrey
McClure
Roth
Rudman
Symms
Wallop

NOT VOTING (10)

Democrats (6)

Bentsen—2
Biden—3
Harkin—2
Johnston—2
Kennedy—2
Reid—2AY

Republicans (4)

Cohen—2
Hatfield—2
Simpson—2
Stevens—2

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—100%
Republicans—74%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (79)
Democrats—48 or 61%
Republicans—31 or 39%

Against (11)
Democrats—0 or 0%
Republicans—11 or 100%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

MAJOR PROVISIONS

TITLE I: Closes the nonbank bank loophole by redefining a bank as an institution that has Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation (FDIC) insurance or that takes demand deposits and makes commercial loans; maintains current law exclusions from the bank definition for FSLIC-insured or Federally-chartered thrift institutions and certain institutions operating outside the U.S.; provides further limited exceptions for credit unions, credit card banks, and certain trust companies, industrial banks and loan companies, and other similar institutions.

Effective March 5, 1987, prohibits nonbank banks from commencing new activities and authorizes the Federal Reserve Board (Fed) to require reports from nonbank banks solely to ensure compliance; prohibits a nonbank bank from permitting overdrafts on behalf of an affiliate; allows a grandfathered nonbank bank to acquire a failing thrift institution in another State if specifically authorized by the laws of the State in which the institution to be acquired is located; and, after one year, limits the asset growth rate of nonbank banks to seven percent annually.

Extends to nonmember State-chartered, Federally-insured banks and thrifts, for one year, the Glass-Steagall prohibition against underwriting and distributing securities; grandfathers all arrangements in effect on March 5, 1987.

Allows State-chartered mutual savings and cooperative banks that form holding companies to retain State-authorized powers.

Restricts savings and loan (S&L) holding companies to activities permitted for multiple S&L or bank holding companies; exempts thrifts which become S&L holding companies, and are independently controlled, from certain S&L holding company restrictions, if the parent and subsidiary are under the same Federal insuring agency's jurisdiction and the subsidiary is 100 percent owned by the parent thrift.

Prohibits thrifts owned by a diversified S&L holding company from joint-marketing affiliate products or services unless the activity was being engaged in before March 5, 1987, or is permitted under the Bank Holding Company Act; exempts unitary S&L holding companies formed before March 5, 1987, from the activity restrictions of the Savings and Loan Holding Company Act if the company and its sole thrift subsidiary comply with certain acquisition, location, activity, and overdraft requirements, or meet the qualified thrift lender (QTL) test which requires that a thrift have at least 60 percent of its tangible assets in housing-related investments; and exempts unitary S&L holding companies formed after March 5, if the sole thrift subsidiary meets the qualified thrift lender test.

Allows purchasers of a failing thrift ten years to comply with the QTL test; authorizes the Federal Home Loan Bank Board (FHLBB) to disapprove the purchase of more than ten percent of stock in a previously failing thrift by one purchaser if the thrift's net operating loss carryforward tax benefits would be lost.

Protects the grandfathered authorities of a multiple QTL S&L holding company which acquires a failing FSLIC-insured institution.

Accords unitary S&L holding company status to a S&L holding company which becomes "multiple" due to acquiring a failing thrift under the Garn-St Germain Act, provided that all thrift subsidiaries meet the QTL test.

Gives leasing authority to national banks, to invest in and lease tangible personal property as a financial service.

Establishes a Presidential Commission on Competitiveness in the Financial Services Industry to report, within four months of enactment, recommendations for any needed changes in product/service authorities and regulation of financial companies.

Specifies that not-for-profit organizations organized primarily for political purposes may hold NOW accounts.

TITLE II: Imposes a moratorium, from March 6, 1987, until March 1, 1988, on the expansion of insurance and real estate activities for banks or bank holding companies, and on the approval of securities underwriting under the "principally engaged" loophole in the Glass-Steagall Act; allows Federal agencies to continue to process and rule on bank applications to expand such activities, but delays the effective date of such rulings until the moratorium's expiration.

Prohibits Fed approval of the acquisition of any company, including a State-chartered bank, unless the holding company agrees to limit the insurance activities of the acquired company or institution to those permitted by the Bank Holding Company Act; gives banks reorganizing into holding companies, and bank holding companies making intrastate acquisitions of additional State-chartered banks, two years to comply and allows only renewal of existing policies during that period.

Prohibits foreign banks or companies from expanding activities governed by section 8(c) of the International Banking Act of 1978; and prohibits foreign companies from acquiring additional shares pursuant to section 2(h)(2) of the Bank Holding Company Act.

Freezes national bank insurance agency activities to geographic areas in which they were active as of March 5, 1987.

TITLE III: Provides new borrowing authority of $7.5 billion, limited to $3.75 billion annually, for the FSLIC to be capitalized through bonds issued by a new Financing Corporation for sale to private investors and backed by the Federal Home Loan Banks; and ensures that minority-owned or controlled investment banking firms and bond counsels shall have an opportunity to participate in all such public offerings.

Requires the FHLBB to (1) transmit guidelines to Congress, within 45 days, for dealing with troubled but well-managed thrifts in order to maximize the long-term viability of the thrift industry, and (2) report by January 31, 1989, on the guidelines' effectiveness; directs the FHLBB to utilize Generally Accepted Accounting Principles in determining asset write-downs and reserving, and to report to Congress within six months on actions that have and will be taken to prevent additional thrift insolvencies.

TITLE IV: Authorizes the FDIC and Fed to approve the merger or acquisition by out-of-State institutions of failed or failing banks having at least $500 million in assets; requires State approval of interstate takeovers of failing banks; authorizes the FDIC to convert a failed bank for which it cannot find a buyer into a "Bridge Bank" and operate it as a full service bank for up to three years.

Encourages the FDIC to use its discretionary authority to work with States to save community banks and to negotiate loan sales to area banks; and requires the FDIC to consider the adverse economic impact on local communities of actions taken during liquidation proceedings.

TITLE V: Permanently authorizes the National Credit Union Administration's (NCUA's) conservatorship authority; amends current law to streamline credit union operations; and transfers FTC jurisdiction to the NCUA.

TITLE VI: Requires depository institutions to disclose their check holding policies.

Directs the Fed, within one year of enactment, to adopt interim regulations providing for access to funds deposited by checks within six business days; and within three years of enactment, to adopt final regulations to either (1) improve the check clearing system in order to provide access to funds deposited by checks within four business days; or (2) require access to funds deposited by checks within three business days, but giving the Fed discretion to define categories of exceptions.

Requires banks to provide one day availability of funds from U.S., State, and local government checks; eliminates the Fed's exemption from check presentment fees.

Requires creditors to impose outside limits on adjustable rate mortgage loans.

TITLE VII: Requires banks to cash Federal, State, or local government checks, without charge, for individuals who have obtained an identification card from the bank; allows a reasonable, one-time charge for issuing an identification card.

TITLE VIII: Allows agricultural banks to amortize, over ten years, agricultural loan losses suffered during 1984-91.

TITLE IX: Reaffirms that Federally-insured depository institution deposits are backed by the full faith and credit of the U.S. up to the statutorily prescribed amount.

TITLE X: Requires the GAO Comptroller General to report to Congress by July 1, 1987, on the issuance of and investment in high yield, noninvestment grade bonds by Federally-insured institutions, including the adequacy of current Federal and State laws that regulate investment in such bonds and their role in financing corporate takeovers.

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 45

100th Congress
1st Session

March 30, 1987, 3:52 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-4147

HOUSING AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

BILL NO.: S. 825

AMENDMENT NO.: 69

TITLE: "Housing and Community Development Act of 1987"

SUBJECT: **Riegle-Cranston-D'Amato modified amendment which postpones the implementation of regulations dealing with flood plain management standards; protects State and local officials from liability for complying with the Federal verification system under the Immigration and Naturalization Act of 1986; raises the maximum FHA mortgage ceiling; permanently authorizes and modifies the housing voucher program; requires the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development to issue no more than twice the number of vouchers as certificates in a fiscal year; standardizes administrative fees for certificates and vouchers at 8.2 percent; permits public housing agencies to make annual adjustments to assistance payments under the voucher program; establishes an adjustment pool to compensate for annual adjustments in areas experiencing higher than normal rent increases; requires the Comptroller General to report to Congress by October 30, 1987, on matters relating to the voucher and certificate programs; allows public housing agencies, under certain conditions, to retain a portion of comprehensive improvement assistance; caps UDAG project funding for most projects at $6 million; permits State and local governments to operate the urban homesteading program through qualified nonprofit community organizations; permits the use, under certain circumstances, of CDBG grants for 911 emergency telephone systems; grandfathers Multnomah County, Oregon, as an "urban county" under the CDBG program; and authorizes Lebanon, Pennsylvania, to retain certain land disposition proceeds.**

NOTE: The amendment includes technical and substantive initiatives made by various Senators to the managers of the bill, which subsequently were presented en bloc. Modifications were made to the amendment without debate.

S. 825: Vote Nos. 45-49, 376, 377, 380.

RESULT: **AMENDMENT AGREED TO**

YEAS (75)

Democrats (39 or 100%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Gore
Hollings
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Shelby
Simon
Stennis

Republicans (36 or 100%)

Bond
Boschwitz
Chafee
Cochran
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Evans
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hatfield
Hecht
Helms
Humphrey
Kassebaum
Lugar
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Packwood
Pressler
Quayle
Roth
Rudman
Specter
Stafford
Trible
Wallop
Warner
Weicker
Wilson

NAYS (0)

Democrats (0 or 0%)

Republicans (0 or 0%)

NOT VOTING (25)

Democrats (15)

Biden—3
Bingaman—2
Boren—2AY
Bradley—2
DeConcini—2AY
Graham—2AY
Harkin—2
Heflin—2
Inouye—2
Metzenbaum—2
Mikulski—2
Pell—2AY
Sarbanes—2
Sasser—2
Wirth—2

Republicans (10)

Armstrong—2
Cohen—2
Garn—2
Heinz—2AY
Karnes—2
Kasten—2AY
Simpson—2
Stevens—2
Symms—2
Thurmond—2AY

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 100%
Republicans— 100%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (75)
Democrats— 39 or 52%
Republicans— 36 or 48%

Against (0)
Democrats— 0 or 0%
Republicans— 0 or 0%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 46

100th Congress
1st Session

March 31, 1987, 2:49 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-4207

HOUSING AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

BILL NO.: S. 825

AMENDMENT NO.: 71

TITLE: "Housing and Community Development Act of 1987"

SUBJECT: **Nickles amendment to strike Title V (the Nehemiah Housing Opportunity Program) which authorizes the Secretary of HUD to make grants to nonprofit corporations for noninterest-bearing second mortgages to median income families for the purchase of newly constructed or substantially rehabilitated homes; limits the maximum loan per home to $15,000; requires loan recipients to make a ten percent down payment and repay the loan upon sale or transfer of the home; restricts loan eligibility to first-time buyers in distressed urban areas; and requires the Secretary to annually report to Congress on the program's progress.**

NOTE: Proponents argued that the government has no business creating a new housing program when it cannot afford those it has now. The Nehemiah program's "loans" are really giveaways, since no interest is paid. The main beneficiaries would be middle-income people located in a few large communities. Smaller communities would be denied the program's benefits because developments of at least 50 units are necessary for participation in the program. Lower income people would be largely excluded because a ten percent down payment is required. Better assistance is available to them from FHA, which requires only a five percent down payment. The program, they argued, is not in the budget, is opposed by the Administration, and is unfair to taxpayers in general.

Opponents asserted that the Nehemiah program would assist millions of people who are precluded from buying their first home because they do not have sufficient resources. It also would create stable neighborhoods in areas of severe physical and economic blight. The program is not a giveaway but a loan, secured by a second mortgage and requiring a ten percent down payment. It is carefully targeted to first-time median income buyers. In addition, the program would establish a working relationship among local governments, nonprofit groups, and church groups to identify local housing needs and to sponsor the developments. It would free public housing by making home ownership available to a greater number of people, at less cost than constructing new public housing. The program has strong bipartisan support in the Banking Committee.

S. 825: Vote Nos. 45-49, 376, 377, 380.

RESULT: **AMENDMENT REJECTED**

YEAS (44)

Democrats (9 or 17%)

Bingaman
Boren
Chiles
Conrad
DeConcini
Exon
Nunn
Proxmire
Stennis

Republicans (35 or 78%)

Armstrong
Bond
Boschwitz
Cochran
Cohen
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Evans
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatfield
Hecht
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes
Kassebaum
Kasten
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Nickles
Packwood
Pressler
Quayle
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Warner
Wilson

NAYS (54)

Democrats (44 or 83%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Cranston
Daschle
Dixon
Dodd
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Gore
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Hollings
Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Pell
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Simon
Wirth

Republicans (10 or 22%)

Chafee
D'Amato
Durenberger
Hatch
Heinz
Lugar
Murkowski
Specter
Stafford
Weicker

NOT VOTING (2)

Democrats (1)

Biden—3

Republicans (1)

Stevens—2

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 83%
Republicans— 78%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (44)
Democrats— 9 or 20%
Republicans— 35 or 80%

Against (54)
Democrats— 44 or 81%
Republicans— 10 or 19%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 47

100th Congress
1st Session

March 31, 1987, 3:12 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-4208

HOUSING AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

BILL NO.: S. 825

AMENDMENT NO.: 72

TITLE: "Housing and Community Development Act of 1987"

SUBJECT: **Reid amendment which reduces from 30 percent to 25 percent the amount that elderly persons must contribute from their income to live in low-income assisted housing.**

NOTE: Proponents asserted that many senior citizens cannot afford to pay 30 percent of their income for housing. Consequently, they are forced to live in substandard housing, without the services or the companionship available in assisted housing. Many persons living in assisted housing can afford it only by sacrificing food, medicine, or heat. The cost of the amendment would be less than $500 million, they contended, and would be offset by expected savings in Medicare and Medicaid expenditures, since persons live healthier and longer lives when they have decent housing. The contribution level was raised in 1981 from 25 percent to 30 percent without any debate or consideration of the effect it would have on senior citizens.

Opponents acknowledged that housing and support service programs for the elderly have been subject to a disproportionate amount of budget cutting, but contended that there is no room for a provision that would cost around $500 million. The Senate, they asserted, has been doing as much for senior citizens as possible within existing budget constraints: the transitional housing program in the homeless package was designed to stimulate the development of housing and support services for the elderly; this bill includes $2.3 billion for rental assistance and loans for constructing housing for the elderly, and reauthorizes the Congregate Housing Services Program; and next year, legislation will be on the floor presenting a long-range housing program and policy for the 1990's.

S. 825: Vote Nos. 45-49, 376, 379, 380.

RESULT: AMENDMENT REJECTED

YEAS (43)

Democrats (35 or 66%)

Adams
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Conrad
Daschle
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Gore
Harkin
Hollings
Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Pell
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Simon
Wirth

Republicans (8 or 18%)

Chafee
Cohen
Durenberger
Hatch
McCain
Pressler
Weicker
Wilson

NAYS (55)

Democrats (18 or 34%)

Baucus
Bentsen
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Chiles
Cranston
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Graham
Heflin
Lautenberg
Nunn
Proxmire
Stennis

Republicans (37 or 82%)

Armstrong
Bond
Boschwitz
Cochran
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Evans
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatfield
Hecht
Heinz
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes
Kassebaum
Kasten
Lugar
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Packwood
Quayle
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Specter
Stafford
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Warner

NOT VOTING (2)

Democrats (1)

Biden—^{3}

Republicans (1)

Stevens—^{2}

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 66%
Republicans— 82%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (43)
Democrats— 35 or 81%
Republicans— 8 or 19%

Against (55)
Democrats— 18 or 33%
Republicans— 37 or 67%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 48

100th Congress
1st Session

March 31, 1987, 3:28 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-4208

HOUSING AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

BILL NO.: S. 825

AMENDMENT NO.: 70

TITLE: "Housing and Community Development Act of 1987"

SUBJECT: **Humphrey amendment which terminates the Urban Development Action Grant Program (UDAG).**

NOTE: Proponents claimed that UDAG is nothing more than corporate welfare and a subsidy for multimillion dollar luxury developments. It is opposed by the Administration, and spurs much less private investment than has been claimed, according to a CBO report. If the grants were as effective as the program's supporters claim, the States themselves would be making them. Rather than continue to subsidize inefficient projects, the free market should be allowed to determine where investment is made, and developers should risk their own capital. That would be a much more effective way of creating jobs.

While acknowledging that UDAG is a subsidy, opponents pointed out that it does exactly what Congress created it to do. It provides Federal assistance to distressed cities, spurs significant private investment in areas where developers otherwise would not enter, creates jobs, and broadens the local tax base. In 1986, every Federal dollar spent resulted in $8 in private investment—creating 50,000 construction jobs and 54,000 permanent jobs. UDAG should not be described as a grant program because the money is made available as a long term, low interest loan that must be repaid. UDAG is the only remaining form of Federal assistance to strengthen the partnership between private industry and local government. Moreover, it provides a vital infusion of economic activity to regions that have high unemployment or are responding slowly to the economic recovery. Although examples of excess can be identified in the program, the Banking Committee has developed a new system of project selection to counter this. UDAG is actually in line with the Administration's philosophy, since it works to get the private sector more involved in highly targeted areas.

S. 825: Vote Nos. 45-49, 376, 379, 380.

RESULT: **AMENDMENT REJECTED**

YEAS (23)

Democrats (2 or 4%)

Proxmire
Wirth

Republicans (21 or 47%)

Armstrong
Boschwitz
Cochran
Dole
Gramm
Hecht
Helms
Humphrey
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Pressler
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Symms
Thurmond
Wallop
Warner
Wilson

NAYS (75)

Democrats (51 or 96%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Gore
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Hollings

Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Simon
Stennis

Republicans (24 or 53%)

Bond
Chafee
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Domenici
Durenberger
Evans
Garn
Grassley
Hatch
Hatfield
Heinz
Karnes
Kassebaum
Kasten
Lugar
McCain
Packwood
Quayle
Specter
Stafford
Trible
Weicker

NOT VOTING (2)

Democrats (1)

Biden—3

Republicans (1)

Stevens—2

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 96%
Republicans— 53%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (23)
Democrats— 2 or 9%
Republicans— 21 or 91%

Against (75)
Democrats— 51 or 68%
Republicans— 24 or 32%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 49

100th Congress
1st Session

March 31, 1987, 3:41 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-4215

HOUSING AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

BILL NO.: S. 825

TITLE: "Housing and Community Development Act of 1987"

SUBJECT: **Passage of the bill which extends for three years, through FY 1989, programs authorized under the Housing and Community Development Act of 1974, including the Rehabilitation Loan Program (with no new authorization), the insurance and loan authority for rural single and multifamily housing programs, the urban homesteading program, the Urban Development Action Grant Program, the Community Development Block Grant Program, the elderly and handicapped housing program, and the contract authority for the National Flood Insurance policies; freezes rural housing programs at their current levels; limits increases in flood insurance premiums; permanently extends the 9.25 percent interest rate limitation for the section 202 Elderly and Handicapped Housing Program, the Home Mortgage Disclosure Act, and the authorization for FHA mortgage insurance; provides lower income families residing in public housing projects with an opportunity to purchase their units; establishes a fair housing initiatives demonstration program to prevent or eliminate discriminatory housing practices; and establishes an opportunity grant (Nehemiah) program under which the Secretary of HUD may make grants to nonprofit corporations for noninterest-bearing second mortgage loans to median income families for the purchase of newly-constructed or substantially rehabilitated homes.**

NOTE: On December 21, 1987, the Senate agreed to the House amendments with amendments embodying a House-Senate compromise on the bill. The House, on December 22, 1987, concurred in these amendments thus clearing the bill for the President. Prior to this action, a motion to waive the Budget Act in order to consider the conference report was defeated in the Senate. See Vote Nos. 376, 379, and 380.

S. 825: Vote Nos. 45-49, 376, 379, 380.

RESULT: **BILL PASSED**

YEAS (71)

Democrats (51 or 96%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Gore
Graham
Harkin
Hollings
Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Simon
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans (20 or 44%)

Bond
Chafee
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Durenberger
Hatfield
Hecht
Heinz
Karnes
Kassebaum
Lugar
McCain
McConnell
Murkowski
Packwood
Pressler
Specter
Stafford
Weicker

NAYS (27)

Democrats (2 or 4%)

Heflin
Proxmire

Republicans (25 or 56%)

Armstrong
Boschwitz
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Evans
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Helms
Humphrey
Kasten
McClure
Nickles
Quayle
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Warner
Wilson

NOT VOTING (2)

Democrats (1)

Biden—3

Republicans (1)

Stevens—2

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 96%
Republicans— 56%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (71)
Democrats— 51 or 72%
Republicans— 20 or 28%

Against (27)
Democrats— 2 or 7%
Republicans— 25 or 93%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

MAJOR PROVISIONS

FHA Mortgage Authority: Permanently extends the authorization for FHA mortgage insurance; limits insurance premiums for standard, fixed-rate mortgages to 3.8 percent of the principal obligation and other mortgage premiums to one percent; raises by 30 percent FHA multifamily mortgage limits and FHA's authority to insure adjustable rate mortgages; permits the FHA mortgage ceiling in very high-cost areas to be increased to 150 percent of the statutory amount.

Health Care Facilities: Makes public hospitals, nursing homes, intermediate care facilities, and board and care homes eligible for refinancing mortgage insurance; makes public health facilities eligible for FHA insurance.

User Fees: Prohibits the imposition of user fees on government-sponsored secondary mortgage market agencies.

FHA Title I Regulations: Gives applicants for FHA insurance on property improvement or manufactured home loans under title I of the National Housing Act the option of complying with either the regulations in effect prior to January 15, 1986, or the new regulations published on December 25, 1985; delays the effective date of the new regulations until January 1, 1988, and in the interim, directs HUD to reopen the rule for public comment and report thereon.

Home Equity Conversion: Authorizes a five-year demonstration program of mortgage insurance to help elderly homeowners convert their home equity to income and limits insurance authority to 2,500 mortgages through FY 1991.

Second Mortgages: Permanently extends Fannie Mae's and Freddie Mac's authority to purchase second home mortgages.

Community Development Block Grants (CDBG's): Authorizes CDBG's at $3 billion annually in FY 1987-89; phases out CDBG entitlement for certain communities after FY 1991; permits use of CDBG funds for the 911 emergency number.

Urban Development Action Grants (UDAG's): Authorizes UDAG's at $225 million annually in FY 1988-89; modifies the grant selection criteria so that funds are awarded 65 percent on the basis of the city's distress, the economic impact on the city, and project quality, and 35 percent on project quality alone; awards bonus points to cities that have not received a grant for one or two years; prohibits a business relocating from one UDAG eligible area to another, from obtaining UDAG benefits in the new area, unless no adverse effect can be cited; requires that an applicant community be notified 90 days before funding is withheld, denied, or canceled; caps individual UDAG project funding at $6 million unless the applicant is a UDAG eligible city and the Secretary determines that the project would create or retain permanent jobs at less than the historical average of UDAG funds per job.

Urban Homesteading: Authorizes Urban Homesteading at $12 million annually in FY 1987-89; extends through FY 1989 the local property demonstration program with annual funding authority of $1 million; permits States taking title to Federally-owned properties under the program to use a portion of its administrative funds for administration in non-metropolitan areas and to operate the program through qualified nonprofit community organizations.

Rehabilitation Loan Fees: Prohibits risk premiums or loan fees under the section 312 Rehabilitation Loan Program.

Flood Insurance: Authorizes $37 million annually in FY 1988-89 for flood insurance studies under the National Flood Insurance Act; extends contract authority for national flood insurance policies and limits annual premium increases to 10 percent; extends through FY 1989 the emergency implementation portion and the authority to establish flood risk zones.

Assisted Housing: Authorizes lower income housing assistance programs at $7.51 billion annually in FY 1988-89; establishes a 15-year term for section 8 contracts; sets fees paid to a public housing agency administering Section 8 contracts at 8.5 percent; requires annual adjustment of Section 8 rents; permanently authorizes housing vouchers and provides for a thorough evaluation of the Section 8 voucher and certificate programs.

Rental Rehabilitation/HoDAG: Authorizes $220 million for rental rehabilitation and $100 million for HoDAG development grants; makes housing owned by State or locally-chartered, neighborhood-based nonprofit corporations eligible for rental rehabilitation; permits States to administer the program in rural areas; adjusts the rehabilitation caps to accommodate larger units.

Elderly and Handicapped: Authorizes $595 million annually in FY 1988-89 for elderly and handicapped housing; caps the interest rate on Section 202 loans and notes at 9.25 percent; requires HUD to set aside at least 15 percent of the funds for development of non-elderly handicapped housing.

Section 235 Funding: Permits the continued commitment of funds previously appropriated for the section 235 Homeownership program through FY 1989 (no new funds are authorized).

Rural Housing: Freezes Rural Housing Programs during FY 1988-89 at the current level established for FY 1987; authorizes the Secretary to insure and guarantee no more than a total of $2.033 billion in loans annually in FY 1988-89.

Other Program Extensions: Authorizes the Solar Energy and Energy Conservation Bank and the Neighborhood Development Demonstration Program at such sums as necessary in FY 1988-89, HUD policy development and research at $17 million annually, and the Neighborhood Reinvestment Corporation at $19 million annually; authorizes lower income housing projects at such sums as necessary in FY 1987 and $1.6 billion annually in 1988-89 and the Congregate Housing Program at $7 million in FY 1988 and $13 million in 1989.

Resident Management/Ownership: Allows public housing project residents to form resident management corporations to assume the administrative and maintenance responsibilities of their projects; provides $1.5 million for technical assistance with a project limit of $100,000; gives lower income families residing in public housing projects an opportunity to purchase their dwelling units through a qualifying resident management corporation; requires the Secretary to provide rental or relocation assistance to public housing residents who decide not to purchase.

Fair Housing: Establishes a Fair Housing Initiatives Demonstration Program, authorized at $5 million annually in FY 1988-89, under which the Secretary may enter into contracts or cooperative agreements with public and private entities to carry out programs to prevent or eliminate discriminatory housing practices.

Nehemiah Housing Opportunity Grants: Establishes a new program, authorized at such sums as necessary in FY 1988-89, under which the Secretary may make grants to nonprofit corporations for noninterest-bearing second mortgage loans to median income families for the purchase of newly-constructed or substantially rehabilitated homes; limits the maximum loan per home to $15,000; requires beneficiaries to make a ten percent down payment and to repay the loan upon the sale or transfer of the property; limits eligibility to first time homebuyers with incomes below 115 percent of area median income; establishes grant selection criteria and certain criteria that must be met prior to receiving assistance.

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 50

100th Congress
1st Session

March 31, 1987, 4:35 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-4247

SENATE PROCEDURE
(ATTENDANCE)

SUBJECT: **Byrd motion to instruct the Sergeant at Arms to request the attendance of absent Senators.**

Vote Nos. 22, 23, 32, 50, 258, 261, 306, 316, 319, 322, 334, 381, 388, 391, 394.

RESULT: **MOTION FOR ATTENDANCE AGREED TO**

YEAS (88)

Democrats (53 or 98%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Biden
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Gore
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Hollings
Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Simon
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans (35 or 81%)

Armstrong
Bond
Boschwitz
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hecht
Heinz
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes
Kassebaum
Kasten
Lugar
McCain
McConnell
Murkowski
Packwood
Pressler
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Specter
Stafford
Symms
Thurmond
Trible

NAYS (9)

Democrats (1 or 2%)

Proxmire

Republicans (8 or 19%)

Chafee
McClure
Nickles
Quayle
Wallop
Warner
Weicker
Wilson

NOT VOTING (3)

Democrats (0)

Republicans (3)

Evans—2
Hatfield—2
Stevens—2

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion	**Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on**	
	For (88)	*Against* (9)
Democrats— 98%	Democrats— 53 or 60%	Democrats— 1 or 11%
Republicans— 81%	Republicans— 35 or 40%	Republicans— 8 or 89%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 51

100th Congress
1st Session

April 1, 1987, 11:16 a.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-4357

HIGHWAY AUTHORIZATIONS
(VETO OVERRIDE)

BILL NO.: H.R. 2 (S. 387)

TITLE: "Surface Transportation and Uniform Relocation Assistance Act of 1987"

SUBJECT: **Reconsideration of the vetoed bill which authorizes, for FY 1987-91, $68.6 billion from the Highway Trust Fund for the Federal-aid Highway Program and $18.9 billion for the Federal Urban Mass Transit Program; and permits States to raise the speed limit to 65 miles per hour on interstate highway segments located outside any urbanized area having a population of 50,000 or more.** (See Vote No. 60 by which the Senate overrode the veto upon reconsideration and Vote No. 33 for a summary of the major provisions of the bill.)

H.R. 2 (S. 387): Vote Nos. 14-17, 20, 21, 33, 51-60.

RESULT: **VETO SUSTAINED, 2/3DS NOT HAVING VOTED IN THE AFFIRMATIVE**

ADMINISTRATION POSITION: NAY

YEAS (65)

Democrats (52 or 96%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Biden
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Gore
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Hollings

Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Simon
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans (13 or 28%)

Bond
Cochran
D'Amato
Danforth
Durenberger
Hecht
Heinz
McConnell
Pressler
Specter
Symms
Weicker
Wilson

NAYS (35)

Democrats (2 or 4%)

Byrd
Sanford

Republicans (33 or 72%)

Armstrong
Boschwitz
Chafee
Cohen
Dole
Domenici
Evans
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hatfield
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes
Kassebaum
Kasten

Lugar
McCain
McClure
Murkowski
Nickles
Packwood
Quayle
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Stafford
Stevens
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Warner

NOT VOTING (0)

Democrats (0) **Republicans (0)**

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 96%
Republicans— 72%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (65)
Democrats— 52 or 80%
Republicans— 13 or 20%

Against (35)
Democrats— 2 or 6%
Republicans— 33 or 94%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 52

100th Congress
1st Session

April 1, 1987, 3:32 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-4360

HIGHWAY AUTHORIZATIONS

BILL NO.: H.R. 2 (S. 387)

TITLE: "Surface Transportation and Uniform Relocation Assistance Act of 1987"

SUBJECT: **Byrd motion to table the Dole motion to indefinitely postpone the Byrd motion to reconsider Vote No. 51 by which the Senate sustained the presidential veto of the bill.**

H.R. 2 (S. 387): Vote Nos. 14-17, 20, 21, 33, 51-60.

RESULT: MOTION TO TABLE MOTION TO POSTPONE AGREED TO

YEAS (61)

Democrats (54 or 100%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Biden
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Gore
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Hollings
Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Simon
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans (7 or 15%)

Danforth
Durenberger
Hecht
Heinz
Pressler
Specter
Weicker

NAYS (39)

Democrats (0 or 0%)

Republicans (39 or 85%)

Armstrong
Bond
Boschwitz
Chafee
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Dole
Domenici
Evans
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hatfield
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes
Kassebaum
Kasten
Lugar
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Packwood
Quayle
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Stafford
Stevens
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Warner
Wilson

NOT VOTING (0)

Democrats (0) **Republicans (0)**

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion	**Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on**	
	For (61)	*Against* (39)
Democrats— 100%	Democrats— 54 or 89%	Democrats— 0 or 0%
Republicans— 85%	Republicans— 7 or 11%	Republicans— 39 or 100%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 53

100th Congress
1st Session

April 1, 1987, 4:08 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-4360

HIGHWAY AUTHORIZATIONS

BILL NO.: H.R. 2 (S. 387)

TITLE: "Surface Transportation and Uniform Relocation Assistance Act of 1987"

SUBJECT: **Dole motion to table the Byrd motion to reconsider Vote No. 51 by which the Senate sustained the presidential veto of the bill.**

H.R. 2 (S. 387): Vote Nos. 14-17, 20, 21, 33, 51-60.

RESULT: **MOTION TO TABLE MOTION TO RECONSIDER REJECTED**

YEAS (36)

Democrats (0 or 0%)

Republicans (36 or 78%)

Armstrong
Boschwitz
Chafee
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Dole
Domenici
Evans
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hatfield
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes
Kassebaum
Kasten
Lugar
McCain
McClure
Murkowski
Nickles
Packwood
Quayle
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Stafford
Stevens
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Warner

NAYS (64)

Democrats (54 or 100%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Biden
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Gore
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Hollings
Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Simon
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans (10 or 22%)

Bond
Danforth
Durenberger
Hecht
Heinz
McConnell
Pressler
Specter
Weicker
Wilson

NOT VOTING (0)

Democrats (0)

Republicans (0)

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 100%
Republicans— 78%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (36)
Democrats— 0 or 0%
Republicans— 36 or 100%

Against (64)
Democrats— 54 or 84%
Republicans— 10 or 16%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd. Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 54

100th Congress
1st Session

April 1, 1987, 4:27 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-4361

HIGHWAY AUTHORIZATIONS

BILL NO.: H.R. 2 (S. 387)

TITLE: "Surface Transportation and Uniform Relocation Assistance Act of 1987"

SUBJECT: **Byrd motion to table the Dole motion to postpone until 10:00 a.m., April 2, the Byrd motion to reconsider Vote No. 51 by which the Senate sustained the presidential veto of the bill.**

H.R. 2 (S. 387): Vote Nos. 14-17, 20, 21, 33, 51-60.

RESULT: **MOTION TO TABLE MOTION TO POSTPONE AGREED TO**

YEAS (62)

Democrats (54 or 100%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Biden
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Gore
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Hollings
Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Simon
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans (8 or 18%)

Bond
Danforth
Durenberger
Hecht
Heinz
Pressler
Weicker
Wilson

NAYS (37)

Democrats (0 or 0%)

Republicans (37 or 82%)

Armstrong
Boschwitz
Chafee
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Dole
Domenici
Evans
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hatfield
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes
Kassebaum
Kasten
Lugar
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Packwood
Quayle
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Specter
Stafford
Stevens
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Warner

NOT VOTING (1)

Democrats (0)

Republicans (1)

Wallop—2

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 100%
Republicans— 82%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (62)
Democrats— 54 or 87%
Republicans— 8 or 13%

Against (37)
Democrats— 0 or 0%
Republicans— 37 or 100%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 55

100th Congress
1st Session

April 2, 1987, 10:39 a.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-4409

HIGHWAY AUTHORIZATIONS

BILL NO.: H.R. 2 (S. 387)

TITLE: "Surface Transportation and Uniform Relocation Assistance Act of 1987"

SUBJECT: **Byrd motion to instruct the Sergeant at Arms to request the attendance of absent Senators.**

H.R. 2 (S. 387): Vote Nos. 14-17, 20, 21, 33, 51-60.

RESULT: **MOTION FOR ATTENDANCE AGREED TO**

YEAS (94)

Democrats (53 or 98%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Biden
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Gore
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Hollings

Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Simon
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans (41 or 89%)

Armstrong
Boschwitz
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Evans
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hatfield
Hecht
Heinz
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes
Kassebaum

Kasten
Lugar
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Packwood
Pressler
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Specter
Stafford
Stevens
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Warner
Wilson

NAYS (6)

Democrats (1 or 2%)

Proxmire

Republicans (5 or 11%)

Bond
Chafee
Quayle
Wallop
Weicker

NOT VOTING (0)

Democrats (0)

Republicans (0)

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 98%
Republicans— 89%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (94)
Democrats— 53 or 56%
Republicans— 41 or 44%

Against (6)
Democrats— 1 or 17%
Republicans— 5 or 83%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 56

100th Congress
1st Session

April 2, 1987, 11:08 a.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-4410

HIGHWAY AUTHORIZATIONS

BILL NO.: H.R. 2 (S. 387)

TITLE: "Surface Transportation and Uniform Relocation Assistance Act of 1987"

SUBJECT: **Byrd motion to table the Dole motion to postpone until 5:00 p.m., April 3, the Byrd motion to reconsider Vote No. 51 by which the Senate sustained the presidential veto of the bill.**

H.R. 2 (S. 387): Vote Nos. 14-17, 20, 21, 33, 51-60.

RESULT: MOTION TO TABLE MOTION TO POSTPONE AGREED TO

YEAS (57)

Democrats (53 or 100%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Biden
Bingaman
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Gore
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Hollings
Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Simon
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans (4 or 9%)

Heinz
Pressler
Weicker
Wilson

NAYS (41)

Democrats (0 or 0%)

Republicans (41 or 91%)

Armstrong
Bond
Boschwitz
Chafee
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Evans
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hatfield
Hecht
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes
Kassebaum
Kasten
Lugar
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Quayle
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Specter
Stafford
Stevens
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Warner

NOT VOTING (2)

Democrats (1)

Boren—2

Republicans (1)

Packwood—2

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 100%
Republicans— 91%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (57)
Democrats— 53 or 93%
Republicans— 4 or 7%

Against (41)
Democrats— 0 or 0%
Republicans— 41 or 100%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 57

100th Congress
1st Session

April 2, 1987, 12:38 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-4410

HIGHWAY AUTHORIZATIONS

BILL NO.: H.R. 2 (S. 387)

TITLE: "Surface Transportation and Uniform Relocation Assistance Act of 1987"

SUBJECT: **Byrd motion to instruct the Sergeant at Arms to request the attendance of absent Senators.**

H.R. 2 (S. 387): Vote Nos. 14-17, 20, 21, 33, 51-60.

RESULT: **MOTION FOR ATTENDANCE AGREED TO**

YEAS (88)

Democrats (51 or 98%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Biden
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Gore
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Hollings
Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Pell
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Simon
Wirth

Republicans (37 or 80%)

Armstrong
Boschwitz
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Garn
Grassley
Hatch
Hatfield
Hecht
Heinz
Helms
Humphrey
Kassebaum
Kasten
Lugar
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Packwood
Pressler
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Specter
Stafford
Stevens
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Warner
Wilson

NAYS (10)

Democrats (1 or 2%)

Proxmire

Republicans (9 or 20%)

Bond
Chafee
Danforth
Evans
Gramm
Karnes
Quayle
Wallop
Weicker

NOT VOTING (2)

Democrats (2)

Nunn—2
Stennis—2

Republicans (0)

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 98%
Republicans— 80%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (88)
Democrats— 51 or 58%
Republicans— 37 or 42%

Against (10)
Democrats— 1 or 10%
Republicans— 9 or 90%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 58

100th Congress
1st Session

April 2, 1987, 1:04 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-4411

HIGHWAY AUTHORIZATIONS

BILL NO.: H.R. 2 (S. 387)

TITLE: "Surface Transportation and Uniform Relocation Assistance Act of 1987"

SUBJECT: **Byrd motion to table the Simpson motion to postpone until 12:00 noon, April 6, the Byrd motion to reconsider Vote No. 51 by which the Senate sustained the presidential veto of the bill.**

H.R. 2 (S. 387): Vote Nos. 14-17, 20, 21, 33, 51-60.

RESULT: MOTION TO TABLE MOTION TO POSTPONE AGREED TO

YEAS (57)

Democrats (54 or 100%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Biden
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Gore
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Hollings
Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Simon
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans (3 or 7%)

Heinz
Pressler
Weicker

NAYS (43)

Democrats (0 or 0%)

Republicans (43 or 93%)

Armstrong
Bond
Boschwitz
Chafee
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Evans
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hatfield
Hecht
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes
Kassebaum
Kasten
Lugar
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Packwood
Quayle
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Specter
Stafford
Stevens
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Warner
Wilson

NOT VOTING (0)

Democrats (0) **Republicans (0)**

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 100%
Republicans— 93%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (57)
Democrats— 54 or 95%
Republicans— 3 or 5%

Against (43)
Democrats— 0 or 0%
Republicans— 43 or 100%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 59

100th Congress
1st Session

April 2, 1987, 1:34 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-4411

HIGHWAY AUTHORIZATIONS

BILL NO.: H.R. 2 (S. 387)

TITLE: "Surface Transportation and Uniform Relocation Assistance Act of 1987"

SUBJECT: **Byrd motion to reconsider Vote No. 51 by which the Senate sustained the presidential veto of the bill.**

H.R. 2 (S. 387): Vote Nos. 14-17, 20, 21, 33, 51-60.

RESULT: **MOTION TO RECONSIDER AGREED TO**

ADMINISTRATION POSITION: NAY

YEAS (59)

Democrats (54 or 100%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Biden
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Gore
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Hollings
Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Simon
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans (5 or 11%)

Durenberger
Heinz
Pressler
Specter
Weicker

NAYS (41)

Democrats (0 or 0%)

Republicans (41 or 89%)

Armstrong
Bond
Boschwitz
Chafee
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Evans
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hatfield
Hecht
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes
Kassebaum
Kasten
Lugar
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Packwood
Quayle
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Stafford
Stevens
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Warner
Wilson

NOT VOTING (0)

Democrats (0) **Republicans (0)**

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion	**Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on**	
	For (59)	*Against* (41)
Democrats— 100%	Democrats— 54 or 92%	Democrats— 0 or 0%
Republicans— 89%	Republicans— 5 or 8%	Republicans— 41 or 100%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 60

100th Congress
1st Session

April 2, 1987, 2:13 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-4412

HIGHWAY AUTHORIZATIONS
(VETO OVERRIDE)

BILL NO.: H.R. 2 (S. 387)

TITLE: "Surface Transportation and Uniform Relocation Assistance Act of 1987"

SUBJECT: **Reconsideration of Vote No. 51 by which the Senate sustained the President's veto of the bill which authorizes, for FY 1987-91, $68.6 billion from the Highway Trust Fund for the Federal-aid Highway Program and $18.9 billion for the Federal Urban Mass Transit Program; and permits States to raise the speed limit to 65 miles per hour on interstate highway segments located outside any urbanized area having a population of 50,000 or more.** (See Vote No. 33 for a summary of the major provisions of the bill.)

NOTE: H.R. 2 became Public Law 100-17, without approval, on April 2, 1987.

H.R. 2 (S. 387): Vote Nos. 14-17, 20, 21, 33, 51-60.

RESULT: **VETO OVERRIDDEN, 2/3DS HAVING VOTED IN THE AFFIRMATIVE**

ADMINISTRATION POSITION: NAY

YEAS (67)

Democrats (54 or 100%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Biden
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Gore
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Hollings
Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Simon
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans (13 or 28%)

Bond
Cochran
D'Amato
Danforth
Durenberger
Hecht
Heinz
McConnell
Pressler
Specter
Symms
Weicker
Wilson

NAYS (33)

Democrats (0 or 0%)

Republicans (33 or 72%)

Armstrong
Boschwitz
Chafee
Cohen
Dole
Domenici
Evans
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hatfield
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes
Kassebaum
Kasten
Lugar
McCain
McClure
Murkowski
Nickles
Packwood
Quayle
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Stafford
Stevens
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Warner

NOT VOTING (0)

Democrats (0) **Republicans (0)**

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 100%
Republicans— 72%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (67)
Democrats— 54 or 81%
Republicans— 13 or 19%

Against (33)
Democrats— 0 or 0%
Republicans— 33 or 100%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 61

100th Congress
1st Session

April 2, 1987, 3:42 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-4430

JOBS FOR EMPLOYABLE DEPENDENT INDIVIDUALS

BILL NO.: S. 514

TITLE: "Jobs for Employable Dependent Individuals Act"

SUBJECT: **Passage of the bill which amends the Job Training Partnership Act to establish an incentive bonus program that pays States a percentage of Federal welfare savings for educating, training, and placing certain employable dependent individuals in nonsubsidized employment for one year; and permits States to provide year-round training to AFDC/SSI dependent youth under the Summer Youth Jobs Program.**

S. 514: Vote No. 61.

RESULT: **BILL PASSED**

YEAS (99)

Democrats (53 or 100%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Gore
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Hollings
Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Simon
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans (46 or 100%)

Armstrong
Bond
Boschwitz
Chafee
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Evans
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hatfield
Hecht
Heinz
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes
Kassebaum
Kasten
Lugar
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Packwood
Pressler
Quayle
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Specter
Stafford
Stevens
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Warner
Weicker
Wilson

NAYS (0)

Democrats (0 or 0%)

Republicans (0 or 0%)

NOT VOTING (1)

Democrats (1)

Biden—2AY

Republicans (0)

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:
1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:
AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 100%
Republicans— 100%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (99)
Democrats— 53 or 54%
Republicans— 46 or 46%

Against (0)
Democrats— 0 or 0%
Republicans— 0 or 0%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

MAJOR PROVISIONS

Incentive Bonus Program: Amends the Job Training Partnership Act (JTPA) to add a new title V, the Jobs for Employable Dependent Individuals (JEDI) Incentive Bonus program, under which each State would be entitled to the payment of a bonus (paid for out of Federal welfare savings resulting from this program) for successful job placements of recipients of certain education and training programs in excess of the number of such placements in FY 1986; makes eligible for the bonus heads of households who receive AFDC, SSI, or refugee assistance (under the Immigration and Nationality Act) and who meet either of the following two criteria: (1) the individual must have received benefits continuously for two years prior to education and training and have no work experience for the preceding year, or (2) the individual must be less than 22 years of age, have not completed secondary school or its equivalent, and have no work experience for the preceding year.

Requires that in order for a State to receive an incentive bonus for these individuals, the individuals must (1) participate in education, training, and support activities, (2) be placed in nonsubsidized employment (or in the case of persons with disabilities, nonsubsidized employment or supported employment as defined under the 1973 Rehabilitation Act) for at least one year after participation in job preparation activities, (3) earn income equal to or greater than the benefits previously received under AFDC, SSI, or the Immigration and Nationality Act, and (4) no longer qualify for benefits under those programs.

Sets forth the following two methods for determining the amount of the placement bonus base: (1) for the long term dependent, the placement bonus base is the average of the Federal benefits received by an individual for the two years prior to the determination that the individual was eligible to be counted by a State for an incentive bonus, and (2) for the at-risk individual, the placement bonus is the annual amount the individual would have been entitled to at the time of the determination for eligibility; provides that for each successful placement of an individual, the States would receive 75 percent of the placement bonus base the first year, 50 percent the second year, and 25 percent the third year.

Requires a governor to distribute 15 percent of the funds to participating State agencies for the cost of establishing and maintaining systems necessary for the operation of the JEDI program and the remaining funds to participating agencies, private industry councils, and service providers, including community-based organizations who contribute to the JEDI program.

Reallocation of Unspent Balances: Requires that JTPA Title IIA allocations be reduced in States with unexpended balances in excess of 20 percent of the funds available for the coming program year.

Program Evaluation: Requires the Secretary to submit a thorough evaluation of the JEDI Act within three years of enactment.

AFDC/SSI and Summer Youth Programs: Replaces the currently authorized Summer Youth Program with the Administration's proposal for a program allowing States and local areas to choose a mix of services, including establishment of a more intensive year-round program for AFDC or SSI recipients 14 to 21 years of age, and/or continuing the existing subsidized summer jobs program for economically disadvantaged youth.

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 62

100th Congress
1st Session

April 3, 1987, 10:01 a.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-4503

MEXICO ANTI-DRUG EFFORT CERTIFICATION

BILL NO.: S.J. Res. 92

SUBJECT: **Pell motion to table the resolution which disapproves the President's certification, as required by Section 481(h) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, that Mexico has cooperated fully in matters relating to drug interdiction and eradication efforts and in preventing and punishing the laundering of drug-related profits or monies.**

NOTE: Under the Anti-Drug Abuse Act of 1986 (P.L. 99-570), the President is required to certify to Congress by March 1 of each year that 24 specified countries, which are recipients of U.S. aid, have in the past year cooperated fully with the U.S. in its effort to eradicate the drug problem or be subject to stiff sanctions, including a 50 percent reduction in U.S. foreign aid. The Act further provides for congressional disapproval of any certification by passage of a joint resolution of disapproval, within 30 calendar days of its receipt, under expedited procedures. The President submitted the required certification with respect to Mexico on March 1. Because Congress did not act before the expiration of the 30-day period, or April 2, the disapproval resolution, if passed, would have had no punitive effect.

S.J. Res. 92: Vote No. 62.

RESULT: **MOTION TO TABLE AGREED TO**

YEAS (49)

Democrats (28 or 60%)

Adams
Bentsen
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Bumpers
Burdick
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
Dodd
Glenn
Gore
Harkin
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mitchell
Moynihan
Pell
Pryor
Reid
Sanford
Sarbanes
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans (21 or 53%)

Bond
Boschwitz
Chafee
Cochran
Danforth
Durenberger
Evans
Hatch
Hatfield
Humphrey
Kassebaum
Lugar
McCain
McConnell
Packwood
Quayle
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Stafford
Stevens

NAYS (38)

Democrats (19 or 40%)

Baucus
Breaux
Byrd
DeConcini
Dixon
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Graham
Heflin
Hollings
Kerry
Mikulski
Nunn
Proxmire
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sasser
Shelby

Republicans (19 or 48%)

Armstrong
Cohen
D'Amato
Dole
Gramm
Grassley
Heinz
Helms
Karnes
Kasten
Murkowski
Nickles
Pressler
Specter
Symms
Trible
Wallop
Warner
Wilson

NOT VOTING (13)

Democrats (7)

Biden—2
Chiles—2
Inouye—2
Johnston—2
Kennedy—2
Matsunaga—2
Simon—2

Republicans (6)

Domenici—2
Garn—2
Hecht—2
McClure—2
Thurmond—2AN
Weicker—2

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 60%
Republicans— 53%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (49)
Democrats— 28 or 57%
Republicans— 21 or 43%

Against (38)
Democrats— 19 or 50%
Republicans— 19 or 50%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 63

100th Congress
1st Session

April 3, 1987, 11:01 a.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-4512

PANAMA ANTI-DRUG EFFORT CERTIFICATION

BILL NO.: S.J. Res. 91

SUBJECT: **Pell motion to table the resolution which disapproves the President's certification, as required by Section 481(h) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, that Panama has cooperated fully in matters relating to drug interdiction and eradication efforts and in preventing and punishing the laundering of drug-related profits or monies.** (Subsequently, the disapproval resolution was passed by voice vote. See also Vote No. 65.)

NOTE: Under the Anti-Drug Abuse Act of 1986 (P.L. 99-570), the President is required to certify to Congress by March 1 of each year that 24 specified countries, which are recipients of U.S. aid, have in the past year cooperated fully with the U.S. in its effort to eradicate the drug problem or be subject to stiff sanctions, including a 50 percent reduction in U.S. foreign aid. The Act further provides for congressional disapproval of any certification by passage of a joint resolution of disapproval, within 30 calendar days of its receipt, under expedited procedures. The President submitted the required certification with respect to Panama on March 1. Because Congress did not act before the expiration of the 30-day period, or April 2, the disapproval resolution has no punitive effect. See also Vote No. 65 by which the Senate, on April 7, tabled a Helms amendment to make the disapproval resolution retroactive to before April 1, 1987.

S.J. Res. 91: Vote No. 63.

RESULT: MOTION TO TABLE FAILED

YEAS (31)		NAYS (58)		NOT VOTING (11)	
Democrats (20 or 42%)	**Republicans (11 or 27%)**	**Democrats (28 or 58%)**	**Republicans (30 or 73%)**	**Democrats (6)**	**Republicans (5)**
Adams	Bond	Baucus	Armstrong	Biden—^{2}	Domenici—^{2}
Bentsen	Boschwitz	Bingaman	Cochran	Chiles—^{2}	Garn—^{2}
Boren	Chafee	Breaux	Cohen	Inouye—^{2}	Hecht—^{2}
Bradley	Danforth	Burdick	D'Amato	Johnston—^{2}	Thurmond—^{2AN}
Bumpers	Durenberger	Byrd	Dole	Kennedy—^{2}	Weicker—^{2}
Daschle	Evans	Conrad	Gramm	Simon—^{2}	
Dodd	Hatfield	Cranston	Grassley		
Exon	Kassebaum	DeConcini	Hatch		
Glenn	Lugar	Dixon	Heinz		
Harkin	Packwood	Ford	Helms		
Lautenberg	Stafford	Fowler	Humphrey		
Leahy		Gore	Karnes		
Matsunaga		Graham	Kasten		
Melcher		Heflin	McCain		
Pell		Hollings	McClure		
Pryor		Kerry	McConnell		
Reid		Levin	Murkowski		
Sanford		Metzenbaum	Nickles		
Stennis		Mikulski	Pressler		
Wirth		Mitchell	Quayle		
		Moynihan	Roth		
		Nunn	Rudman		
		Proxmire	Simpson		
		Riegle	Specter		
		Rockefeller	Stevens		
		Sarbanes	Symms		
		Sasser	Trible		
		Shelby	Wallop		
			Warner		
			Wilson		

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—58%
Republicans—73%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (31)
Democrats—20 or 65%
Republicans—11 or 35%

Against (58)
Democrats—28 or 48%
Republicans—30 or 52%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 64

100th Congress
1st Session

April 3, 1987, 12:12 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-4526

BAHAMAS ANTI-DRUG EFFORT CERTIFICATION

BILL NO.: S.J. Res. 90

SUBJECT: **Pell motion to table the resolution which disapproves the President's certification, as required by Section 481(h) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, that the Commonwealth of the Bahamas has cooperated fully in matters relating to drug interdiction and eradication efforts and in preventing and punishing the laundering of drug-related profits or monies.**

NOTE: Under the Anti-Drug Abuse Act of 1986 (P.L. 99-570), the President is required to certify to Congress by March 1 of each year that 24 specified countries, which are recipients of U.S. aid, have in the past year cooperated fully with the U.S. in its effort to eradicate the drug problem or be subject to stiff sanctions, including a 50 percent reduction in U.S. foreign aid. The Act further provides for congressional disapproval of any certification by passage of a joint resolution of disapproval, within 30 calendar days of its receipt, under expedited procedures. The President submitted the required certification with respect to the Bahamas on March 1. Because Congress did not act before the expiration of the 30-day period, or April 2, the disapproval resolution, if passed, would have had no punitive effect.

S.J. Res. 90: Vote No. 64.

RESULT: MOTION TO TABLE AGREED TO

YEAS (54)			**NAYS (34)**		**NOT VOTING (12)**	
Democrats (32 or 67%)		**Republicans (22 or 55%)**	**Democrats (16 or 33%)**	**Republicans (18 or 45%)**	**Democrats (6)**	**Republicans (6)**
Boren	Leahy	Bond	Adams	Armstrong	Biden—	Domenici—^{2}
Bradley	Levin	Boschwitz	Baucus	Cochran	Chiles—	Durenberger—^{2}
Breaux	Matsunaga	Chafee	Bentsen	Dole	Inouye—^{4}	Garn—^{2}
Bumpers	Melcher	Cohen	Bingaman	Grassley	Johnston—^{2}	Hecht—^{2}
Burdick	Metzenbaum	D'Amato	Byrd	Helms	Kennedy—^{2}	Thurmond—^{2AN}
Cranston	Mikulski	Danforth	Conrad	Humphrey	Simon—^{2}	Weicker—^{2}
Daschle	Mitchell	Evans	Dixon	Karnes		
DeConcini	Moynihan	Gramm	Gore	Kasten		
Dodd	Nunn	Hatch	Heflin	McClure		
Exon	Pell	Hatfield	Hollings	McConnell		
Ford	Pryor	Heinz	Kerry	Nickles		
Fowler	Reid	Kassebaum	Proxmire	Pressler		
Glenn	Riegle	Lugar	Rockefeller	Roth		
Graham	Sanford	McCain	Sarbanes	Specter		
Harkin	Stennis	Murkowski	Sasser	Symms		
Lautenberg	Wirth	Packwood	Shelby	Trible		
		Quayle		Wallop		
		Rudman		Wilson		
		Simpson				
		Stafford				
		Stevens				
		Warner				

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 67%
Republicans— 55%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (54)
Democrats— 32 or 59%
Republicans— 22 or 41%

Against (34)
Democrats— 16 or 47%
Republicans— 18 or 53%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 65

100th Congress
1st Session

April 7, 1987, 3:01 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-4667

DAIRY COMMISSION REPORT EXTENSION

BILL NO.: S. 410 (H.R. 1123) **AMENDMENT NO.:** 82

SUBJECT: **Leahy motion to table the Helms amendment which makes retroactive to before April 1, 1987, the disapproval of the President's certification (Vote No. 63), as required by Section 481(h) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, that Panama has cooperated fully in matters relating to drug interdiction and eradication efforts and in preventing and punishing the laundering of drug-related profits or monies, thereby effectively cutting off 50 percent of U.S. aid to Panama for FY 1987.** (Subsequently, the Senate passed the House bill after substituting its text with that of S. 410, as amended.)

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment pointed out that it simply restates what the Senate did last week. Sixty-five percent of Senators present voted against the Presidential certification that Panama was fully cooperating in an effort to combat the illicit drug trade. That vote, however, had no effect on cutting off aid because it occurred two days after the deadline for congressional action on the Presidential certification. This amendment would rectify that situation so that the 50 percent cut in aid to Panama would go into effect as mandated by the provision passed by Congress last fall. Some felt that the President and his State Department had made a sham of the certification process intended by Congress to give clout to U.S. international narcotics policy, but had reservations about singling out one country when many others were likewise involved. Panama, however, is deeply involved, they claimed, in transshipment of drugs and in money laundering.

Opponents of the amendment asserted that the earlier vote had fired a symbolic warning shot to Panama but this action would precipitate an angry response in Panama, where 10,000 U.S. military personnel are stationed. Decertification would assist the left-wing political opponents of the pro-U.S. moderates. Panama has been cooperative in the apprehension of drug traffickers by the U.S. Customs Service and the Justice Department. A new Panamanian Narcotics Control law was passed in December to address money laundering problems. A cutoff of aid would mainly affect (1) scholarships to economically and socially deprived Panamanian students to study in the U.S., and (2) natural resource management. While some agreed with the substance of the amendment, they objected to attaching it to this bill which would, in effect, kill it. Others maintained that this certification language had been poorly drafted and would be examined during the markup of the foreign aid bill tomorrow.

S. 410 (H.R. 1123): Vote No. 65.

RESULT: **MOTION TO TABLE AGREED TO**

YEAS (49)			NAYS (48)			NOT VOTING (3)	
Democrats (35 or 69%)		Republicans (14 or 30%)	Democrats (16 or 31%)	Republicans (32 or 70%)		Democrats (3)	Republicans (0)
Baucus	Lautenberg	Bond	Bingaman	Armstrong	McCain	Adams—2	
Bentsen	Leahy	Chafee	Bumpers	Boschwitz	McClure	Biden—2	
Boren	Levin	Danforth	Chiles	Cochran	Murkowski	Fowler—2	
Bradley	Matsunaga	Domenici	DeConcini	Cohen	Nickles		
Breaux	Melcher	Durenberger	Dixon	D'Amato	Pressler		
Burdick	Metzenbaum	Evans	Exon	Dole	Roth		
Byrd	Mikulski	Hatfield	Graham	Garn	Rudman		
Conrad	Moynihan	Kassebaum	Heflin	Gramm	Simpson		
Cranston	Nunn	Lugar	Hollings	Grassley	Specter		
Daschle	Pell	McConnell	Kerry	Hatch	Stevens		
Dodd	Reid	Packwood	Mitchell	Hecht	Symms		
Ford	Riegle	Quayle	Proxmire	Heinz	Thurmond		
Glenn	Sanford	Stafford	Pryor	Helms	Trible		
Gore	Sarbanes	Weicker	Rockefeller	Humphrey	Wallop		
Harkin	Simon		Sasser	Karnes	Warner		
Inouye	Stennis		Shelby	Kasten	Wilson		
Johnston	Wirth						
Kennedy							

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion	Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on	
	For (49)	*Against* (48)
Democrats—69%	Democrats—35 or 71%	Democrats—16 or 33%
Republicans—70%	Republicans—14 or 29%	Republicans—32 or 67%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 66

100th Congress
1st Session

April 8, 1987, 11:53 a.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-4789

FTC AUTHORIZATION

BILL NO.: S. 677

SUBJECT: **Byrd motion to instruct the Sergeant at Arms to request the attendance of absent Senators.**

S. 677: Vote Nos. 66-69.

RESULT: **MOTION FOR ATTENDANCE AGREED TO**

YEAS (91)

Democrats (51 or 96%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Gore
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Hollings
Inouye
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Simon
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans (40 or 89%)

Armstrong
Bond
Boschwitz
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Evans
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hatfield
Hecht
Heinz
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes
Kassebaum
Kasten
Lugar
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Nickles
Packwood
Pressler
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Specter
Stafford
Stevens
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Warner

NAYS (7)

Democrats (2 or 4%)

Johnston
Proxmire

Republicans (5 or 11%)

Chafee
Quayle
Wallop
Weicker
Wilson

NOT VOTING (2)

Democrats (1)

Biden—2

Republicans (1)

Murkowski—2

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 96%
Republicans— 89%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (91)
Democrats— 51 or 56%
Republicans— 40 or 44%

Against (7)
Democrats— 2 or 29%
Republicans— 5 or 71%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 67

100th Congress
1st Session

April 8, 1987, 12:18 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-4789

FTC AUTHORIZATION

BILL NO.: S. 677

AMENDMENT NO.: 87

SUBJECT: **Metzenbaum-Rockefeller-Simon modified amendment which requires the FTC to conduct, and report to Congress within one year, a comprehensive study of: (1) the use of potentially unfair or misleading practices in the sale of health insurance to the elderly (MediGap), the relationship of their premiums to the claims actually paid, and the effectiveness of the States in their regulation; and (2) the increase in property and casualty insurance rates to small business owners, local governments, physicians, dentists, and child care centers in the past seven years, focusing on the extent and reasons for such increases, their relationship to actual costs, and the degree of competition for such coverage, and, if the FTC considers it necessary, rate increases for self-insurers may be included.**

NOTE: Proponents asserted that no comprehensive information is available to Congress or the public concerning the dramatic increase in the cost of insurance, which is serious, they argued, because the insurance industry is among the most powerful in the country. Local governments are suffering because insurance premiums are increasing at the same time revenue sharing is being eliminated. Property and casualty insurance rates for small business owners, dentists, and doctors have risen drastically and the demand for child care centers cannot be met because few can afford the insurance. Moreover, MediGap insurance is being sold under misleading and possibly dishonest circumstances that are draining the limited resources of senior citizens. Terms and conditions for policies vary so widely among insurance companies that the public has no basis for comparing policies from different companies, or comprehending policy coverage. The amendment would direct the FTC to complete studies in these areas, which otherwise the Commerce Committee would have the authority to request. Those who argued against the withdrawn amendment (No. 84) that would have removed the existing restriction on open-ended investigations by the FTC, supported this amendment.

Opponents claimed that under current law, the FTC already can investigate these areas if it makes a request to the Commerce Committee. In 1980, Congress decided to permit the FTC to investigate the

(OVER)

S. 677: Vote Nos. 66-69.

RESULT: AMENDMENT AGREED TO

YEAS (80)

Democrats (51 or 94%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Biden
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Gore
Graham
Harkin
Hollings
Inouye
Johnston

Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Simon
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans (29 or 66%)

Boschwitz
Chafee
Cohen
D'Amato
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Evans
Gramm
Grassley
Hatfield
Humphrey
Karnes
Kassebaum
Kasten
Lugar
McCain
McConnell
Packwood
Pressler
Quayle
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Specter
Stafford
Trible
Warner
Wilson

NAYS (18)

Democrats (3 or 6%)

Dixon
Dodd
Heflin

Republicans (15 or 34%)

Armstrong
Bond
Cochran
Danforth
Garn
Hatch
Hecht
Helms
McClure
Nickles
Stevens
Symms
Thurmond
Wallop
Weicker

NOT VOTING (2)

Democrats (0)

Republicans (2)

Heinz-2
Murkowski-2

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—94%
Republicans—66%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (80)	*Against* (18)
Democrats—51 or 64%	Democrats—3 or 17%
Republicans—29 or 36%	Republicans—15 or 83%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

insurance industry only after being instructed to do so by the committees of jurisdiction. Since that arrangement has been adequate, it should not be bypassed by the full Senate. They further pointed out, in arguing against the withdrawn amendment (No. 84), that any attempt to remove the mechanism that limits the FTC from investigating the insurance industry without congressional oversight would undermine the power and effect of the McCarran-Ferguson Act, and would interfere in an area that already is well managed by the States.

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 68

100th Congress
1st Session

April 8, 1987, 1:36 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-4794

FTC AUTHORIZATION

BILL NO.: S. 677 **AMENDMENT NO.:** 89

SUBJECT: **Gore motion to table the Boschwitz amendment which deletes the provision that denies the FTC the authority to conduct any study or investigation of agricultural marketing orders.**

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment argued that marketing orders restrain agricultural trade, reduce output, and are not being adequately studied by the USDA. The amendment would allow the FTC to collect information on marketing orders but would not give it any regulatory authority. The FTC's efforts would complement those of the USDA, making the monitoring of marketing orders more efficient.

Opponents of the amendment pointed out that adequate Federal regulation already exists in the area of marketing orders. Both the Department of Agriculture, which strictly regulates marketing orders, and the Justice Department have jurisdiction. In addition, GAO is presently studying milk marketing orders. Given existing budget constraints, the resources of the FTC should not be used to duplicate these efforts. The FTC has been denied authority to conduct studies on marketing orders since 1981, when it was about to mount an expensive and unnecessary inquiry. That prohibition has been extended every year since, and language prohibiting the FTC from investigating marketing orders was agreed to in conference last year. The amendment would threaten the antitrust status of marketing orders, they argued, and set agriculture back significantly. Marketing orders have worked well, they maintained, to help farmers pool their efforts and should not be interfered with by the FTC.

S. 677: Vote Nos. 66-69.

RESULT: **MOTION TO TABLE AGREED TO**

YEAS (71)			NAYS (26)		NOT VOTING (3)	
Democrats (47 or 89%)		**Republicans (24 or 55%)**	**Democrats (6 or 11%)**	**Republicans (20 or 45%)**	**Democrats (1)**	**Republicans (2)**
Adams	Inouye	Armstrong	Bradley	Bond	Conrad—2	Heinz—2
Baucus	Johnston	Cochran	Dodd	Boschwitz		Murkowski—2
Bentsen	Kennedy	Cohen	Lautenberg	Chafee		
Biden	Kerry	Danforth	Metzenbaum	D'Amato		
Bingaman	Leahy	Dole	Moynihan	Domenici		
Boren	Levin	Evans	Proxmire	Durenberger		
Breaux	Matsunaga	Garn		Gramm		
Bumpers	Melcher	Grassley		Humphrey		
Burdick	Mikulski	Hatch		Lugar		
Byrd	Mitchell	Hatfield		Nickles		
Chiles	Nunn	Hecht		Packwood		
Cranston	Pell	Helms		Quayle		
Daschle	Pryor	Karnes		Rudman		
DeConcini	Reid	Kassebaum		Simpson		
Dixon	Riegle	Kasten		Specter		
Exon	Rockefeller	McCain		Stafford		
Ford	Sanford	McClure		Stevens		
Fowler	Sarbanes	McConnell		Trible		
Glenn	Sasser	Pressler		Wallop		
Gore	Shelby	Roth		Warner		
Graham	Simon	Symms				
Harkin	Stennis	Thurmond				
Heflin	Wirth	Weicker				
Hollings		Wilson				

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 89%
Republicans— 55%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (71)
Democrats— 47 or 66%
Republicans— 24 or 34%

Against (26)
Democrats— 6 or 23%
Republicans— 20 or 77%

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 69

100th Congress
1st Session

April 8, 1987, 2:05 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-4795

FTC AUTHORIZATION

BILL NO.: S. 677

SUBJECT: **Passage of the bill which reauthorizes the Federal Trade Commission through FY 1990, at a funding level of $69.85 million in FY 1988, $70.85 million in 1989, and $71.85 million in 1990, plus such amounts as necessary for increases in salary, pay, and other employee benefits authorized by law; modifies the FTC's authority with respect to certain regulatory functions; prohibits FTC intervention in Federal or State agency proceedings without prior notification to the Commerce Committees; provides for a 90-day congressional review of FTC rules and disapproval through enactment of a joint resolution of disapproval; requires the redirection of $858,000 to FTC's regional offices and maintenance of the offices at their present locations in FY 1988-90 at not less than that in the proposed FY 1988 budget submission to Congress; and requires separate FTC reports to Congress on: (1) unfair, deceptive, or misleading practices in the sale of health insurance to the elderly (MediGap) and on the increase in property and casualty rates for small business owners, local governments, physicians, dentists, and child care centers; (2) FTC enforcement activities in the area of resale price maintenance; and (3) FTC enforcement activities in the area of predatory pricing.**

S. 677: Vote Nos. 66-69.

RESULT: **BILL PASSED**

YEAS (88)

Democrats (52 or 100%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Gore
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Hollings
Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Simon
Wirth

Republicans (36 or 80%)

Bond
Boschwitz
Chafee
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Evans
Grassley
Hatch
Hatfield
Karnes
Kassebaum
Kasten
Lugar
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Packwood
Pressler
Quayle
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Specter
Stafford
Stevens
Thurmond
Trible
Warner
Weicker
Wilson

NAYS (9)

Democrats (0 or 0%)

Republicans (9 or 20%)

Armstrong
Garn
Gramm
Hecht
Helms
Humphrey
Nickles
Symms
Wallop

NOT VOTING (3)

Democrats (2)

Biden—2
Stennis—2

Republicans (1)

Heinz—2AY

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—100%
Republicans—80%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (88)
Democrats—52 or 59%
Republicans—36 or 41%

Against (9)
Democrats—0 or 0%
Republicans—9 or 100%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

MAJOR PROVISIONS

Reauthorizes the Federal Trade Commission (FTC) for three years, through FY 1990, at a funding level of $69.85 million in FY 1988, $70.85 million in 1989, and $71.85 million in 1990 plus such amounts as necessary in FY 1989-90 for increases in salary, pay, and other employee benefits authorized by law.

Unfair Methods of Competition: Extends application of the "State action" antitrust immunity developed by the courts in litigation under the Sherman Act to the FTC's "unfair methods of competition" cases.

Agricultural Cooperatives: Makes permanent the temporary prohibitions on FTC studies or investigations of agriculture marketing orders, or studies, investigations, or prosecutions of agricultural cooperatives for conduct falling within the limited antitrust immunity under the Capper-Volstead Act.

Compensation in Proceedings: Repeals FTC's authority to compensate public participants in its rulemaking proceedings.

Knowing Violations of Orders: Codifies the U.S. District court decision in *United States* v. *Braswell, Inc.*, that a defendant may challenge in court the legal basis for FTC's prior order.

Prevalence: Permits the FTC to issue a notice of proposed rulemaking only where it has reason to believe that the challenged conduct is prevalent in the industry.

Effective Date of Orders: Terminates the present requirement for an automatic stay of FTC cease-and-desist orders pending appeal, and, with some exceptions, provides instead that FTC orders may be stayed by the FTC itself or by the courts (within their discretion) during the appeal process.

Civil Investigative Demands: Extends the "civil investigative demand" document procedures, which now apply to FTC investigations under its consumer protection authority, to antitrust investigations conducted by the FTC. (This amendment would have the effect of requiring that FTC antitrust investigations be conducted in the same manner as consumer protection investigations are.)

Definition of Unfair Acts or Practices: Circumscribes FTC's consumer unfairness authority for both rulemaking and case-by-case adjudications by limiting unlawful "unfair acts or practices" to acts or practices that have caused or are likely to cause substantial injury to consumers which is not reasonably avoidable by consumers themselves and not outweighed by countervailing benefits to consumers or competition.

Credit Unions: Exempts Federal credit unions, regulated by the National Credit Union Administration, from FTC jurisdiction on the same basis that banks and savings and loan institutions are now exempt.

Commercial Advertising: Makes permanent the temporary provision prohibiting FTC from initiating any new rulemaking proceeding which prohibits or otherwise regulates commercial advertising on the basis that it is an unfair act or practice.

Congressional Review of Rules: Provides for a 90-day congressional review of FTC rules and disapproval through enactment of a joint resolution; contains expedited procedures for Senate floor consideration of disapproval resolutions.

FTC Intervention: Prohibits funding of FTC intervention in Federal or State agency proceedings without prior notification to Congress.

Native American Arts and Crafts: Makes the selling of imitation American Indian art, crafts, or jewelry which do not contain a permanent marking, in English, of the name of the country of origin an unfair or deceptive act or practice or an unfair method of competition.

Regional Offices: Requires that $858,000 be redirected to FTC's regional offices of which at least $500,000 must come from the Economic Activities Mission and the Office of Policy Development; requires, in addition to the $858,000 provided above, that regional offices be maintained at their present locations in FY 1988-90 at not less than the proposed FY 1988 budget submission to Congress.

Resale Price Maintenance Report: Requires FTC to report semiannually to the Commerce Committees on its enforcement activities in the area of resale price maintenance.

Predatory Pricing Practices Report: Requires the FTC to report semiannually to the Commerce Committees on its enforcement activities in the area of predatory pricing.

Insurance Study: Requires the FTC to conduct, and report to Congress within one year, a comprehensive study of: (1) the use of potentially unfair or misleading practices in the sale of health insurance to the elderly (MediGap), the relationship of premiums to claims actually paid, and the effectiveness of State regulation; and (2) the increase in property and casualty insurance rates to small business owners, local governments, physicians, dentists, and child care centers in the past seven years, focusing on the extent and reasons for increases, the relationship of the increase to actual costs, and the degree of competition for such coverage, and, to include, if necessary, rate increases for self-insurers.

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 70

100th Congress
1st Session

April 8, 1987, 4:59 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-4828

HOMELESS ASSISTANCE

BILL NO.: H.R. 558 **AMENDMENT NO.:** 95

TITLE: "Stewart B. McKinney Homeless Assistance Act"

SUBJECT: **Byrd substitute amendment (for the Humphrey, et al., amendment which rolls back the salary of Members of Congress and top Federal officials, excluding Federal Judges, to the amount in effect prior to the March 1 increase) to direct the Secretary of the Senate to develop a form to assist any Senator who chooses to forego all or a portion of the pay raise which went into effect on March 1 for Members of Congress.** (The Humphrey, et al., amendment fell as not germane when cloture was invoked—Vote No. 73.)

NOTE: While not objecting to a freestanding amendment on the pay raise, proponents of the substitute insisted that the Humphrey amendment would kill the bill and deny urgently needed relief to tens of thousands of homeless men, women, and children. This substitute would allow every Senator to vote on his or her own pay raise. Help for homeless Americans should not be jeopardized by this unrelated issue or the Humphrey amendment, which does not deal effectively with pay to Members. Honoraria paid by private special interest groups to Members of this body represent one-third to one-half of the salaries of the Members.

Opponents contended that the Humphrey amendment was not holding up this bill and questioned the urgency of the bill. They maintained that if Senators want to repeal the March 1 pay raise which Senators voted overwhelmingly to do in January (Vote Nos. 7-9), then the substitute should be defeated. The American people are incensed at the way Congress sneaked itself a pay raise through the back door. The option offered by the substitute is already available to every Member by returning the pay raise or giving it to charity. It is another diversionary tactic, they argued, to escape accountability, and effectively emasculate the underlying amendment.

H.R. 558: Vote Nos. 70-74, 167.

RESULT: AMENDMENT REJECTED

YEAS (30)

Democrats (16 or 30%)

Adams
Breaux
Bumpers
Byrd
Cranston
DeConcini
Dodd
Glenn
Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Matsunaga
Moynihan
Rockefeller
Sanford
Stennis

Republicans (14 or 30%)

D'Amato
Dole
Evans
Garn
Hatfield
Lugar
McClure
Murkowski
Packwood
Quayle
Stafford
Stevens
Symms
Weicker

NAYS (70)

Democrats (38 or 70%)

Baucus
Bentsen
Biden
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Burdick
Chiles
Conrad
Daschle
Dixon
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Gore
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Hollings
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Nunn
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Simon
Wirth

Republicans (32 or 70%)

Armstrong
Bond
Boschwitz
Chafee
Cochran
Cohen
Danforth
Domenici
Durenberger
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hecht
Heinz
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes
Kassebaum
Kasten
McCain
McConnell
Nickles
Pressler
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Specter
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Warner
Wilson

NOT VOTING (0)

Democrats (0) **Republicans (0)**

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion	Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on	
	For (30)	*Against* (70)
Democrats— 70%	Democrats— 16 or 53%	Democrats— 38 or 54%
Republicans— 70%	Republicans— 14 or 47%	Republicans— 32 or 46%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 71

100th Congress
1st Session

April 9, 1987, 2:31 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-4918

HOMELESS ASSISTANCE

BILL NO.: H.R. 558

AMENDMENT NO.: 129

TITLE: "Stewart B. McKinney Homeless Assistance Act"

SUBJECT: **Byrd modified amendment (as a substitute for the Gramm, et al., amendment) to require that appropriations pursuant to this authorization be made only in accordance with the Budget Act which prohibits the consideration of any bill that would cause the deficit to exceed the levels established by the Balanced Budget and Emergency Deficit Control Act of 1985 (Gramm-Rudman-Hollings), thereby prohibiting appropriations for the bill in any amount which would increase the deficit for FY 1987.**

NOTE: The modification made the commitment to the existing budget process more explicit and garnered the support of the sponsors of the original amendment.

H.R. 558: Vote Nos. 70-74, 167.

RESULT: **AMENDMENT AGREED TO**

YEAS (100)

Democrats
(54 or 100%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Biden
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Gore
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Hollings

Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Simon
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans
(46 or 100%)

Armstrong
Bond
Boschwitz
Chafee
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Evans
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hatfield
Hecht
Heinz
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes
Kassebaum

Kasten
Lugar
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Packwood
Pressler
Quayle
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Specter
Stafford
Stevens
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Warner
Weicker
Wilson

NAYS (0)

Democrats
(0 or 0%)

Republicans
(0 or 0%)

NOT VOTING (0)

Democrats (0)

Republicans (0)

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 100%
Republicans— 100%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (100)
Democrats— 54 or 54%
Republicans— 46 or 46%

Against (0)
Democrats— 0 or 0%
Republicans— 0 or 0%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 72

100th Congress
1st Session

April 9, 1987, 3:59 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-4926

HOMELESS ASSISTANCE

BILL NO.: H.R. 558 AMENDMENT NO.: 138

TITLE: "Stewart B. McKinney Homeless Assistance Act"

SUBJECT: **Wallop, et al., amendment (to the Byrd-Dole substitute amendment No. 90) stating the sense of the Senate that the Secretary of State should not meet with the Soviet Foreign Minister in Moscow unless a thorough examination of the security situation in Moscow finds the facilities to be secure; and that, unless such determination can be made prior to April 13, the State Department should seek a change in venue to a location in which the U.S. can occupy secure facilities.**

NOTE: Proponents claimed that the U.S. has allowed the level of security in the embassy in Moscow to deteriorate to a level that is unsuitable for a meeting between the Secretary of State and the Soviet Foreign Minister. This amendment, they asserted, does not aim to comment on East-West relations, since all governments engage in some level of espionage. Instead, it is a criticism of the security situation as it now exists. Unless an adequate level of security can be achieved, the location of the meeting should be changed, which could be done easily since the meeting need not take place in Moscow. Some who supported the amendment considered it unnecessary.
No opposing statements were made.

H.R. 558: Vote Nos. 70-74, 167.

RESULT: AMENDMENT AGREED TO

YEAS (70)

Democrats (34 or 63%)

Baucus
Bentsen
Bingaman
Bradley
Breaux
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Cranston
DeConcini
Dixon
Ford
Fowler
Gore
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Hollings
Johnston
Kerry
Lautenberg
Levin
Melcher
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Sasser
Shelby
Wirth

Republicans (36 or 78%)

Armstrong
Bond
Chafee
Cochran
Cohen
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Evans
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hecht
Heinz
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes
Kasten
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Pressler
Quayle
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Warner
Weicker
Wilson

NAYS (30)

Democrats (20 or 37%)

Adams
Biden
Boren
Bumpers
Conrad
Daschle
Dodd
Exon
Glenn
Inouye
Kennedy
Leahy
Matsunaga
Metzenbaum
Pell
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Simon
Stennis

Republicans (10 or 22%)

Boschwitz
D'Amato
Durenberger
Hatfield
Kassebaum
Lugar
Packwood
Specter
Stafford
Stevens

NOT VOTING (0)

Democrats (0) **Republicans (0)**

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 63%
Republicans— 78%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (70)
Democrats— 34 or 49%
Republicans— 36 or 51%

Against (30)
Democrats— 20 or 67%
Republicans— 10 or 33%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 73

100th Congress
1st Session

April 9, 1987, 6:30 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-4944

HOMELESS ASSISTANCE
(CLOTURE)

BILL NO.: H.R. 558 AMENDMENT NO.: 90

TITLE: "Stewart B. McKinney Homeless Assistance Act"

SUBJECT: **Byrd, et al., motion to close further debate on the Byrd-Dole substitute amendment which authorizes funds for the homeless including funds for emergency food and shelter programs, health care and mental health services, and job training; establishes the Interagency Council on the Homeless; establishes a block grant program to provide emergency assistance for homeless chronically mentally ill individuals; requires each State to adopt and implement a plan to ensure that all homeless children are provided full and equal access to public education; amends the food stamp program to better serve the homeless; and increases funds for the Temporary Emergency Food Assistance Program (TEFAP).** (See also Vote No. 74.)

NOTE: By this vote the Senate agreed to close further debate on the Byrd-Dole, et al., substitute amendment. As a consequence, the Humphrey amendment (Vote No. 70) and two other amendments regarding pay and honoraria fell as not germane to the bill. Although Rule XXII requires that one day intervene between the offering of a cloture petition and a vote thereon, the Senate agreed by unanimous consent to vote the next day as a way of completing action on this emergency legislation before the Easter recess.

The cloture petition, presented on April 8, 1987, was signed by Senators Kennedy, Bentsen, Riegle, Matsunaga, Bingaman, Dodd, Adams, Dole, Melcher, Cochran, Cranston, Byrd, Wirth, Weicker, Rockefeller, and Conrad.

H.R. 558: Vote Nos. 70-74, 167.

RESULT: **CLOTURE MOTION AGREED TO, 3/5THS HAVING VOTED IN THE AFFIRMATIVE**

YEAS (68)

Democrats (44 or 83%)

Adams
Bentsen
Bingaman
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Gore
Graham
Harkin
Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Simon
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans (24 or 55%)

Chafee
D'Amato
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Evans
Garn
Hatfield
Hecht
Heinz
Lugar
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Packwood
Pressler
Quayle
Simpson
Specter
Stafford
Stevens
Symms
Wallop
Weicker

NAYS (29)

Democrats (9 or 17%)

Baucus
Boren
Burdick
Heflin
Hollings
Melcher
Mitchell
Proxmire
Shelby

Republicans (20 or 45%)

Armstrong
Bond
Boschwitz
Cohen
Danforth
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes
Kassebaum
Kasten
McCain
Nickles
Roth
Rudman
Thurmond
Trible
Wilson

NOT VOTING (3)

Democrats (1)

Biden—2

Republicans (2)

Cochran—2
Warner—2

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 83%
Republicans— 55%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (68)
Democrats— 44 or 65%
Republicans— 24 or 35%

Against (29)
Democrats— 9 or 31%
Republicans— 20 or 69%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 74

100th Congress
1st Session

April 9, 1987, 7:11 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-4948

HOMELESS ASSISTANCE

BILL NO.: H.R. 558 **AMENDMENT NO.:** 90

TITLE: "Stewart B. McKinney Homeless Assistance Act"

SUBJECT: **Byrd-Dole substitute amendment, as amended, to authorize funds for the homeless including emergency food and shelter programs, health care and mental health services, and job training; establish the Interagency Council on the Homeless; establish a block grant program to provide emergency assistance for homeless chronically mentally ill individuals; require each State to adopt and implement a plan to ensure that all homeless children are provided full and equal access to public education; amend the food stamp program to better serve the homeless; increase funds for TEFAP; require that appropriations pursuant to this authorization be made only in accordance with the Budget Act, such that it shall not increase the deficit for FY 1987; and state the sense of the Senate that the Secretary of State should not meet with the Soviet Foreign Minister in Moscow unless a thorough examination of the security situation in Moscow finds the facilities to be secure, and unless such a determination can be made prior to April 13, the State Department should seek a change in venue to a location in which the U.S. can occupy secure facilities.** (Subsequently, the bill was passed by voice vote.)

NOTE: Proponents noted that this amendment was the work product of a group of Senators appointed by the two leaders and was further refined by four committees. It also contains Title I of the homeless veterans bill passed by the Senate. This legislation would make significant progress toward correcting a "national shame." More Americans are homeless today than at any time since the Great Depression. This sad situation results from deinstitutionalization of the mentally ill, economic downturns, failure of safety net programs, problems of spouse and child abuse, alcoholism, and drug abuse. This bill does not purport to do all that is necessary; however, it will provide emergency food, shelter, and services in order to alleviate the harsher aspects of homelessness before the next winter, and set the foundation for a long-term solution to homelessness by creating an independent interagency council charged with performing a comprehensive study and reporting to Congress. Some insisted that the assistance encouraged by this bill is no more costly than the current "nonsystem of noncare."
No opposing statements were made.

H.R. 558: Vote Nos. 70-74, 167.

RESULT: **AMENDMENT AGREED TO**

YEAS (85)

Democrats (52 or 98%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Gore
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Hollings
Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Simon
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans (33 or 75%)

Boschwitz
Chafee
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Evans
Grassley
Hatch
Hatfield
Hecht
Heinz
Karnes
Kasten
Lugar
McCain
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Packwood
Pressler
Quayle
Simpson
Specter
Stafford
Stevens
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Weicker
Wilson

NAYS (12)

Democrats (1 or 2%)

Exon

Republicans (11 or 25%)

Armstrong
Bond
Garn
Gramm
Helms
Humphrey
Kassebaum
McClure
Roth
Rudman
Symms

NOT VOTING (3)

Democrats (1)

Biden—^{2AY}

Republicans (2)

Cochran—^{2}
Warner—^{2}

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 98%
Republicans— 75%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (85)
Democrats— 52 or 61%
Republicans— 33 or 39%

Against (12)
Democrats— 1 or 8%
Republicans— 11 or 92%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 75

100th Congress
1st Session

April 21, 1987, 4:46 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-5232

FAIRNESS DOCTRINE

BILL NO.: S. 742

TITLE: "Fairness in Broadcasting Act of 1987"

SUBJECT: **Passage of the bill which amends the Communications Act of 1934 to codify the Fairness Doctrine adopted by the Federal Communications Commission by regulation in 1949, which obligates broadcast licensees (1) to cover issues of public importance, and (2) to do so in a balanced fashion; and provides that the enforcement and application of the Fairness Doctrine shall be consistent with the FCC's rules and policies in effect on January 1, 1987.**

NOTE: See Vote No. 154 for action taken on the bill after the President vetoed it.

S. 742: Vote Nos. 75, 154.

RESULT: **BILL PASSED**

ADMINISTRATION POSITION: NAY

YEAS (59)

Democrats (41 or 87%)

Adams
Bentsen
Bingaman
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Daschle
DeConcini
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Gore
Graham
Harkin
Hollings
Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Levin
Matsunaga
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Wirth

Republicans (18 or 42%)

Chafee
Cochran
Cohen
Danforth
Durenberger
Grassley
Hatfield
Heinz
Helms
Pressler
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Stafford
Thurmond
Trible
Warner
Wilson

NAYS (31)

Democrats (6 or 13%)

Baucus
Dixon
Heflin
Melcher
Proxmire
Stennis

Republicans (25 or 58%)

Bond
Boschwitz
D'Amato
Dole
Domenici
Evans
Garn
Gramm
Hatch
Hecht
Karnes
Kassebaum
Kasten
Lugar
McCain
McClure
Murkowski
Nickles
Packwood
Quayle
Specter
Stevens
Symms
Wallop
Weicker

NOT VOTING (9)

Democrats (7)

Biden—2
Boren—2
Bradley—2
Cranston—2
Lautenberg—2
Leahy—1
Simon—2

Republicans (2)

Humphrey—2
McConnell—2

VOTING PRESENT (1)

Armstrong

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—87%
Republicans—58%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (59)
Democrats—41 or 69%
Republicans—18 or 31%

Against (31)
Democrats—6 or 19%
Republicans—25 or 81%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 76

100th Congress
1st Session

April 22, 1987, 1:29 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-5300

WHEAT ACREAGE DIVERSION PROGRAM AND DISASTER ASSISTANCE

BILL NO.: H.R. 1157

TITLE: "Farm Disaster Assistance Act of 1987"

SUBJECT: **Byrd motion to instruct the Sergeant at Arms to request the attendance of absent Senators.**

H.R. 1157: Vote Nos. 76-79.

RESULT: **MOTION FOR ATTENDANCE AGREED TO**

YEAS (88)

Democrats (50 or 98%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Bingaman
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Gore
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Hollings
Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Simon
Wirth

Republicans (38 or 86%)

Armstrong
Bond
Boschwitz
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Garn
Grassley
Hatch
Hatfield
Hecht
Heinz
Helms
Humphrey
Kasten
Lugar
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Packwood
Pressler
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Specter
Stafford
Stevens
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Warner
Wilson

NAYS (7)

Democrats (1 or 2%)

Proxmire

Republicans (6 or 14%)

Chafee
Evans
Gramm
Quayle
Wallop
Weicker

NOT VOTING (5)

Democrats (3)

Biden—2
Boren—2
Stennis—4

Republicans (2)

Karnes—2
Kassebaum—2

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion	Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on	
	For (88)	*Against* (7)
Democrats— 98%	Democrats— 50 or 57%	Democrats— 1 or 14%
Republicans— 86%	Republicans— 38 or 43%	Republicans— 6 or 86%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 77

100th Congress
1st Session

April 22, 1987, 1:58 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-5301

WHEAT ACREAGE DIVERSION PROGRAM AND DISASTER ASSISTANCE

BILL NO.: H.R. 1157

AMENDMENT NO.: 150

TITLE: "Farm Disaster Assistance Act of 1987"

SUBJECT: **Gramm amendment to require that appropriations made pursuant to this authorization shall be made in accordance with the Budget Act, which prohibits the consideration of any bill which would cause the deficit to exceed the levels established by the Balanced Budget and Emergency Deficit Control Act of 1985 (Gramm-Rudman-Hollings), thereby prohibiting appropriations in any amount which would increase the deficit for FY 1987.**

NOTE: Proponents asserted that the Senate should go on record as supporting the 1987 deficit targets. This will ensure that as the Senate corrects the mistakes that were made in deficiency payments eligibility, it will provide the needed revenue in a deficit neutral manner by reducing the funding of a program of lesser priority somewhere else in the $1 trillion budget, rather than increasing the Federal deficit.

There were no opposing statements.

H.R. 1157: Vote Nos. 76-79.

RESULT: **AMENDMENT AGREED TO**

YEAS (96)

Democrats (51 or 100%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Bingaman
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Gore
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Hollings
Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Simon
Wirth

Republicans (45 or 100%)

Armstrong
Bond
Boschwitz
Chafee
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Evans
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hatfield
Hecht
Heinz
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes
Kasten
Lugar
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Packwood
Pressler
Quayle
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Specter
Stafford
Stevens
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Warner
Weicker
Wilson

NAYS (0)

Democrats (0 or 0%)

Republicans (0 or 0%)

NOT VOTING (4)

Democrats (3)

Biden—2
Boren—2
Stennis—4

Republicans (1)

Kassebaum—2

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion	Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on: *For* (96)	*Against* (0)
Democrats— 100%	Democrats— 51 or 53%	Democrats— 0 or 0%
Republicans— 100%	Republicans— 45 or 47%	Republicans— 0 or 0%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 78

100th Congress
1st Session

April 22, 1987, 4:44 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-5310

WHEAT ACREAGE DIVERSION PROGRAM AND DISASTER ASSISTANCE

BILL NO.: H.R. 1157

TITLE: "Farm Disaster Assistance Act of 1987"

SUBJECT: **Byrd motion to instruct the Sergeant at Arms to request the attendance of absent Senators.**

H.R. 1157: Vote Nos. 76-79.

RESULT: **MOTION FOR ATTENDANCE AGREED TO**

YEAS (86)

Democrats (50 or 96%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Gore
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Hollings
Inouye
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Simon
Wirth

Republicans (36 or 80%)

Armstrong
Bond
Boschwitz
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Garn
Grassley
Hatch
Hatfield
Hecht
Heinz
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes
Kasten
Lugar
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Packwood
Pressler
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Specter
Stafford
Stevens
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Warner

NAYS (11)

Democrats (2 or 4%)

Johnston
Proxmire

Republicans (9 or 20%)

Chafee
Evans
Gramm
Murkowski
Nickles
Quayle
Wallop
Weicker
Wilson

NOT VOTING (3)

Democrats (2)

Biden—[2]
Stennis—[4]

Republicans (1)

Kassebaum—[2]

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 96%
Republicans— 80%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (86)
Democrats— 50 or 58%
Republicans— 36 or 42%

Against (11)
Democrats— 2 or 18%
Republicans— 9 or 82%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 79

100th Congress
1st Session

April 23, 1987, 1:47 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-5383

WHEAT ACREAGE DIVERSION PROGRAM AND DISASTER ASSISTANCE

BILL NO.: H.R. 1157 — **AMENDMENT NO.: 161**

TITLE: "Farm Disaster Assistance Act of 1987"

SUBJECT: **Boschwitz motion to waive section 303(a) of the Budget Act (which prohibits the consideration of an amendment which provides new budget authority for the fiscal year until the concurrent resolution for that fiscal year has been adopted) in order to allow the consideration of the Boschwitz, et al., amendment which establishes marketing loan programs for soybeans at $5.02 per bushel and sunflowers at no less than 8-1/2 cents per pound; precludes the Secretary of Agriculture from reducing the soybean price support level for the 1987 crop by more than five percent; and instructs the Secretary to offset any resulting additional outlays by selling rural development insurance fund loans (for a total cost for 1987-92 of $3.28 billion—including losses from asset sales).** (Subsequently, the bill was passed by voice vote.)

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment claimed that soybean producers need the income protection afforded by marketing loans in order to compete in the international market. Marketing loans permit farmers to repay loans made against the value of their crop at the commodity's market value instead of at the price support level. Marketing loans keep the commodity in the market, which adds to the GNP and makes U.S. soybeans competitive in all markets, as has been shown with marketing loans for both cotton and rice. The current soybean price support of $4.77 will lead to increased world production, they argued, which will depress soybean prices further and, because 40-45 percent of all soybeans are intended for export, cause a greater surplus to be turned over to the CCC. The cost of the amendment would be offset by the sale of RDIF loans, making the amendment revenue neutral. Liquidating existing surpluses to raise prices would cost more than this amendment and would not reduce world production. Soybean producers were ignored during consideration of the 1985 farm bill, and the Secretary of Agriculture has failed to use his discretionary authority to implement marketing loans for soybeans. Consequently, they argued, it is appropriate to attach this amendment, which is supported by

(OVER)

H.R. 1157: Vote Nos. 76-79.

RESULT: MOTION TO WAIVE BUDGET ACT REJECTED, 3/5THS NOT HAVING VOTED IN THE AFFIRMATIVE

YEAS (33)

Democrats (15 or 28%)
Boren
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Conrad
Dixon
Ford
Fowler
Heflin
Johnston
Mikulski
Pryor
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby

Republicans (18 or 42%)
Armstrong
Bond
Boschwitz
Cochran
Danforth
Dole
Durenberger
Grassley
Karnes
Kasten
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Pressler
Symms
Thurmond
Weicker
Wilson

NAYS (63)

Democrats (38 or 72%)
Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Bingaman
Bradley
Byrd
Chiles
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dodd
Exon
Glenn
Gore
Graham
Harkin
Hollings
Inouye
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Proxmire
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Simon
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans (25 or 58%)
Chafee
Cohen
D'Amato
Domenici
Evans
Garn
Gramm
Hatfield
Hecht
Heinz
Helms
Humphrey
Kassebaum
Lugar
Murkowski
Quayle
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Specter
Stafford
Stevens
Trible
Wallop
Warner

NOT VOTING (4)

Democrats (1)
Biden—2

Republicans (3)
Hatch—2AN
Nickles—2
Packwood—2

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:
1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:
AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion
Democrats— 72%
Republicans— 58%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (33)
Democrats— 15 or 45%
Republicans— 18 or 55%

Against (63)
Democrats— 38 or 60%
Republicans— 25 or 40%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

the Soybean Association, to this bill. Sunflower marketing loans are included in this proposal because that industry has been unintentionally affected by wheat and feed grain programs.

Opponents of the amendment claimed that marketing loans would hurt the soybean market. Since the amendment imposes no acreage restrictions to obtain a marketing loan, U.S. production would increase. In response, South America, which has increased its soybean production, would bring its crop to the market sooner in order to beat the collapse in price that would follow next year. Consequently, prices for the 1986 crop year would fall and greater surpluses would be turned over to the CCC. Selling RDIF loans to pay for the amendment, which is estimated to cost $2.3 billion over the next five years, has been called "gimmickry" by the Administration. It would require selling about $4.5 billion of the RDIF loan portfolio, which would take money away from sewer and water loan programs—money which is not likely to be replaced. A more appropriate way to increase the price of soybeans, they suggested, would be to eliminate the surplus by selling it at any price or giving it away. Some pointed out that while marketing loans for soybeans may be a good idea, disaster relief legislation is not the appropriate vehicle, and the amendment could kill the bill. Instead, the matter should be referred to the Agriculture Committee, which has begun to consider marketing loans for soybeans. Not only do the Chairman and the Ranking Member of the Committee oppose the amendment, but it is inappropriate to consider this issue when farmers are halfway through their planting season.

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 80

100th Congress
1st Session

April 23, 1987, 4:35 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-5404

STAR SCHOOLS PROGRAM, 1988-92

BILL NO.: S. 778

SUBJECT: **Passage of the bill which authorizes $100 million over FY 1988-92, for the Star Schools Program under which demonstration grants would be awarded to certain State and multistate telecommunications partnerships to use telecommunications technology to deliver courses to elementary and secondary schools in mathematics, science, and foreign languages and possible other subject areas in the U.S.; mends the Education for Economic Security Act to authorize a total of $100 million over the five-year period, FY 1988-92, for the Star Schools Program under which demonstration grants would be provided to partnerships (including educational institutions and agencies, and entities with telecommunications networking expertise) to use telecommunications technology (such as satellite, microwave, fiber optic, and cable technologies) to deliver courses to elementary and secondary schools in mathematics, science, foreign languages, and possibly other subject areas; limits annual appropriations to $60 million and individual grants to $20 million; makes Bureau of Indian Affairs Schools eligible for telecommunications partnerships; targets the program to disadvantaged students and areas with scarce resources or limited access to courses in these critical subjects by reserving 50 percent of annual appropriations for Chapter I eligible elementary and secondary school districts; specifies that funding should be further targeted to serve the neediest children within the Chapter I districts; gives priority to network partnerships which serve multiple States, have demonstrated that the cooperation of public and private educational institutions, State and local governments and industry were secured in planning the network, or will serve the broadest range of institutions; and requires an equitable geographic distribution of grants; and requires the Office of Technology Assessment, upon request, to evaluate the telecommunications networks supported by the demonstration grants and to study the feasibility of building and launching a satellite dedicated to educational purposes.**

S. 778: Vote No. 80.

RESULT: **BILL PASSED**

ADMINISTRATION POSITION: NAY

YEAS (77)

Democrats (51 or 98%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Gore
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Hollings
Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans (26 or 63%)

Bond
Chafee
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Evans
Garn
Grassley
Hatfield
Hecht
Karnes
Lugar
McCain
McConnell
Murkowski
Pressler
Simpson
Specter
Stafford
Stevens
Warner
Weicker
Wilson

NAYS (16)

Democrats (1 or 2%)

Proxmire

Republicans (15 or 37%)

Armstrong
Boschwitz
Gramm
Heinz
Helms
Humphrey
Kassebaum
Kasten
Quayle
Roth
Rudman
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop

NOT VOTING (7)

Democrats (2)

Biden—2AY
Simon—2

Republicans (5)

Durenberger—2
Hatch—2
McClure—2
Nickles—2
Packwood—2

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 98%
Republicans— 63%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (77)
Democrats— 51 or 66%
Republicans— 26 or 34%

Against (16)
Democrats— 1 or 6%
Republicans— 15 or 94%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 81

100th Congress
1st Session

April 24, 1987, 11:01 a.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-5469

NOMINATION OF TRUSTEN F. CRIGLER TO BE AMBASSADOR TO SOMALIA

POSITION: Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States to the Somali Democratic Republic

SUBJECT: **Confirmation of the nomination of Trusten F. Crigler, of Virginia, to be the Ambassador to Somalia.**

NOTE: The Foreign Relations Committee favorably reported the nomination by a vote of 16 to 3. As a career foreign service officer with a long and distinguished career, Mr. Crigler has served in several African posts, including Zaire, Gabon, and Rwanda, making him well qualified, proponents contended, to serve as Ambassador to Somalia, a difficult post which has been vacant for some time. Several years ago, Somalia was considered to be firmly under Soviet influence, which spurred the U.S. to build up the military base at Diego Garcia. However, since that time, it has reversed its course and is now "on our side of the fence."

There were no opposing statements.

Vote No. 81.

RESULT: **NOMINATION CONFIRMED**

ADMINISTRATION POSITION: YEA

YEAS (65)

Democrats (45 or 100%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Glenn
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Hollings
Inouye
Johnston
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans (20 or 59%)

Armstrong
Chafee
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Durenberger
Evans
Grassley
Hatfield
Hecht
Heinz
Kassebaum
Kasten
Murkowski
Roth
Rudman
Specter
Thurmond
Wallop
Weicker

NAYS (14)

Democrats (0 or 0%)

Republicans (14 or 41%)

Boschwitz
Cochran
Dole
Domenici
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes
Lugar
McConnell
Pressler
Quayle
Trible
Warner
Wilson

NOT VOTING (21)

Democrats (9)

Biden—2
Bingaman—2
Bumpers—2
Burdick—2
Fowler—2
Gore—2
Kennedy—2
Sanford—2
Simon—2

Republicans (12)

Bond—2
Garn—2
Gramm—2
Hatch—2
McCain—2
McClure—2
Nickles—2
Packwood—2
Simpson—2
Stafford—2
Stevens—2
Symms—2

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion	**Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on**	
	For (65)	*Against* (14)
Democrats— 100%	Democrats— 45 or 69%	Democrats— 0 or 0%
Republicans— 59%	Republicans— 20 or 31%	Republicans— 14 or 100%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 82

100th Congress
1st Session

April 28, 1987, 2:03 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-5561

FIRST CONCURRENT BUDGET RESOLUTION, FY 1988

BILL NO.: S. Con. Res. 49 (H. Con. Res. 93)

SUBJECT: **Byrd motion to proceed to the consideration of the resolution.**

S. Con. Res. 49 (H. Con. Res. 93): Vote Nos. 82-84, 87-97, 155-157.

RESULT: **MOTION TO PROCEED AGREED TO**

YEAS (51)

Democrats
(51 or 100%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Graham
Harkin
Hollings
Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Simon
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans
(0 or 0%)

NAYS (45)

Democrats
(0 or 0%)

Republicans
(45 or 100%)

Armstrong
Bond
Boschwitz
Chafee
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Evans
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hatfield
Hecht
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes
Kassebaum
Kasten
Lugar
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Packwood
Pressler
Quayle
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Specter
Stafford
Stevens
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Warner
Weicker
Wilson

NOT VOTING (4)

Democrats (3)

Biden—2
Gore—2
Heflin—2

Republicans (1)

Heinz—2

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 100%
Republicans— 100%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (51)
Democrats— 51 or 100%
Republicans— 0 or 0%

Against (45)
Democrats— 0 or 0%
Republicans— 45 or 100%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 83

100th Congress
1st Session

April 28, 1987, 5:32 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-5592

FIRST CONCURRENT BUDGET RESOLUTION, FY 1988

BILL NO.: S. Con. Res. 49 (H. Con. Res. 93) AMENDMENT NO.: 175

SUBJECT: **Chiles motion to table the Domenici appeal of the ruling of the Chair that the Chiles perfecting amendment (to the Chiles substitute amendment No. 174), which contains dual accounting estimates, is in order. (See Vote No. 84.)**

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment (voting yea) stated that the committee's budget uses OMB economic assumptions to satisfy the requirements of Gramm-Rudman-Hollings and CBO economic assumptions to reflect more accurately the Nation's fiscal situation. The committee took this approach because a budget which met the deficit target using only CBO assumptions would not have passed the Senate, it was felt; moreover, a budget using only the OMB figures would have satisfied the requirements of the law but would have presented a misleading picture of the actual deficit. Without cooperation from the Republicans in fashioning a budget, it would be impossible to assemble the 60 votes necessary to waive the Budget Act to permit consideration of the committee's budget using only CBO estimates. Claiming that the use of OMB assumptions is phony amounts to a rejection of the basis for the President's budget. Furthermore, if the Chair is overruled, then any 60-vote point of order under Gramm-Rudman-Hollings could be overruled by 51 votes, thereby destroying the supermajority enforcement procedure in Gramm-Rudman-Hollings. The Republican minority should not refuse to participate in the budget process, and then castigate the Democratic majority for its efforts to pass a budget.

Opponents of the amendment (voting nay) argued that the ruling erodes the requirements of Gramm-Rudman-Hollings because this amendment does not meet ~~the deficit~~ target. The Chairman of the Budget Committee acknowledged that, but claimed, "for the purposes" of satisfying the law, that under OMB figures the budget meets the target. This is a parliamentary maneuver to use "phony" figures to bring such a budget to the floor with a simple majority instead of the 60-vote supermajority that Gramm-Rudman-Hollings requires in order to consider a budget that exceeds the target. Moreover, the policies in the CBO and OMB assumptions vary so greatly that it is not valid to assume that just

(OVER)

S. Con. Res. 49 (H. Con. Res. 93): Vote Nos. 82-84, 87-97, 155-157.

RESULT: **MOTION TO TABLE APPEAL AGREED TO**

YEAS (50)

Democrats (49 or 94%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Simon
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans (1 or 2%)

Weicker

NAYS (46)

Democrats (3 or 6%)

Hollings
Leahy
Proxmire

Republicans (43 or 98%)

Armstrong
Bond
Boschwitz
Chafee
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Evans
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hatfield
Hecht
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes
Kasten
Lugar
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Packwood
Pressler
Quayle
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Specter
Stafford
Stevens
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Warner
Wilson

NOT VOTING (4)

Democrats (2)

Biden—2
Gore—2

Republicans (2)

Heinz—2AN
Kassebaum—2

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 94%
Republicans— 98%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (50)
Democrats— 49 or 98%
Republicans— 1 or 2%

Against (46)
Democrats— 3 or 7%
Republicans— 43 or 93%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

because the President's budget deficit of $108 billion is $134 billion using CBO assumptions, a budget written using CBO estimates would be $108 billion scored against OMB. The 60-vote point of order is among the fundamental principles of Gramm-Rudman-Hollings, which, if violated, would seriously weaken the law, and set a precedent against future attempts to establish a supermajority requirement. Some acknowledged the difficulties inherent in writing a budget without input from the Republicans, but felt the integrity of the budget process was nonetheless undermined. Just because the President and the House used phony figures, others asserted, the Senate should not indulge in the same charade.

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 84

100th Congress
1st Session

April 29, 1987, 4:00 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-5702

FIRST CONCURRENT BUDGET RESOLUTION, FY 1988

BILL NO.: S. Con. Res. 49 (H. Con. Res. 93) **AMENDMENT NO.:** 175

SUBJECT: **Chiles perfecting amendment (to the Chiles substitute amendment No. 174) which contains $1,052.7 billion in total outlays and $919.0 billion in revenues resulting in a deficit of $133.7 billion; contains reconciliation instructions directing committees to take actions to reduce the deficit by $28.9 billion in FY 1988 and by $171.5 billion over the next four years to achieve a balanced budget by FY 1991.**

NOTE: The perfecting amendment was offered to "fill the amendment tree," and thus make the first vote occur on the Chiles budget. Specifically, the perfecting amendment changes the reporting date used in Amendment No. 174 to the Byrd motion to recommit. The Minority acknowledged that the procedure is the right of the Majority as a means of expediting the business of the Senate.

Proponents asserted that this budget accomplishes what the President's does not: balances the budget by 1991 using CBO assumptions and results in a surplus using OMB assumptions. It provides funding for key priorities such as education, basic skills, job training, and research; adds funds to increase Superfund enforcement efforts; beefs up the FBI's ability to counter Soviet espionage; and strengthens law enforcement efforts in the war against drugs. The budget also closes the Pentagon's inflation slush fund, which now totals $44 billion. Some supported the Chiles budget plan to enable the Senate to proceed with the budget process but raised concern about the sources for the revenue increases, provisions affecting western States, and the defense spending level, which could cut into readiness and training accounts. Others expressed concern that the Chiles budget does not meet the deficit target using CBO assumptions and deplored the absence of bipartisan cooperation.

Opponents were critical that the budget proposes $42.8 billion in increased spending over last year, and asserted that because of increased revenues from economic growth, the deficit target would be met if spending were left at last year's level. In addition to imposing a major tax increase and a dramatic

(OVER)

S. Con. Res. 49 (H. Con. Res. 93): Vote Nos. 82-84, 87-97, 155-157.

RESULT: **AMENDMENT AGREED TO**

YEAS (50)

Democrats (49 or 92%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Biden
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Graham
Harkin
Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Simon
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans (1 or 2%)

Weicker

NAYS (49)

Democrats (4 or 8%)

DeConcini
Heflin
Hollings
Shelby

Republicans (45 or 98%)

Armstrong
Bond
Boschwitz
Chafee
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Evans
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hatfield
Hecht
Heinz
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes
Kassebaum
Kasten
Lugar
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Packwood
Pressler
Quayle
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Specter
Stafford
Stevens
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Warner
Wilson

NOT VOTING (1)

Democrats (1)

Gore—2 AY

Republicans (0)

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 92%
Republicans— 98%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (50)
Democrats— 49 or 98%
Republicans— 1 or 2%

Against (49)
Democrats— 4 or 8%
Republicans— 45 or 92%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

increase in domestic spending, they claimed that the budget is heavily biased against western States, assumes substantial reductions in many international programs, and offers a defense budget that is substantially below the President's request and inadequate to meet the country's defense needs. Moreover, it relies on gimmicks to achieve savings, including a reduction in Federal civilian retirement benefits, a requirement that Federal agencies absorb 50 percent of a two percent pay increase for a four-year period, and the imposition of a one-year delay for within-grade pay increases. So much "fat" remains in the Federal budget, they argued, that the Senate should be cutting spending rather than raising taxes.

FUNCTION TOTALS FOR CHILES PERFECTING AMENDMENT NO. 175 TO CHILES SUBSTITUTE AMENDMENT NO. 174

	1988		1989		1990		1991	
FUNCTION	BA	O	BA	O	BA	O	BA	O
			[In billions of dollars]					
050: National Defense	$289.0	$283.6	$294.8	$288.0	$297.9	$292.0	$301.1	$296.0
150: International Affairs	15.8	15.8	20.3	14.3	16.0	13.3	15.3	11.3
250: General Science, Space, & Technology	11.5	11.2	13.7	13.1	15.2	14.8	15.8	15.5
270: Energy	4.8	4.8	5.4	4.2	5.0	4.3	4.6	3.9
300: Natural Resources & Environment	16.0	15.1	16.5	16.2	16.9	17.3	16.8	17.2
350: Agriculture	29.2	28.4	30.1	26.2	25.5	22.3	22.2	20.3
370: Commerce & Housing Credit	12.2	7.5	12.4	5.4	15.4	6.8	12.8	4.8
400: Transportation	29.1	28.1	29.3	27.7	30.0	27.4	30.7	27.3
450: Community & Regional Development	6.9	6.7	6.8	6.2	6.8	6.0	6.5	5.9
500: Education, Training, Employment, & Social Services	35.1	32.8	36.0	35.2	37.2	36.4	38.8	37.8
550: Health	44.6	44.0	47.9	47.9	51.7	51.4	55.9	55.4
570: Medicare	93.3	79.8	102.7	88.8	113.3	99.5	123.9	111.0
600: Income Security	168.0	129.9	175.5	137.0	181.6	142.3	215.3	151.1
650: Social Security	4.7	4.7	5.3	5.3	5.4	5.4	5.4	5.4
700: Veterans' Benefits & Services	27.9	27.3	28.0	27.4	27.9	27.6	28.2	27.9
750: Administration of Justice	9.6	9.4	9.6	9.6	9.6	9.6	9.6	9.6
800: General Government	7.6	7.1	7.6	7.0	7.8	7.2	7.8	7.1
850: General Purpose Fiscal Assistance	1.6	1.6	1.6	1.6	1.6	1.6	1.7	1.7
900: Net Interest	145.4	145.4	150.9	150.9	154.4	154.4	155.8	155.8
920: Allowances	-0.3	-0.3	0.0	0.1	0.4	0.5	0.8	1.0
950: Undistributed Offsetting Receipts	-34.9	-34.9	-35.6	-35.6	-36.5	-36.5	-37.2	-37.2
TOTAL SPENDING	**1,157.8**	**1,052.7**	**1,220.8**	**1,092.3**	**1,270.7**	**1,132.8**	**1,343.7**	**1,171.3**
TOTAL REVENUES	**919.0**		**985.5**		**1,074.5**		**1,171.4**	
TOTAL DEFICIT	**-133.7**		**-106.8**		**-58.3**		**0.1**	

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 85

100th Congress
1st Session

May 1, 1987, 11:31 a.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-5798

NOMINATION OF ARNOLD L. RAPHEL TO BE AMBASSADOR TO PAKISTAN

POSITION: Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States to the Islamic Republic of Pakistan

SUBJECT: **Confirmation of the nomination of Arnold L. Raphel, of New Jersey, to be Ambassador to Pakistan.**

NOTE: Proponents pointed out that the nominee brings many assets to the position, including fluency in Urdu and service as political counselor at the Embassy in Islamabad and as Deputy Assistant Secretary for the Near East Bureau. The close working relationship he developed with General Zia should serve him well in advancing U.S. interests on key issues—such as Afghanistan and nuclear nonproliferation. With regard to his tax status, they insisted that the D.C. taxing authorities do recognize certain career Foreign Service Officers as holding positions which qualify for tax exemption because they serve at the pleasure of the President.

Opponents claimed that their reason for delaying the nomination had to do with his not providing a statement that the D.C. government accepts his claim that he is tax-exempt under the provisions of the D.C. Tax Code which exempts Presidential appointees who serve at the pleasure of the President. His claim for D.C. tax exemption was wrong, they contended, because the Foreign Service Act of 1980 made career Foreign Service Officers subject to removal from office only under specific circumstances involving decisions by promotion boards composed of other Foreign Service Officers.

Vote No. 85.

RESULT: **NOMINATION CONFIRMED**

ADMINISTRATION POSITION: YEA

YEAS (76)

Democrats (49 or 96%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Bingaman
Boren
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Fowler
Glenn
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Hollings
Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy

Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Simon
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans (27 or 61%)

Bond
Boschwitz
Chafee
Cohen
Danforth
Durenberger
Evans
Garn
Hatch
Hatfield
Hecht
Heinz
Karnes
Kassebaum
Kasten
Lugar
Murkowski
Packwood
Quayle
Roth
Simpson
Specter
Stafford
Stevens
Thurmond
Warner
Weicker

NAYS (19)

Democrats (2 or 4%)

Byrd
Ford

Republicans (17 or 39%)

Armstrong
D'Amato
Dole
Domenici
Gramm
Grassley
Helms
Humphrey
McClure
McConnell
Nickles
Pressler
Rudman
Symms
Trible
Wallop
Wilson

NOT VOTING (5)

Democrats (3)

Biden—2
Bradley—2
Gore—2

Republicans (2)

Cochran—2
McCain—2

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 96%
Republicans— 61%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (76)
Democrats— 49 or 64%
Republicans— 27 or 36%

Against (19)
Democrats— 2 or 11%
Republicans— 17 or 89%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 86

100th Congress
1st Session

May 1, 1987, 1:25 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-5799

NOMINATION OF MELISSA F. WELLS TO BE AMBASSADOR TO MOZAMBIQUE

POSITION: Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States to the People's Republic of Mozambique

SUBJECT: **Byrd motion to proceed to executive session to consider the nomination of Melissa Foelsch Wells, of New York, to be Ambassador to Mozambique.**

NOTE: Proponents of the nomination noted that Ms. Wells' nomination was reported favorably by a vote of 16 to 3. As a career Foreign Service Officer, the nominee has served as Ambassador to Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde, and as U.S. Representative to the U.N. Economic and Social Council. This new post is especially important because of Mozambique's role in developing the region economically and because of the serious famine inside the country. The Secretary of State feels it vital to have a representative there, where the U.S. has been without an Ambassador for several months. Having a top-ranking diplomat in a nation with which the U.S. may disagree is essential to keeping the channels of communication open.

Opponents labeled the nomination an example of the continuation of the failed policies of the State Department to wean Marxist-Leninist regimes away from the Soviet Union. The policy of cooperating with the current government should be abandoned, some insisted, because the rebel forces are anti-communist and have the growing support of the people despite the loss of outside support from South Africa. Ms. Wells' written response to questions from Senator Helms, opponents claimed, attempts to justify U.S. support for the present government which she contends is shifting to the West.

Vote Nos. 86, 234, 235, 237.

RESULT: MOTION TO PROCEED AGREED TO

YEAS (56)

Democrats
(43 or 93%)

Adams
Baucus
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Harkin
Hollings
Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry

Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Proxmire
Reid
Riegle
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Simon
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans
(13 or 34%)

Bond
Chafee
Cohen
Domenici
Durenberger
Evans
Hatfield
Heinz
Lugar
Packwood
Specter
Stafford
Weicker

NAYS (28)

Democrats
(3 or 7%)

Boren
Heflin
Pryor

Republicans
(25 or 66%)

Armstrong
Boschwitz
D'Amato
Dole
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hecht
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes
Kasten
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Pressler
Quayle
Rudman
Stevens
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Warner
Wilson

NOT VOTING (16)

Democrats (8)

Bentsen—2
Biden—2
Bingaman—2
Bradley—2
Dodd—2
Gore—2
Graham—2
Rockefeller—2

Republicans (8)

Cochran—2
Danforth—2
Kassebaum—2
McCain—2
Nickles—2
Roth—2
Simpson—2
Wallop—2AN

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 93%
Republicans— 66%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (56)
Democrats— 43 or 77%
Republicans— 13 or 23%

Against (28)
Democrats— 3 or 11%
Republicans— 25 or 89%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 87

100th Congress
1st Session

May 6, 1987, 12:22 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-5976

FIRST CONCURRENT BUDGET RESOLUTION, FY 1988

BILL NO.: S. Con. Res. 49 (H. Con. Res. 93) AMENDMENT NO.: 179

SUBJECT: **Chiles perfecting substitute amendment (Chiles II) (for the Chiles amendment No. 174) which increases defense spending to provide for zero real growth, upon the President's signature of the reconciliation bill which will make domestic cuts of $12.4 billion and provide for domestic initiatives of $3.8 billion, and increase revenues by $18.3 billion to pay for defense and reduce the deficit; allows REA loan prepayments of $7.2 billion, and an IRS initiative of $1.8 billion, resulting in an OMB-estimated FY 1988 deficit of $107.8 billion, a CBO-estimated deficit of $133.6 billion, and a balanced budget by 1991.**

NOTE: Proponents asserted that this budget is a significant improvement over the previous budget (Vote No. 84) and far better than the President's (Vote No. 90). It reduces spending below the level in the President's budget, and spreads those reductions more evenly over domestic and defense programs. This budget provides more desirable levels of spending for education, health, AIDS research, and economic development programs, and places increased defense spending on a pay-as-you-go basis. It alleviates the bias against western States in its modification of provisions affecting Power Marketing Administrations, its dropping of proposals for grazing fees and meat and poultry inspection fees, and its reduction of cost-sharing to local areas receiving mineral and timber payments. Rebasing of Medicare will yield savings of $3.3 billion, and the $1.4 billion savings from farm programs is a more reasonable reduction than that proposed in the previous budget and will allow time to implement programs to achieve permanent savings.

Opponents denied that this budget even hints at responsible fiscal policy. It raises taxes in an unspecified way by $137 billion over the next four years, discriminates against the western States by trampling on their right to collect a fair share of the Federal receipts garnered through mineral exploration and timber growth, raises spending for all programs regardless of their quality, does not meet the Nation's

(OVER)

S. Con. Res. 49 (H. Con. Res. 93): Vote Nos. 82-84, 87-97, 155-157.

RESULT: **AMENDMENT AGREED TO**

YEAS (57)

Democrats (54 or 100%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Biden
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Gore
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Hollings
Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Simon
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans (3 or 7%)

Chafee
Stafford
Weicker

NAYS (42)

Democrats (0 or 0%)

Republicans (42 or 93%)

Armstrong
Bond
Boschwitz
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Evans
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hatfield
Hecht
Heinz
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes
Kassebaum
Kasten
Lugar
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Packwood
Pressler
Quayle
Roth
Rudman
Specter
Stevens
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Warner
Wilson

NOT VOTING (1)

Democrats (0)

Republicans (1)

Simpson—2AN

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 100%
Republicans— 93%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (57)
Democrats— 54 or 95%
Republicans— 3 or 5%

Against (42)
Democrats— 0 or 0%
Republicans— 42 or 100%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

security needs, and ties defense spending to a tax increase, which in itself insures that the President will not support it. Raising taxes will not lower the deficit, since spending is being increased at the same time. While backing efforts to expand the Federal commitment in such areas as health care, AIDS research, and education, they criticized the proposal for not specifying the source of funds for these programs. Instead of turning to a tax increase, they suggested using funds from unsuccessful programs, such as farm programs, which grew 545 percent between 1981 and 1985 without raising farm income to a decent level; or from clean coal technology programs, which have done little, they claimed, to mitigate the immediate effects of acid rain. Some suggested that defense spending is responsible for the deficit in this budget, since increased defense spending inevitably leads to increased spending for domestic programs. Others pointed out there is no guarantee that funding added on the floor will be spent for the intended purpose, noting that $1.9 billion added last year for education eventually was spent on health.

FUNCTION TOTALS FOR THE CHILES PERFECTING SUBSTITUTE AMENDMENT NO. 179 (CHILES II) FOR THE CHILES AMENDMENT NO. 174, AS AMENDED

FUNCTION	1988 BA	1988 O	1989 BA	1989 O	1990 BA	1990 O	1991 BA	1991 O
	[In billions of dollars]							
050: National Defense:								
Without Pay for Defense	$289.0	$283.6	$294.8	$288.0	$297.9	$292.0	$301.1	$296.0
With Pay for Defense	301.5	290.6	307.3	295.0	310.4	299.0	313.6	303.0
150: International Affairs	15.8	15.8	20.3	14.3	16.0	13.3	15.3	11.3
250: General Science, Space & Technology	11.5	11.2	13.7	13.1	15.2	14.8	15.8	15.5
270: Energy	4.8	4.8	5.4	4.5	5.0	4.6	4.7	4.2
300: Natural Resources & Environment	16.0	15.1	16.5	16.2	16.9	17.3	16.8	17.2
350: Agriculture	29.4	28.6	30.1	26.2	25.5	22.3	22.2	20.3
370: Commerce & Housing Credit	12.2	7.5	12.4	5.4	15.4	6.8	12.8	4.8
400: Transportation	29.4	28.4	29.6	27.9	30.3	27.7	30.9	27.5
450: Community & Regional Development	7.4	6.7	7.3	6.4	7.2	6.5	7.0	6.3
500: Education, Training, Employment, & Social Services	36.0	32.9	36.4	35.9	37.7	36.9	39.2	38.2
550: Health	45.1	44.4	48.0	48.1	51.8	51.6	56.0	55.5
570: Medicare	93.2	80.1	102.7	89.1	113.2	99.8	123.8	111.3
600: Income Security (includes both on and off budget)	168.0	130.6	175.5	137.6	181.5	142.9	215.2	151.7
650: Social Security	256.8	220.7	281.5	235.4	310.6	252.0	338.8	269.7
700: Veterans' Benefits & Services	28.0	27.4	28.1	27.5	28.0	27.7	28.3	27.9
750: Administration of Justice	9.8	9.5	9.6	9.6	9.6	9.6	9.6	9.6
800: General Government	7.6	7.1	7.6	7.0	7.8	7.2	7.8	7.1
850: General Purpose Fiscal Assistance	1.8	1.8	1.7	1.7	1.8	1.8	1.8	1.8
900: Net Interest	139.2	139.2	142.2	142.2	142.5	142.5	140.3	140.3
920: Allowances	-0.3	-0.6	(*)	-0.3	0.6	0.3	1.2	0.8
950: Undistributed Offsetting Receipts	-40.4	-40.4	-42.0	-42.0	-43.6	-43.6	-45.3	-45.3
TOTAL SPENDING								
Without Pay for Defense	**1,160.3**	**1,054.4**	**1,221.4**	**1,093.9**	**1,270.9**	**1,134.0**	**1,343.3**	**1,172.0**
With Pay for Defense	**1,172.8**	**1,061.4**	**1,233.9**	**1,100.9**	**1,283.4**	**1,141.0**	**1,355.8**	**1,179.0**
TOTAL REVENUES								
Without Pay for Defense	**920.8**		**988.4**		**1,077.7**		**1,174.7**	
With Pay for Defense	**927.8**		**995.4**		**1,084.7**		**1,181.7**	
TOTAL DEFICIT (CBO economics)	**-133.6**		**-105.5**		**-56.3**		**+2.7**	

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*Less than $50 million.

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 88

100th Congress
1st Session

May 6, 1987, 1:35 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-5982

FIRST CONCURRENT BUDGET RESOLUTION, FY 1988

BILL NO.: S. Con. Res. 49 (H. Con. Res. 93) AMENDMENT NO.: 180

SUBJECT: **Dole-Byrd-Bentsen, et al., amendment (to the Chiles amendment No. 174, as amended—Vote No. 87) expressing the sense of the Senate that the assumptions underlying the revenue levels of this budget resolution will not be achieved by either raising or delaying the individual or corporate income tax rates passed in the Tax Reform Act of 1986.**

NOTE: Proponents emphasized that Congress spent many months crafting a tax bill that would be fair by balancing lower rates with repealing long-term capital gains rates and tax shelter provisions. Taxpayers should not have to fear that this law will be rewritten and rates increased. While agreeing that budgeting problems should be solved without an income tax rate increase, others stressed that the Finance Committee has the responsibility to exercise its independent judgment as to how to raise mandated revenue. This amendment, they asserted, states a preference rather than a binding policy, and modifications to the tax code may be necessary to insure equity between the wealthy and working Americans.

Opponents contended that in the last seven years a two-track tax policy has been pursued of reducing the income tax (which is based on the ability to pay) and increasing every other Federal tax (which is regressive and unrelated to ability to pay). The only group that would be better off would be the two percent of American families whose incomes exceed $100,000. This amendment is designed to protect a very small segment of the tax-paying population—those with the highest incomes. Options for raising revenues are restricted enough without restricting them even further.

S. Con. Res. 49 (H. Con. Res. 93): Vote Nos. 82-84, 87-97, 155-157.

RESULT: **AMENDMENT AGREED TO**

YEAS (90)

Democrats (45 or 83%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Biden
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Simon
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans (45 or 98%)

Armstrong
Bond
Boschwitz
Chafee
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Evans
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hatfield
Hecht
Heinz
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes
Kassebaum
Kasten
Lugar
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Packwood
Pressler
Quayle
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Specter
Stafford
Stevens
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Warner
Weicker
Wilson

NAYS (10)

Democrats (9 or 17%)

Bumpers
Conrad
Dodd
Glenn
Gore
Hollings
Levin
Mitchell
Sanford

Republicans (1 or 2%)

Danforth

NOT VOTING (0)

Democrats (0) **Republicans (0)**

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 83%
Republicans— 98%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (90)
Democrats— 45 or 50%
Republicans— 45 or 50%

Against (10)
Democrats— 9 or 90%
Republicans— 1 or 10%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 89

100th Congress
1st Session

May 6, 1987, 3:34 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-5994

FIRST CONCURRENT BUDGET RESOLUTION, FY 1988

BILL NO.: S. Con. Res. 49 (H. Con. Res. 93)

AMENDMENT NO.: 182

SUBJECT: **Chiles motion to table the Symms-Hecht-Pressler perfecting amendment (to the Chiles amendment No. 174, as amended—Vote No. 87) which reduces Function 150, International Affairs, by $483 million in BA and $450 million in outlays in FY 1988, $603 million in BA and $902 million in outlays in 1989, $604 million in BA and $888 million in outlays in 1990, $631 million in BA and $898 million in outlays in 1991; and provides for the following increases: Function 270, Energy, by $138 million in BA and $438 million in outlays in FY 1989, $128 million in BA and $413 million in outlays in 1990, and $147 million in BA and $414 million in outlays in 1991; Function 300, Natural Resources, by $8 million each in BA and outlays in FY 1988, and $11 million each in BA and outlays in each FY 1989-91; Function 550, Health, by $201 million each in BA and outlays in FY 1988, $204 million each in BA and outlays in 1989, $206 million each in BA and outlays in 1990, and in 1991; and Function 850, General Purpose Fiscal Assistance, by $274 million in BA and $241 million in outlays in FY 1988, $250 million in BA and $249 million in outlays in 1989, $259 million in BA and $258 million in outlays in 1990, and $267 million each in BA and outlays in 1991.**

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment asserted that the revenue savings expected from Functions 270 and 550 should be reduced to assure that user fees for grazing, mineral resources, timber receipts, and power marketing administrations are not imposed later. Language requiring fees in these four accounts was removed to correct the anti-western bias of the proposed budget, but as long as the numbers are in the reconciliation bill, the possibility remains that fees may be imposed in conference. The amendment would restore current law for these four accounts and achieve revenue neutrality by reducing the allocation and spending for multinational banks in Function 150. The money the U.S. sends to these lending institutions often is used to finance agricultural, manufacturing, and mining projects that compete with U.S. farmers and manufacturing interests in the world market. Repassing the FAIR bill (which states that the U.S. will cut off funding to the international banks where they lend money used

(OVER)

S. Con. Res. 49 (H. Con. Res. 93): Vote Nos. 82-84, 87-97, 155-157.

RESULT: **MOTION TO TABLE AGREED TO**

YEAS (60)

Democrats (48 or 89%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Biden
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Byrd
Chiles
Cranston
Daschle
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Gore
Graham
Harkin
Hollings
Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Simon
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans (12 or 27%)

Chafee
Cohen
Danforth
Evans
Heinz
Kasten
Lugar
Quayle
Rudman
Specter
Stafford
Weicker

NAYS (39)

Democrats (6 or 11%)

Bingaman
Burdick
Conrad
DeConcini
Heflin
Shelby

Republicans (33 or 73%)

Armstrong
Bond
Boschwitz
Cochran
D'Amato
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hatfield
Hecht
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes
Kassebaum
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Packwood
Roth
Simpson
Stevens
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Warner
Wilson

NOT VOTING (1)

Democrats (0)

Republicans (1)

Pressler—2

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 89%
Republicans— 73%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (60)
Democrats— 48 or 80%
Republicans— 12 or 20%

Against (39)
Democrats— 6 or 15%
Republicans— 33 or 85%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

in direct competition with U.S. production of agriculture, minerals, and other manufacturing goods and where they are being dumped below cost) will assure that the reduction in Function 150 will be applied to the multinational funds.

Opponents of the amendment pointed out that the amendment would only add money to the functions and would not affect reconciliation or guarantee that the funds go to the intended accounts since all language regarding the four accounts has been removed from the bill. The Committees are responsible for determining how savings will be made in their function, but since there are no assumptions in the budget that bias it against the west, as there are in the President's, the amendment is unnecessary. Moreover, members of the Agriculture Committee have already indicated they do not favor meat and poultry inspection fees. The level of savings expected from Functions 270 and 550 should not be reduced because they ought to realize savings for this budget along with every other function. In the case of Function 270 (Energy), $170 million in savings is expected from a function that has $4.8 billion. Taking money out of Function 150 does not necessarily take it out of multinational banks.

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 90

100th Congress
1st Session

May 6, 1987, 4:27 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-6004

FIRST CONCURRENT BUDGET RESOLUTION, FY 1988

BILL NO.: S. Con. Res. 49 (H. Con. Res. 93)

AMENDMENT NO.: 183

SUBJECT: **Chiles perfecting substitute amendment (for the Chiles amendment No. 174, as amended—Vote No. 87) containing the President's budget which increases defense spending by $7.8 billion, contains domestic cuts of $26.2 billion and domestic initiatives of $1.4 billion, and increases revenues by $18.1 billion, thereby resulting in a CBO-estimated FY 1988 deficit of $134.3 billion and an OMB-estimated deficit of $107.8 billion and missing the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings target by $26.3 billion in 1988 (using CBO economic assumptions) and each year thereafter, as well as missing a balanced budget in 1991 by $36.2 billion.**

NOTE: While no proponent spoke in favor of the President's budget, it was offered so that the Senate could express its opinion about it. The House rejected the President's budget by a vote of 394 to 27.

Opponents of the President's budget termed it a sham filled with phony economic projections, relying on bargain basement sales of national assets and still not reaching the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings deficit goals or a balanced budget by 1991. It achieves over half of its 1988 deficit reduction through revenue and tax increases, and asset sales. It cuts agriculture by $5 billion in 1988 and $24 billion over four years at a time of farm depression. It cuts education by $3 billion in 1988 and $24 billion over four years when competitiveness demands a highly educated and trained workforce. It also would add $100 billion more to the national debt than the Chiles budget. It continues the devastating fiscal policies of the past seven years that have caused the national debt to swell from under $1 trillion to over $2 trillion.

(OVER)

S. Con. Res. 49 (H. Con. Res. 93): Vote Nos. 82-84, 87-97, 155-157.

RESULT: **AMENDMENT REJECTED**

YEAS (18)

Democrats (0 or 0%)

Republicans (18 or 40%)

Armstrong
Bond
Dole
Garn
Gramm
Helms
Humphrey
Lugar
McCain
McClure
Nickles
Quayle
Rudman
Stevens
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Warner

NAYS (81)

Democrats (54 or 100%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Biden
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Gore
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Hollings

Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Simon
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans (27 or 60%)

Boschwitz
Chafee
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Domenici
Durenberger
Evans
Grassley
Hatch
Hatfield
Hecht
Heinz
Karnes
Kassebaum
Kasten
McConnell
Murkowski
Packwood
Roth
Simpson
Specter
Stafford
Wallop
Weicker
Wilson

NOT VOTING (1)

Democrats (0)

Republicans (1)

Pressler—2

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 100%
Republicans— 60%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (18)
Democrats— 0 or 0%
Republicans— 18 or 100%

Against (81)
Democrats— 54 or 67%
Republicans— 27 or 33%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

FUNCTION TOTALS FOR THE CHILES PERFECTING AMENDMENT NO. 183 (INCORPORATING THE PRESIDENT'S BUDGET) TO THE CHILES SUBSTITUTE AMENDMENT NO. 174, AS AMENDED

[In billions of dollars]

	1988		1989		1990		1991	
FUNCTION	BA	O	BA	O	BA	O	BA	O
050: National Defense	$311.8	$298.3	$332.0	$312.6	$353.0	$331.1	$374.4	$349.8
150: International Affairs	19.5	16.6	20.3	17.0	20.7	17.3	20.3	16.3
250: General Science, Space, & Technology	11.5	11.2	12.9	12.8	13.5	13.7	14.1	14.1
270: Energy	2.5	3.3	3.6	2.6	3.8	2.7	4.0	2.6
300: Natural Resources & Environment	14.1	14.1	15.1	15.3	15.1	15.9	14.4	15.5
350: Agriculture	25.7	24.9	27.0	23.3	22.5	19.3	17.7	15.2
370: Commerce & Housing Credit	11.7	4.3	10.0	1.4	12.1	2.7	9.7	0.2
400: Transportation	24.9	27.0	24.8	26.4	24.9	26.1	25.8	26.1
450: Community & Regional Development	5.6	5.2	5.6	4.5	5.7	4.4	5.8	4.6
500: Education, Training, Employment, & Social Services	29.1	28.5	28.3	28.7	27.8	28.0	27.6	27.8
550: Health	43.5	40.8	44.3	42.5	45.7	44.5	47.4	46.6
570: Medicare	93.9	78.0	103.9	86.5	114.3	94.5	124.9	103.7
600: Income Security	162.1	127.2	170.2	133.2	176.7	138.2	194.0	146.5
650: Social Security (includes both on and off budget)	257.3	220.8	282.3	235.4	311.5	251.9	339.9	269.5
700: Veterans' Benefits & Services	27.6	26.7	28.2	27.1	28.3	27.4	28.6	28.0
750: Administration of Justice	9.0	9.2	9.1	9.2	9.1	9.1	9.3	9.3
800: General Government	7.8	7.7	8.1	8.2	8.2	8.3	8.2	8.2
850: General Purpose Fiscal Assistance	1.5	1.5	1.6	1.6	1.6	1.6	1.6	1.6
900: Net Interest	145.2	145.2	151.8	151.8	157.0	157.0	160.2	160.2
920: Allowances	−1.3	−1.2	0.5	0.7	3.0	3.2	5.4	5.7
950: Undistributed Offsetting Receipts	−38.2	−38.2	−39.3	−39.3	−41.1	−41.1	−45.7	−45.7
TOTAL SPENDING	1,153.4	1,039.7	1,225.5	1,086.8	1,294.8	1,137.3	1,365.1	1,183.1

	1988	1989	1990	1991
TOTAL REVENUES	905.4	969.1	1,058.8	1,146.9
TOTAL DEFICIT (CBO economics)	−134.3	−117.7	−78.5	−36.2

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 91

100th Congress
1st Session

May 6, 1987, 5:41 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-6009

FIRST CONCURRENT BUDGET RESOLUTION, FY 1988

BILL NO.: S. Con. Res. 49 (H. Con. Res. 93) **AMENDMENT NO.: 185**

SUBJECT: **Domenici perfecting substitute amendment (for the Chiles amendment No. 174, as amended—Vote No. 87) which increases defense spending by $2.8 billion in BA and $1.1 billion in outlays in FY 1988, but provides $4 billion less in BA over four years; cuts domestic spending by $16 billion in 1988 (rather than $9 billion); provides for asset sales of $4.4 billion; and provides for $8 billion in revenue increases in 1988 (rather than $18 billion) and $61 billion over 1988-91 (instead of $119 billion), thereby resulting in a CBO-estimated FY 1988 deficit of $133.6 billion and an OMB-estimated deficit of $107.8 billion.**

NOTE: Proponents asserted that this two-year budget corrects many of the flaws in the Chiles budget. Not only does it achieve a realistic level of defense spending and a lower tax increase, but by focusing on a two-year appropriation cycle, it shifts the debate on the budget to a process that could yield greater credibility and consume less of the Senate's time. The Domenici proposal makes a reasonable attempt to work with the President. It provides more for defense without being contingent on a tax increase, reduces the rate of growth for domestic programs slightly, and requires only two years of reconciled taxes instead of four. The savings expected from Medicare are reduced to a level closer to the House's, and less savings are required from direct spending programs that affect western States. The Domenici budget makes use of asset sales (REA, the naval petroleum reserve, and foreign military sales) which, while representing one-time only savings, permit the Senate to have a two-year reconciliation on taxes instead of four, and still achieve a balanced budget by 1991 without relying on budgetary gimmicks. The budget concentrates on the next two years because longer predictions cannot be made accurately. While acknowledging that the budget does not meet the deficit target, the sponsor stated he would not appeal a point of order brought against it.

(OVER)

S. Con. Res. 49 (H. Con. Res. 93): Vote Nos. 82-84, 87-97, 155-157.

RESULT: **AMENDMENT REJECTED**

YEAS (29)

Democrats
(0 or 0%)

Republicans
(29 or 64%)

Armstrong
Bond
Boschwitz
Cochran
Cohen
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Evans
Garn
Gramm
Hatch
Hecht
Humphrey
Kassebaum
Lugar
McCain
McClure
Nickles
Packwood
Quayle
Rudman
Simpson
Stevens
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Warner

NAYS (70)

Democrats
(54 or 100%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Biden
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Gore
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Hollings
Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Simon
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans
(16 or 36%)

Chafee
D'Amato
Durenberger
Grassley
Hatfield
Heinz
Helms
Karnes
Kasten
McConnell
Murkowski
Roth
Specter
Stafford
Weicker
Wilson

NOT VOTING (1)

Democrats (0)

Republicans (1)

Pressler—2

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion	Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on *For* (29)	*Against* (70)
Democrats— 100%	Democrats— 0 or 0%	Democrats— 54 or 77%
Republicans— 64%	Republicans— 29 or 100%	Republicans— 16 or 23%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

Opponents asserted that the Domenici budget achieves the same deficit as the Chiles-Democratic budget in the first year, but is higher in all other years. It achieves savings through haphazard and random cuts in the Federal work force, and large unspecified cuts in appropriations, and relies on one-time only outlay savings that do nothing to reduce the structural deficit. Not only does it fail to meet the deficit target, but it makes use of the dual economic assumptions that the Minority opposed in the Chiles budget (Vote No. 83). Under the Domenici budget, defense spending would be $1.1 billion higher in the first year, financed in part by asset sales and domestic cuts, but total defense spending over the next four years would be $4 billion less and would be frozen in the last two years. The military pay raise would be limited to two percent instead of four percent. Defense would be further affected by the Domenici budget having a higher ratio of budget authority to outlays than the Chiles budget, which causes larger cuts in fast spendout programs, such as military personnel, and operations and maintenance, in order to maintain procurement programs. Other areas of the budget also fare poorly. The Domenici budget assumes about $1 billion more in foreign aid, includes $3.8 billion less in domestic spending, and does not add funds for high priority domestic programs such as education and health care. It requires the Labor Committee to reconcile $350 million in cuts to programs in Function 500, and cuts Medicare $6.5 billion more over four years than the Chiles budget. It does not provide sufficient funds in Function 250 to pursue the space station and superconducting super collider projects, and does not provide four years of reconciliation instructions, which are essential to sound budgetary management. It also provides less funding for veterans programs than the Chiles budget.

FUNCTION TOTALS FOR THE DOMENICI PERFECTING SUBSTITUTE AMENDMENT NO. 185 TO THE CHILES SUBSTITUTE AMENDMENT NO. 174, AS AMENDED

[In billions of dollars]

	1988		1989		1990		1991	
FUNCTION	BA	O	BA	O	BA	O	BA	O
050: National Defense	$304.3	$291.7	$308.0	$296.7	$308.0	$298.0	$308.0	$297.0
150: International Affairs	16.9	13.7	21.6	15.1	17.2	14.3	15.5	12.3
250: General Science, Space, & Technology	11.2	11.0	13.2	12.8	14.1	14.1	14.4	14.3
270: Energy	2.1	−4.1	3.0	3.1	3.1	3.0	2.9	2.4
300: Natural Resources & Environment	15.5	14.9	16.2	5.9	16.6	16.9	16.6	7.0
350: Agriculture	29.2	28.4	30.0	26.2	25.5	22.3	22.2	20.3
370: Commerce & Housing Credit	12.3	7.2	11.8	4.5	14.8	6.3	12.2	4.1
400: Transportation	26.9	27.3	26.7	27.1	26.7	26.8	26.6	26.7
450: Community & Regional Development	6.9	6.6	6.5	6.1	6.4	6.0	6.2	5.7
500: Education, Training, Employment, & Social Services	34.0	32.4	34.3	33.9	34.4	34.2	34.5	34.5
550: Health	43.5	43.1	46.6	46.4	50.1	49.6	53.7	53.0
570: Medicare	93.3	80.8	102.7	87.3	113.3	96.7	123.9	109.0
600: Income Security (includes both on and off budget)	167.7	129.9	174.7	136.6	180.7	141.7	214.2	150.5
650: Social Security	256.8	220.7	281.5	235.4	310.6	252.0	338.8	269.7
700: Veterans' Benefits & Services	27.5	27.0	27.5	26.9	27.1	26.8	27.2	27.0
750: Administration of Justice	9.6	9.4	9.6	9.6	9.6	9.6	9.6	9.6
800: General Government	7.5	7.0	7.7	7.1	7.8	7.1	7.8	7.1
850: General Purpose Fiscal Assistance	1.8	1.8	1.9	1.9	1.9	1.9	1.9	1.9
900: Net Interest	145.8	145.8	151.9	151.9	154.5	154.5	155.8	155.8
920: Allowances	−1.3	−1.3	−1.2	−1.2	−1.1	−1.2	−0.1	−0.2
950: Undistributed Offsetting Receipts	−37.7	−37.7	−36.5	−36.5	−36.6	−36.6	−37.5	−37.5
TOTAL SPENDING	**1,162.1**	**1,043.9**	**1,223.4**	**1,092.4**	**1,267.0**	**1,126.4**	**1,332.8**	**1,158.6**
TOTAL REVENUES	**910.3**		**985.5**		**1,069.3**		**1,159.5**	
TOTAL DEFICIT (CBO economics)	**−133.6**		**−106.9**		**−57.1**		**0.9**	

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 92

100th Congress
1st Session

May 6, 1987, 6:37 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-6013

FIRST CONCURRENT BUDGET RESOLUTION, FY 1988

BILL NO.: S. Con. Res. 49 (H. Con. Res. 93) AMENDMENT NO.: 186

SUBJECT: **Chiles motion to table the Roth-Domenici-Quayle perfecting amendment (to the Chiles amendment No. 174, as amended—Vote No. 87) stating the sense of the Congress that a biennial budget and appropriations process would provide greater stability for financial markets, focus congressional attention on national fiscal policy, create an orderly process for consideration of important spending decisions, promote better accountability, and improve the operations and effectiveness of Congress; and that Congress should enact such a budget and appropriations process this year.**

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment asserted that the budget process is so unwieldy that Congress repeatedly misses budget deadlines and appears to have little control over the entire process. While the Budget Act of 1974 brought about important reforms, the budget process still fosters uncertainty in financial markets and for recipients of Federal funds. It results in redundant congressional action, encourages the use of budgetary gimmicks, and focuses attention away from the development of long-term national priorities. A two-year budget cycle, which has the support of former and current officials at OMB and CBO, would help solve these problems.

Opponents of the amendment called this sense of the Senate amendment a "hollow gesture" that adds nothing to the efforts of those Senators who have been trying for years to initiate a two-year budget procedure. Those pushing it now could easily propose a resolution creating a select committee to implement a two-year cycle, rather than offering an amendment that could be defeated in conference. The Governmental Affairs and Budget Committees currently are reviewing a two-year budget cycle, which requires thorough study, since a two-year budget cycle makes reacting to sudden economic changes more difficult. The President backs such a study and has suggested that part of the budget (defense) be used as an experiment. Some noted that the Governmental Affairs Committee had been unwilling to hold hearings on a two-year budget while under Republican leadership; and when the Senate created a select committee to study a two-year budget, opposition was so strong that the action creating the committee was vitiated.

S. Con. Res. 49 (H. Con. Res. 93): Vote Nos. 82-84, 87-97, 155-157.

RESULT: MOTION TO TABLE AGREED TO

YEAS (53)			NAYS (45)			NOT VOTING (2)	
Democrats (49 or 91%)		**Republicans (4 or 9%)**	**Democrats (5 or 9%)**	**Republicans (40 or 91%)**		**Democrats (0)**	**Republicans (2)**
Adams	Johnston	Hatfield	Bentsen	Armstrong	Karnes		Pressler—2
Baucus	Kennedy	McClure	Biden	Bond	Kassebaum		Wallop—2
Bingaman	Kerry	Specter	Heflin	Boschwitz	Kasten		
Boren	Lautenberg	Weicker	Nunn	Chafee	Lugar		
Bradley	Leahy		Shelby	Cochran	McCain		
Breaux	Levin			Cohen	McConnell		
Bumpers	Matsunaga			D'Amato	Murkowski		
Burdick	Melcher			Danforth	Nickles		
Byrd	Metzenbaum			Dole	Packwood		
Chiles	Mikulski			Domenici	Quayle		
Conrad	Mitchell			Durenberger	Roth		
Cranston	Moynihan			Evans	Rudman		
Daschle	Pell			Garn	Simpson		
DeConcini	Proxmire			Gramm	Stafford		
Dixon	Pryor			Grassley	Stevens		
Dodd	Reid			Hatch	Symms		
Exon	Riegle			Hecht	Thurmond		
Ford	Rockefeller			Heinz	Trible		
Fowler	Sanford			Helms	Warner		
Glenn	Sarbanes			Humphrey	Wilson		
Gore	Sasser						
Graham	Simon						
Harkin	Stennis						
Hollings	Wirth						
Inouye							

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion	Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on	
	For (53)	*Against* (45)
Democrats— 91%	Democrats— 49 or 92%	Democrats— 5 or 11%
Republicans— 91%	Republicans— 4 or 8%	Republicans— 40 or 89%

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 93

100th Congress
1st Session

May 6, 1987, 10:34 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-6054

FIRST CONCURRENT BUDGET RESOLUTION, FY 1988

BILL NO.: S. Con. Res. 49 (H. Con. Res. 93) AMENDMENT NO.: 189

SUBJECT: **Chiles motion to table the Chafee-Durenberger-Heinz perfecting amendment (to the Chiles amendment No. 174, as amended—Vote No. 87) which restores $1 billion in Medicare cuts and adds $1 billion in Medicaid funding for FY 1988.**

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment asserted that the Chiles budget falls short of the Nation's health care needs, claiming that many Medicare or Medicaid beneficiaries receive either inadequate assistance or are forced below the poverty level to qualify. If the Senate claims to be committed to correcting shortfalls in home health care, prescription drugs, and mental health benefits, it must be willing to put resources into the programs in order to do so. The amendment improves upon the President's plan and would give the Senate time to assess the impact of cuts made over the last five years, which for Medicare alone amount to $30 billion. It would provide enough of an increase in the Diagnostic Related Groupings (DRG) rates to enable rural hospitals, which are facing severe financial difficulties, to meet expenses. The amendment also would improve the quality of a wide range of services; meet the catastrophic health care needs for low-income elderly, disabled persons, and individuals under the age of 65; and work to break the connection between Medicaid and other subsistence programs. The cost of the amendment could be offset without affecting beneficiaries or rural hospitals by increasing the tax on the single largest cause of catastrophic health expenses, cigarettes, and by reducing some of the waste that exists in Medicare and Medicaid.

Opponents of the amendment asserted that this is a "tax and spend" amendment. Its only effect would be to modify the reconciliation instructions to the Finance Committee for an additional $2 billion in taxes in FY 1988 and $5.6 billion over the next four years. It would not affect Medicare, Medicaid, or any catastrophic insurance proposal. While it has been suggested that the amendment can be paid for in part by reducing waste in Medicare and Medicaid, which the Finance Committee is now exploring,

(OVER)

S. Con. Res. 49 (H. Con. Res. 93): Vote Nos. 82-84, 87-97, 155-157.

RESULT: MOTION TO TABLE AGREED TO

YEAS (69)

Democrats
(49 or 92%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Biden
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Graham
Hollings
Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Simon
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans
(20 or 44%)

Armstrong
Bond
Danforth
Evans
Garn
Gramm
Hecht
Helms
Humphrey
Lugar
McCain
McConnell
Nickles
Quayle
Roth
Rudman
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Warner

NAYS (29)

Democrats
(4 or 8%)

Harkin
Heflin
Pell
Shelby

Republicans
(25 or 56%)

Boschwitz
Chafee
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Grassley
Hatch
Hatfield
Heinz
Karnes
Kassebaum
Kasten
McClure
Murkowski
Packwood
Simpson
Specter
Stafford
Stevens
Symms
Weicker
Wilson

NOT VOTING (2)

Democrats (1)

Gore—^{2}

Republicans (1)

Pressler—^{2}

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion	**Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on**	
	For (69)	*Against* (29)
Democrats— 92%	Democrats— 49 or 71%	Democrats— 4 or 14%
Republicans— 56%	Republicans— 20 or 29%	Republicans— 25 or 86%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

claiming those savings does not require an amendment that also adds more taxes. The Chiles budget proposes savings in Medicare and Medicaid that will not increase beneficiary premiums or copayments and deductibles, and so does not impact rural hospitals. The Chiles budget does not demand the savings the President's budget does, and reduces the savings reported by committee, adding back $300 million each year. Moreover, additional adjustments will be made in conference, probably resulting in further reduced savings since the House has savings of about $1 billion less in this function than the Senate. Additional legislation for catastrophic insurance is not necessary because the caps on catastrophic insurance have been removed, which will allow the Finance Committee to put as much as it wants into that area. Some opponents still expressed concern that any reductions in Medicare over the current levels will affect rural hospitals and hurt senior citizens.

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 94

100th Congress
1st Session

May 6, 1987, 10:54 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-6054

FIRST CONCURRENT BUDGET RESOLUTION, FY 1988

BILL NO.: S. Con. Res. 49 (H. Con. Res. 93) **AMENDMENT NO.: 190**

SUBJECT: **Chiles motion to table the Murkowski-Stevens, et al., perfecting amendment (to the Chiles amendment No. 174, as amended—Vote No. 87) which increases the Veterans Benefits and Services Function 700 by $50 million in BA and $100 million in outlays in FY 1988, offset by reductions of the same amount in the General Government Function 800 (assuming the elimination of all funding to implement campaign financing reform).**

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment asserted that additional funding should be provided for veterans' programs in three areas: compensation for exposure to radiation, AIDS treatment in VA hospitals, and retention of skilled nurses to work in VA hospitals, for which the shortage is so acute that some facilities have been forced to close. The VA budget has declined by six percent in real terms between 1981-86, and would drop an additional 3.7 percent under the Chiles budget while demands on the VA are increasing because of an aging veteran population. The amendment would be paid for by decreasing Function 800 by the amount included for public financing for FY 1988. This money could not be used for the intended purpose even if the Campaign Financing Reform bill, S. 2, passed this year, because that legislation is not effective for an election occurring less than a year after it becomes law. The Senate will have more than enough time to debate the merits of public financing, they contended, so rather than include money in the budget for a purpose that the Senate has not even voted on, the money should be applied to the pressing needs of the veteran population.

Opponents of the amendment called it a "cleverly disguised attempt" to curtail the debate on public financing, which many consider one of the most pressing national needs. Money for public financing is included in the budget prior to debate on it because the purpose of the budget process is to define priorities. Moreover, if S. 2 were enacted in its present form by November, it could take effect for the 1988 Senatorial elections. The Chiles budget has the highest level of VA spending of any budget

(OVER)

S. Con. Res. 49 (H. Con. Res. 93): Vote Nos. 82-84, 87-97, 155-157.

RESULT: MOTION TO TABLE AGREED TO

YEAS (50)

Democrats (50 or 94%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Biden
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Graham
Harkin
Hollings
Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Simon
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans (0 or 0%)

NAYS (48)

Democrats (3 or 6%)

Heflin
Riegle
Shelby

Republicans (45 or 100%)

Armstrong
Bond
Boschwitz
Chafee
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Evans
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hatfield
Hecht
Heinz
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes
Kassebaum
Kasten
Lugar
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Packwood
Quayle
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Specter
Stafford
Stevens
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Warner
Weicker
Wilson

NOT VOTING (2)

Democrats (1)

Gore—2

Republicans (1)

Pressler—2

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—94%
Republicans—100%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (50)
Democrats—50 or 100%
Republicans—0 or 0%

Against (48)
Democrats—3 or 6%
Republicans—45 or 94%

the Senate has considered, and comes close to the levels recommended by the Veterans' Affairs Committee. In addition, according to the Chairman of the Veterans' Affairs Committee, crosswalk allocations will be available from discretionary spending to the HUD-Independent Agencies Subcommittee that will be applied to AIDS treatment and health-care personnel recruitment and retention, so it is unnecessary to juxtapose the needs of veterans with the issue of public financing. The amendment's ultimate effect would be to make unspecified cuts in Function 800 that could impact on many areas of government.

SENATE VOTING RECORD
NO. 95

100th Congress
1st Session

May 6, 1987, 11:11 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-6054

FIRST CONCURRENT BUDGET RESOLUTION, FY 1988

BILL NO.: S. Con. Res. 49 (H. Con. Res. 93) **AMENDMENT NO.:** 191

SUBJECT: **Chiles motion to table the Evans, et al., perfecting amendment (to the Chiles amendment No. 174, as amended—Vote No. 87) which increases the Energy Function 270, Natural Resources and Environment Function 300, and General Purpose Fiscal Assistance Function 850 by almost $400 million in outlays in FY 1988; and offsets this increase and presumes an additional deficit reduction of $2.1 billion in outlays by cutting the International Affairs Function 150 by $2.5 billion (by presuming an advance repayment and lowered refinancing of foreign military sales loans).** (If these bargain rate repayments were accomplished, the out-year deficit would increase by $500 million each FY 1989-91.)

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment noted that its net effect would lower the deficit for FY 1988 by $2.1 billion. Additionally, it would remove the economic burden that would be placed on the Pacific Northwest by proposed changes in the loan repayment programs which would result in a 30 percent increase in power rates. Industries in the area which rely on power, such as timber, mining, agriculture, and energy, would have their marginal economic situation worsened so that they could no longer effectively compete with other companies across the country and abroad. Even though the prepayment of Ex-Im Bank and Foreign Military Sales (FMS) loans may not be viewed favorably, such a procedure is currently being undertaken by the Administration for four countries. The transactions have been completed and, at the end of the year, the prepayments will be credited to the budget.

Opponents of the amendment asserted that allowing countries to prepay their FMS and Ex-Im loans would enable them to liquidate their debt and take a lower interest rate. It would, however, result in the loss of billions of dollars to the U.S. The Administration has written contracts with these countries which prohibit prepayment, and it would be ridiculous to allow four nations—one of which (Korea) has a very favorable balance of trade surplus with the U.S.—to default so that a lower interest rate can be set. The argument that the prepayment of loans by four countries already has been undertaken and will become a reality by year's end is fallacious since GAO has not yet ruled on its legality. The objections that western Senators had to the President's budget and the first Chiles budget, some argued, have been removed, and this amendment is not necessary to protect western States.

S. Con. Res. 49 (H. Con. Res. 93): Vote Nos. 82-84, 87-97, 155-157.

RESULT: **MOTION TO TABLE AGREED TO**

YEAS (57)

Democrats (49 or 92%)

Adams
Bentsen
Biden
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Graham
Harkin
Hollings
Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Simon
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans (8 or 18%)

Chafee
Cohen
Durenberger
Heinz
Humphrey
Rudman
Specter
Weicker

NAYS (41)

Democrats (4 or 8%)

Baucus
Bingaman
DeConcini
Heflin

Republicans (37 or 82%)

Armstrong
Bond
Boschwitz
Cochran
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Evans
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hatfield
Hecht
Helms
Karnes
Kassebaum
Kasten
Lugar
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Packwood
Quayle
Roth
Simpson
Stafford
Stevens
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Warner
Wilson

NOT VOTING (2)

Democrats (1)

Gore—2

Republicans (1)

Pressler—2

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion	**Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on**	
	For (57)	*Against* (41)
Democrats—92%	Democrats—49 or 86%	Democrats—4 or 10%
Republicans—82%	Republicans—8 or 14%	Republicans—37 or 90%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 96

100th Congress
1st Session

May 6, 1987, 11:28 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-6054

FIRST CONCURRENT BUDGET RESOLUTION, FY 1988

BILL NO.: S. Con. Res. 49 (H. Con. Res. 93) AMENDMENT NO.: 193

SUBJECT: **Chiles motion to table the Grassley perfecting amendment (to the Chiles amendment No. 174, as amended—Vote No. 87) which decreases Function 50 defense spending by $6 billion in budget authority and $2 billion in outlays in FY 1988, and by $2 billion in outlays in each FY 1989-90; and decreases revenues by a corresponding $2 billion in each of these three years.**

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment noted that it would limit defense spending by reducing the revenues in the contingency fund for defense by $2 billion in each of the next three years. DOD was unable to spend all its funds last year and, according to estimates, will end up with $16 billion in BA that it will be unable to obligate before September 30 of this year. It makes no sense to continue such overfunding. It is more important that defense dollars be spent effectively. Since billions of dollars are currently spent to provide defense for Western Europe and Japan, some insisted that these allies should start paying more of the defense costs.

Opponents of the amendment asserted that, the defense budget should not be reduced at this time considering the threat of Soviet expansion and the beginning of progress in controlling the arms race. The U.S. must maintain its defense capabilities and not go below a zero real growth level in the defense budget. Others opposed the amendment, feeling that the defense figure was already too low in the Chiles modified budget.

S. Con. Res. 49 (H. Con. Res. 93): Vote Nos. 82-84, 87-97, 155-157.

RESULT: **MOTION TO TABLE AGREED TO**

YEAS (82)

Democrats (43 or 81%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Biden
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Byrd
Chiles
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Graham
Heflin

Hollings
Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Levin
Matsunaga
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pryor
Reid
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans (39 or 87%)

Armstrong
Bond
Boschwitz
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Evans
Garn
Gramm
Hatch
Hecht
Heinz
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes
Kassebaum

Kasten
Lugar
McCain
McClure
Murkowski
Nickles
Packwood
Quayle
Rudman
Simpson
Specter
Stafford
Stevens
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Warner
Wilson

NAYS (16)

Democrats (10 or 19%)

Burdick
Conrad
Harkin
Leahy
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Pell
Proxmire
Riegle
Simon

Republicans (6 or 13%)

Chafee
Grassley
Hatfield
McConnell
Roth
Weicker

NOT VOTING (2)

Democrats (1)

Gore—2

Republicans (1)

Pressler—2

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—81%
Republicans—87%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (82)
Democrats—43 or 52%
Republicans—39 or 48%

Against (16)
Democrats—10 or 62.5%
Republicans—6 or 37.5%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 97

100th Congress
1st Session

May 6, 1987, 11:47 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-6069

FIRST CONCURRENT BUDGET RESOLUTION, FY 1988

BILL NO.: H. Con. Res. 93 (S. Con. Res. 49)

SUBJECT: **Adoption of the concurrent resolution which sets forth the recommended levels of total new budget authority, outlays, and revenues for the U.S. government for FY 1988 with a provision that would provide for an increase in defense spending to the inflation-adjusted zero real growth level if a reconciliation package is enacted that raises an additional $7 billion annually in revenues to cover the increase, as follows (in billions of dollars):**

	FY 1988	FY 1989	FY 1990	FY 1991
Without Pay for Defense				
Budget Authority	$1,160.3	$1,221.4	$1,270.9	$1,343.3
Outlays	1,054.4	1,093.9	1,134.0	1,172.0
Revenues	920.8	988.4	1,077.7	1,174.7
Deficit (CBO)	–133.6	–105.5	–56.3	2.7
Deficit (OMB)	–107.8	–80.2	–33.6	23.8
With Pay for Defense				
Budget Authority	$1,172.8	$1,233.9	$1,283.4	$1,355.8
Outlays	1,061.4	1,100.9	1,141.0	1,179.0
Revenues	927.8	995.4	1,084.7	1,181.7
Deficit (CBO)	–133.6	–105.5	–56.3	2.7
Deficit (OMB)	–107.8	–80.2	–33.6	23.8

H. Con. Res. 93 (S. Con. Res. 49): Vote Nos. 82-84, 87-97, 155-157.

RESULT: CONCURRENT RESOLUTION AGREED TO

YEAS (56)

Democrats
(53 or 100%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Biden
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Hollings
Inouye

Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Simon
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans
(3 or 7%)

Chafee
Stafford
Weicker

NAYS (42)

Democrats
(0 or 0%)

Republicans
(42 or 93%)

Armstrong
Bond
Boschwitz
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Evans
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hatfield
Hecht
Heinz
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes

Kassebaum
Kasten
Lugar
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Packwood
Quayle
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Specter
Stevens
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Warner
Wilson

NOT VOTING (2)

Democrats (1)

Gore—2

Republicans (1)

Pressler—2

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 100%
Republicans— 93%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (56)
Democrats— 53 or 95%
Republicans— 3 or 5%

Against (42)
Democrats— 0 or 0%
Republicans— 42 or 100%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

MAJOR PROVISIONS

Deficits: Assumes deficits, using CBO and OMB economic and technical estimates, as follows: CBO—$133.6 billion in FY 1988, $105.3 billion in 1989, and $56.3 billion in 1990, with a surplus of $2.7 billion in 1991; OMB—107.8 billion in FY 1988, $80.2 billion in 1989, and $33.6 billion in 1990, with a surplus of $33.6 billion in 1991

Revenues: Directs the Finance Committee to report changes in laws to increase revenues by $90.8 billion over the four-year period FY 1988-91—$11.3 billion in FY 1988, $23.5 billion in 1989, $23.5 billion in 1990, and $32.5 billion in 1991; assumes additional revenues of $11.15 billion over the four-year period from adoption of the President's IRS initiative to increase tax collections, auditing and enforcement activities; and anticipates receipt of $7.2 billion from the prepayment of REA loans in FY 1988. Also provides for an increase in defense spending if the Finance Committee reports changes that would raise an additional $7 billion each year to pay for the increase.

Defense: Provides for an inflation-adjusted zero real growth level in defense spending if legislation is enacted that raises an additional $7 billion in revenues each year to pay for the increase.

Domestic Programs: Contains net cuts of $8.6 billion in FY 1988, $12.5 billion in 1999 $19.8 billion in 1990, and $25.7 billion in 1991 and funding for new initiatives in education, science, and job training of $3.8 billion in FY 1988, $7.6 billion in 1989, $10.0 billion in 1990, and $12.3 billion in 1991.

Reconciliation: Directs eight Senate authorizing committees to report legislation by May 14, 1987, to reduce spending in programs within their respective jurisdictions to achieve outlay savings of $7.9 billion in FY 1988, $10.3 billion in 1989, $14.5 billion in 1990, and $17.5 billion in 1991. The instructions also recommend increases in contributions (Agriculture) totaling $7.2 billion in FY 1988.

Deficit Reduction Account: Expresses the sense of the Congress that the appropriate committees should report legislation to create a deficit reduction account into which would be deposited any new revenues collected as a result of reconciliation and which would be used to retire outstanding debt obligations of the U.S. government and would be unavailable for appropriation; and that revenue increases resulting from reconciliation would not be effective for any year in which congressional committees exceeded their spending levels.

Sale of Government Assets: Specifies that the sale of government assets should not be counted for purposes of deficit reduction in the current fiscal year or for purposes of allowing further spending in the current year—asset sales receipts would be available solely to reduce the national debt.

Loan Prepayment: Prevents proceeds from the prepayment (when authorized) of REA loans from being used for new spending.

Reserve Funds: Creates reserve funds for the anticipated welfare reform initiative (child care and job training) and for a deficit neutral medicare catastrophic insurance initiative.

Credit Budget FY 1988-91: Includes non-binding credit levels of $34.0 billion in FY 1988, $32.3 billion in 1989, $31.0 billion in 1990, and $30.1 billion in 1991 for new direct loan obligations, and $156.5 billion in FY 1988, $150.4 billion in 1989, $158.1 billion in 1990, and $165.4 billion in 1991 for new primary loan guarantee commitments.

FUNCTIONAL BREAKDOWN FOR FY 1988-91

FUNCTION	1988		1989		1990		1991	
	BA	O	BA	O	BA	O	BA	O
	[In billions of dollars]							
050: National Defense:								
Without Pay for Defense	$289.0	$283.6	$294.8	$288.0	$297.9	$292.0	$301.1	$296.0
With Pay for Defense	301.5	290.6	307.3	295.0	310.4	299.0	313.6	303.0
150: International Affairs	15.8	15.8	20.3	14.3	16.0	13.3	15.3	11.3
250: General Science, Space & Technology	11.5	11.2	13.7	13.1	15.2	14.8	15.8	15.5
270: Energy	4.8	4.8	5.4	4.5	5.0	4.6	4.7	4.2
300: Natural Resources & Environment	16.0	15.1	16.5	16.2	16.9	17.3	16.8	17.2
350: Agriculture	29.4	28.6	30.1	26.2	25.5	22.3	22.2	20.3
370: Commerce & Housing Credit	12.2	7.5	12.4	5.4	15.4	6.8	12.8	4.8
400: Transportation	29.4	28.4	29.6	27.9	30.3	27.7	30.9	27.5
450: Community & Regional Development	7.4	6.7	7.3	6.4	7.2	6.5	7.0	6.3
500: Education, Training, Employment, & Social Services	36.0	32.9	36.4	35.9	37.7	36.9	39.2	38.2
550: Health	45.1	44.4	48.0	48.1	51.8	51.6	56.0	55.5
570: Medicare	93.2	80.1	102.7	89.1	113.2	99.8	123.8	111.3
600: Income Security	168.0	130.6	175.5	137.6	181.5	142.9	215.2	151.7
650: Social Security	256.8	220.7	281.5	235.4	310.6	252.0	338.8	269.7
700: Veterans' Benefits & Services	28.0	27.4	28.1	27.5	28.0	27.7	28.3	27.9
750: Administration of Justice	9.8	9.5	9.6	9.6	9.6	9.6	9.6	9.6
800: General Government	7.6	7.1	7.6	7.0	7.8	7.2	7.8	7.1
850: General Purpose Fiscal Assistance	1.8	1.8	1.7	1.7	1.8	1.8	1.8	1.8
900: Net Interest	139.2	139.2	142.2	142.2	142.5	142.5	140.3	140.3
920: Allowances	–0.3	–0.6	(*)	–0.3	0.6	0.3	1.2	0.8
950: Undistributed Offsetting Receipts	–40.4	–40.4	–42.0	–42.0	–43.6	–43.6	–45.3	–45.3
TOTAL SPENDING								
Without Pay for Defense	**1,160.3**	**1,054.4**	**1,221.4**	**1,093.9**	**1,270.9**	**1,134.0**	**1,343.3**	**1,172.0**
With Pay for Defense	**1,172.8**	**1,061.4**	**1,233.9**	**1,100.9**	**1,283.4**	**1,141.0**	**1,355.8**	**1,179.0**

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*Less than $50 million

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 98

100th Congress
1st Session

May 7, 1987, 2:36 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-6190

SUPPLEMENTAL APPROPRIATIONS, 1987

BILL NO.: H.R. 1827

SUBJECT: **Byrd motion to waive sections 302(f), 303(a), and 311(a) of the Budget Act to allow the consideration of the bill making supplemental appropriations for FY 1987.** (See Vote Nos. 137, 140, and 141.)

NOTE: Section 302(b) prohibits consideration of legislation providing budget authority (BA) or outlays in excess of the subcommittee's allocation. Section 303(a) prohibits consideration of legislation providing new BA, change in revenues, change in public debt, new entitlement authority, or new credit authority for a fiscal year until the budget resolution for that year has been agreed to. Section 311(a) prohibits consideration of legislation which would exceed outlay ceiling, or revenue floor, or would cause the deficit to exceed the maximum deficit amount.

Proponents of the motion emphasized that the waiver is not an invitation to new spending but pointed out that the bill was $1 billion less than the House bill. Of the $2.6 billion in question, $1.1 billion is for retirement contributions that have been earned under the law. The rest is for defense and foreign assistance requested by the President.

Opponents asserted that the motion waiving the Budget Act would assure that the deficit increases by $2.6 billion. Although the funding may be for good purposes, it must be offset by savings from other programs. Senators voted unanimously twice to assure that funding for the homeless and disaster assistance for farmers (Vote Nos. 71 and 77) would not raise the deficit, and they should not now vote to waive the budget and increase the deficit.

H.R. 1827: Vote Nos. 98, 100, 117-145, 176.

RESULT: **MOTION TO WAIVE BUDGET ACT REJECTED, 3/5THS NOT HAVING VOTED IN THE AFFIRMATIVE**

YEAS (51)

Democrats
(42 or 79%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Biden
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
Dodd
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Pell
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Simon
Stennis

Republicans
(9 or 20%)

Cochran
D'Amato
Durenberger
Grassley
Hatfield
McClure
Specter
Stevens
Weicker

NAYS (48)

Democrats
(11 or 21%)

Bingaman
Boren
Byrd
DeConcini
Dixon
Exon
Hollings
Levin
Nunn
Proxmire
Wirth

Republicans
(37 or 80%)

Armstrong
Bond
Boschwitz
Chafee
Cohen
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Evans
Garn
Gramm
Hatch
Hecht
Heinz
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes
Kassebaum
Kasten
Lugar
McCain
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Packwood
Pressler
Quayle
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Stafford
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Warner
Wilson

NOT VOTING (1)

Democrats (1)

Gore—2

Republicans (0)

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 79%
Republicans— 80%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (51)
Democrats— 42 or 82%
Republicans— 9 or 18%

Against (48)
Democrats— 11 or 23%
Republicans— 37 or 77%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 99

100th Congress
1st Session

May 8, 1987, 11:56 a.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-6216

GI BILL CONTINUATION

BILL NO.: H.R. 1085

TITLE: "New GI Bill Continuation Act"

SUBJECT: **Passage of the bill which provides for the indefinite continuation of the new GI bill's programs of educational assistance for members and veterans of the All-Volunteer Force (under chapter 30, Title 38) and the Selected Reserve (under chapter 106, Title 10) beyond the current June 30, 1988, date for closing off programs to new participants; provides for vocational readjustment; and restores lost educational opportunities to those service men and women who served on active duty after June 30, 1985.**

NOTE: The bill was cleared for the President on May 13, 1987, after the Senate agreed to the House amendment to the Senate amendment to the stated purposes of the Act. H.R. 1085 became Public Law 100-48, approved June 1, 1987.

H.R. 1085: Vote No. 99.

RESULT: BILL PASSED

YEAS (89)

Democrats
(49 or 100%)

Adams
Baucus
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Hollings
Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Simon
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans
(40 or 100%)

Armstrong
Bond
Boschwitz
Chafee
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Garn
Grassley
Hatch
Heinz
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes
Kassebaum
Kasten
Lugar
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Packwood
Pressler
Quayle
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Specter
Stafford
Stevens
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Warner
Weicker
Wilson

NAYS (0)

Democrats
(0 or 0%)

Republicans
(0 or 0%)

NOT VOTING (11)

Democrats (5)

Bentsen—2
Biden—2AY
Bingaman—2AY
Dixon—2AY
Gore—2

Republicans (6)

Durenberger—2AY
Evans—2
Gramm—2
Hatfield—2
Hecht—2
McCain—2AY

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 100%
Republicans— 100%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (89)
Democrats— 49 or 55%
Republicans— 40 or 45%

Against (0)
Democrats— 0 or 0%
Republicans— 0 or 0%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 100

100th Congress
1st Session

May 12, 1987, 4:17 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-6282

SUPPLEMENTAL APPROPRIATIONS, 1987

BILL NO.: H.R. 1827

TITLE: "Supplemental Appropriations Act, 1987"

SUBJECT: **Byrd motion to instruct the Sergeant at Arms to request the attendance of absent Senators.**

NOTE: While it was the intention of Majority Leader Byrd to move to reconsider the motion to waive the Budget Act to allow consideration of this bill (Vote No. 98), he declined to do so until, he stated, some support was evident from the White House for this measure requested by the President. The Chair sustained the Gramm point of order that it would result in an increase in outlays exceeding the ceiling for 1987, and therefore was out of order.

H.R. 1827: Vote Nos. 98, 100, 117-145, 176.

RESULT: **MOTION FOR ATTENDANCE AGREED TO**

YEAS (89)

Democrats
(50 or 100%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Biden
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Graham
Harkin
Heflin

Hollings
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Nunn
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sasser
Shelby
Simon
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans
(39 or 89%)

Armstrong
Boschwitz
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Evans
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hatfield
Hecht
Heinz
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes

Kassebaum
Kasten
Lugar
McCain
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Packwood
Pressler
Roth
Simpson
Specter
Stafford
Stevens
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Warner
Wilson

NAYS (5)

Democrats
(0 or 0%)

Republicans
(5 or 11%)

Bond
Chafee
Quayle
Wallop
Weicker

NOT VOTING (6)

Democrats (4)

Gore—2
Inouye—4
Moynihan—2
Sarbanes—4

Republicans (2)

McClure—2
Rudman—2

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 100%
Republicans— 89%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (89)
Democrats— 50 or 56%
Republicans— 39 or 44%

Against (5)
Democrats— 0 or 0%
Republicans— 5 or 100%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 101

100th Congress
1st Session

May 13, 1987, 10:07 a.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-6346

SENATE PROCEDURE
(ADJOURNMENT)

SUBJECT: **Byrd motion to adjourn for one minute.**

NOTE: The Majority Leader moved to adjourn the Senate so that upon reconvening he could move, during the first two hours of the legislative day, to take up the Defense Authorization bill without debate on that motion being in order.

Vote No. 101.

RESULT: MOTION TO ADJOURN AGREED TO

YEAS (48)

Democrats (48 or 100%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Biden
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Ford
Glenn
Gore
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Hollings
Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans (0 or 0%)

NAYS (44)

Democrats (0 or 0%)

Republicans (44 or 100%)

Armstrong
Bond
Boschwitz
Chafee
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Evans
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hatfield
Hecht
Heinz
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes
Kassebaum
Kasten
Lugar
McCain
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Packwood
Pressler
Quayle
Roth
Simpson
Specter
Stafford
Stevens
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Warner
Weicker
Wilson

NOT VOTING (8)

Democrats (6)

Conrad—2
Dodd—2
Exon—2
Fowler—2
Matsunaga—2
Simon—2

Republicans (2)

McClure—2
Rudman—2

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 100%
Republicans— 100%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (48)
Democrats— 48 or 100%
Republicans— 0 or 0%

Against (44)
Democrats— 0 or 0%
Republicans— 44 or 100%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 102

100th Congress
1st Session

May 13, 1987, 10:36 a.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-6354

SENATE PROCEDURE
(JOURNAL APPROVAL)

SUBJECT: **Byrd motion to approve the Journal to date.**

NOTE: Before the result of this vote was announced, Senator Warner stated that he declined to vote because he had not read the Journal. The Chair responded that a Senator may not decline to vote without leave granted and permission to do so. The Minority Leader then asked for the yeas and nays and Vote No. 103 occurred.

Vote Nos. 24, 25, 102-108.

RESULT: MOTION TO APPROVE JOURNAL AGREED TO

YEAS (65)

Democrats
(54 or 100%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Biden
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Gore
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Hollings
Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Simon
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans
(11 or 24%)

Bond
Chafee
Cohen
Domenici
Gramm
Grassley
Heinz
Karnes
McCain
Nickles
Roth

NAYS (35)

Democrats
(0 or 0%)

Republicans
(35 or 76%)

Armstrong
Boschwitz
Cochran
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Durenberger
Evans
Garn
Hatch
Hatfield
Hecht
Helms
Humphrey
Kassebaum
Kasten
Lugar
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Packwood
Pressler
Quayle
Rudman
Simpson
Specter
Stafford
Stevens
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Warner
Weicker
Wilson

NOT VOTING (0)

Democrats (0)

Republicans (0)

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 100%
Republicans— 76%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (65)
Democrats— 54 or 83%
Republicans— 11 or 17%

Against (35)
Democrats— 0 or 0%
Republicans— 35 or 100%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 103

100th Congress
1st Session

May 13, 1987, 10:54 a.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-6354

SENATE PROCEDURE
(JOURNAL APPROVAL)

SUBJECT: **Question of the Chair as to whether it is permissible for the Senator from Virginia (Mr. Warner) to decline his right to vote on the motion to approve the Journal for the reason that he had not read the Journal.**

NOTE: Before the result of this vote was announced, Senator Quayle stated that he declined to vote because he did not believe a Senator should be compelled to vote. The Minority Leader asked for the yeas and nays and Vote No. 104 occurred.

Vote Nos. 24, 25, 102-108.

RESULT: REQUEST TO DECLINE TO VOTE REJECTED

YEAS (44)			NAYS (56)			NOT VOTING (0)	
Democrats (0 or 0%)	**Republicans (44 or 96%)**		**Democrats (54 or 100%)**		**Republicans (2 or 4%)**	**Democrats (0)**	**Republicans (0)**
—	Armstrong	Lugar	Adams	Inouye	Cohen		
	Bond	McCain	Baucus	Johnston	Danforth		
	Boschwitz	McClure	Bentsen	Kennedy			
	Chafee	McConnell	Biden	Kerry			
	Cochran	Murkowski	Bingaman	Lautenberg			
	D'Amato	Nickles	Boren	Leahy			
	Dole	Packwood	Bradley	Levin			
	Domenici	Pressler	Breaux	Matsunaga			
	Durenberger	Quayle	Bumpers	Melcher			
	Evans	Roth	Burdick	Metzenbaum			
	Garn	Rudman	Byrd	Mikulski			
	Gramm	Simpson	Chiles	Mitchell			
	Grassley	Specter	Conrad	Moynihan			
	Hatch	Stafford	Cranston	Nunn			
	Hatfield	Stevens	Daschle	Pell			
	Hecht	Symms	DeConcini	Proxmire			
	Heinz	Thurmond	Dixon	Pryor			
	Helms	Trible	Dodd	Reid			
	Humphrey	Wallop	Exon	Riegle			
	Karnes	Warner	Ford	Rockefeller			
	Kassebaum	Weicker	Fowler	Sanford			
	Kasten	Wilson	Glenn	Sarbanes			
			Gore	Sasser			
			Graham	Shelby			
			Harkin	Simon			
			Heflin	Stennis			
			Hollings	Wirth			

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion	**Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on**	
	For (44)	*Against* (56)
Democrats— 100%	Democrats— 0 or 0%	Democrats— 54 or 96%
Republicans— 96%	Republicans— 44 or 100%	Republicans— 2 or 4%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 104

100th Congress
1st Session

May 13, 1987, 11:10 a.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-6354

SENATE PROCEDURE
(JOURNAL APPROVAL)

SUBJECT: **Question of the Chair as to whether the Senator from Indiana (Mr. Quayle) may decline to vote (on the previous vote—Vote No. 103) for the reason that a Senator should not be compelled to vote.**

NOTE: Before the result of this vote was announced, Senator Symms stated that he declined to vote because he did not believe a Senator should be compelled to vote. Senator Dole asked for the yeas and nays and Senator Byrd made a point of order that the request to be excused from voting was made for the purpose of delaying the conclusion of the vote approving the Journal and therefore was out of order. The Chair ruled that the point of order during a rollcall vote was not in order, whereupon Senator Byrd appealed the Chair's ruling. The Chair ruled that in the past an appeal has been denied only in the most extraordinary circumstances and that the Chair did not feel that these were extraordinary circumstances, and the point of order was not in order. Upon the suggestion of the absence of a quorum by Senator Dole, the Chair held that a quorum call was not in order during a rollcall vote. Senator Dole appealed the ruling and asked for the yeas and nays (Vote No. 105).

Vote Nos. 24, 25, 102-108.

RESULT: REQUEST TO DECLINE TO VOTE REJECTED

YEAS (44)

Democrats
(0 or 0%)

Republicans
(44 or 96%)

Armstrong
Bond
Boschwitz
Chafee
Cochran
D'Amato
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Evans
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hatfield
Hecht
Heinz
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes
Kassebaum
Kasten

Lugar
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Packwood
Pressler
Quayle
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Specter
Stafford
Stevens
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Warner
Weicker
Wilson

NAYS (56)

Democrats
(54 or 100%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Biden
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Gore
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Hollings

Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Simon
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans
(2 or 4%)

Cohen
Danforth

NOT VOTING (0)

Democrats (0)

Republicans (0)

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 100%
Republicans— 96%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (44)
Democrats— 0 or 0%
Republicans— 44 or 100%

Against (56)
Democrats— 54 or 96%
Republicans— 2 or 4%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 105

100th Congress
1st Session

May 13, 1987, 11:43 a.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-6349

SENATE PROCEDURE
(JOURNAL APPROVAL)

SUBJECT: **Byrd motion to table the Dole appeal of the ruling of the Chair that a quorum call is not in order during a rollcall vote.**

NOTE: Before the result of this vote was announced, Senator Dole stated that he declined to vote and began to state his reasons under Rule XII. A call for regular order brought a statement by the Chair that the question recurs on the Byrd appeal of the ruling of the Chair that a point of order is not in order during a rollcall vote. Senator Dole moved to table that appeal (Vote No. 106).

Vote Nos. 24, 25, 102-108.

RESULT: MOTION TO TABLE APPEAL AGREED TO

YEAS (54)

Democrats
(54 or 100%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Biden
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Gore
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Hollings
Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Simon
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans
(0 or 0%)

NAYS (46)

Democrats
(0 or 0%)

Republicans
(46 or 100%)

Armstrong
Bond
Boschwitz
Chafee
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Evans
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hatfield
Hecht
Heinz
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes
Kassebaum
Kasten
Lugar
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Packwood
Pressler
Quayle
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Specter
Stafford
Stevens
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Warner
Weicker
Wilson

NOT VOTING (0)

Democrats (0)

Republicans (0)

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 100%
Republicans— 100%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (54)
Democrats— 54 or 100%
Republicans— 0 or 0%

Against (46)
Democrats— 0 or 0%
Republicans— 46 or 100%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 106

100th Congress
1st Session

May 13, 1987, 12:03 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-6349

SENATE PROCEDURE
(JOURNAL APPROVAL)

SUBJECT: **Dole motion to table the Byrd appeal of the ruling of the Chair that a point of order is not in order during a rollcall vote on a motion to approve the Journal to date.** (See Vote No. 108.)

NOTE: Before the result of this vote was announced, several Senators stood up to change their votes and Senator Dole stated that he had been prevented from stating his reasons for declining to vote in violation of Rule XII. After a heated exchange, the Chair ruled the Senator out of order, stating that he had adequately stated his reasons for declining to vote, having had sufficient time to do so. Senator Dole appealed the ruling and asked for the yeas and nays (Vote No. 107).

Vote Nos. 24, 25, 102-108.

RESULT: MOTION TO TABLE APPEAL FAILED

YEAS (46)

Democrats
(0 or 0%)

Republicans
(46 or 100%)

Armstrong
Bond
Boschwitz
Chafee
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Evans
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hatfield
Hecht
Heinz
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes
Kassebaum
Kasten
Lugar
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Packwood
Pressler
Quayle
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Specter
Stafford
Stevens
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Warner
Weicker
Wilson

NAYS (54)

Democrats
(54 or 100%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Biden
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Gore
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Hollings
Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Simon
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans
(0 or 0%)

NOT VOTING (0)

Democrats (0) **Republicans (0)**

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 100%
Republicans— 100%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (46)
Democrats— 0 or 0%
Republicans— 46 or 100%

Against (54)
Democrats— 54 or 100%
Republicans— 0 or 0%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 107

100th Congress
1st Session

May 13, 1987, 12:28 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-6349

SENATE PROCEDURE
(JOURNAL APPROVAL)

SUBJECT: **Dole appeal of the ruling of the Chair that Senator Dole had adequately stated his reasons for declining to vote and that a Senator may not continue "forever" in stating such reasons. The question is: "Shall the decision of the Chair stand as the judgment of the Senate?"**

NOTE: After this vote, all time had expired during which a motion to proceed to the consideration of the Defense Authorization bill would be nondebatable. If the motion to proceed could have been made during the first two hours, no Senator could have filibustered it. The question then recurred on the Byrd appeal of the Chair's ruling which had not been tabled on the previous vote (No. 106).

Vote Nos. 24, 25, 102-108.

RESULT: DECISION OF CHAIR SUSTAINED

YEAS (55)

Democrats (54 or 100%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Biden
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Gore
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Hollings
Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Simon
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans (1 or 2%)

Stevens

NAYS (45)

Democrats (0 or 0%)

Republicans (45 or 98%)

Armstrong
Bond
Boschwitz
Chafee
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Evans
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hatfield
Hecht
Heinz
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes
Kassebaum
Kasten
Lugar
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Packwood
Pressler
Quayle
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Specter
Stafford
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Warner
Weicker
Wilson

NOT VOTING (0)

Democrats (0) **Republicans (0)**

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion	Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on *For* (55)	 *Against* (45)
Democrats— 100%	Democrats— 54 or 98%	Democrats— 0 or 0%
Republicans— 98%	Republicans— 1 or 2%	Republicans— 45 or 100%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 108

100th Congress
1st Session

May 13, 1987, 12:56 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-6350

SENATE PROCEDURE
(JOURNAL APPROVAL)

SUBJECT: **Byrd appeal of the ruling of the Chair that a point of order is not in order during a rollcall vote on a motion to approve the Journal to date. The question is: "Shall the decision of the Chair stand as the judgment of the Senate?"** (See Vote No. 106.)

Vote Nos. 24, 25, 102-108.

RESULT: DECISION OF CHAIR NOT SUSTAINED

YEAS (46)

Democrats
(0 or 0%)

Republicans
(46 or 100%)

Armstrong
Bond
Boschwitz
Chafee
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Evans
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hatfield
Hecht
Heinz
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes
Kassebaum
Kasten
Lugar
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Packwood
Pressler
Quayle
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Specter
Stafford
Stevens
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Warner
Weicker
Wilson

NAYS (54)

Democrats
(54 or 100%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Biden
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Gore
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Hollings
Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Simon
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans
(0 or 0%)

NOT VOTING (0)

Democrats (0)

Republicans (0)

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 100%
Republicans— 100%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (46)
Democrats— 0 or 0%
Republicans— 46 or 100%

Against (54)
Democrats— 54 or 100%
Republicans— 0 or 0%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 109

100th Congress
1st Session

May 14, 1987, 9:55 a.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-6437

SAVINGS AND LOAN RECAPITALIZATION

BILL NO.: H.R. 27

AMENDMENT NO.: 196

TITLE: "Competitive Equality Banking Act of 1987"

SUBJECT: **Proxmire amendment (as a substitute for the bill) to insert the provisions of S. 790 as passed by the Senate on March 27, 1987 (Vote No. 44), which recapitalizes the Federal Savings and Loan Insurance Corporation (FSLIC) with new borrowing authority of $7.5 billion for a two-year period (to be capitalized through bonds issued by a new financing corporation for sale to private investors and backed by Federal Home Loan Banks, with borrowing authority limited to $3.75 billion annually); closes the nonbank bank loophole as of March 5, 1987, and restricts the expansion of grandfathered nonbank banks; imposes a one-year moratorium on the expansion of securities, insurance, and real estate activities of banks or bank holding companies; allows emergency interstate bank acquisitions; requires outside limits on interest increases on adjustable rate mortgages; regulates consumer checkholds, and requires access to government check cashing services for all consumers; and streamlines credit union operations.**

NOTE: Proponents asserted that the House should not be permitted to ignore the work that the Senate put into S. 790 in lieu of the clean FSLIC bill which was passed. The House refused to consider S. 790 on the floor, claiming that the House Banking Committee had not addressed all the issues in the Senate bill. While this may be true for some provisions, proponents acknowledged, it is not true for the major items. Furthermore, the House passed nonbank bank legislation in the 98th and 99th Congresses, so they are familiar with the issues. The Senate bill would close the nonbank bank loophole which would increase the value of failing thrifts and therefore lower the cost of FSLIC recapitalization. Since the Administration has threatened to veto attempts to close this loophole, it would be difficult to enact the nonbank bank provisions in a bill separate from FSLIC recapitalization. The Senate bill also would restrain bank regulators from expanding banking powers. Since a

(OVER)

H.R. 27: Vote Nos. 109, 110, 226.

RESULT: **AMENDMENT AGREED TO**

YEAS (93)

Democrats
(53 or 100%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Biden
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Gore
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Hollings
Inouye

Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Simon
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans
(40 or 93%)

Armstrong
Bond
Boschwitz
Chafee
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Evans
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hatfield
Hecht
Heinz
Helms
Humphrey

Karnes
Kassebaum
Kasten
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Packwood
Pressler
Quayle
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Specter
Stafford
Stevens
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Warner

NAYS (3)

Democrats
(0 or 0%)

Republicans
(3 or 7%)

Lugar
Wallop
Wilson

NOT VOTING (4)

Democrats (1)

Bumpers—2

Republicans (3)

Durenberger—2AY
McCain—2AY
Weicker—2

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 100%
Republicans— 93%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (93)
Democrats— 53 or 57%
Republicans— 40 or 43%

Against (3)
Democrats— 0 or 0%
Republicans— 3 or 100%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

conference with the House is inevitable because of the inadequate level of funding in the House bill—$5 billion instead of $7.5 billion—the Senate should be willing to bring up these other banking concerns as well. Moreover, the House bill places too many restrictions on the Home Loan Bank Board's ability to administer the program. It includes a thrift forbearance program that appears to exceed the legitimate needs of the industry, will wreak havoc on the supervision process, and will result in weakened accounting and capital standards.

Some members supported the amendment as a matter of procedure in order to proceed to stripping Titles I and II from the bill (Vote No. 110). They agreed, however, that the $5 billion for recapitalization in the House bill was inadequate and felt that certain forbearance provisions in the House bill would negate the $5 billion recapitalization and probably cause greater losses.

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 110

100th Congress
1st Session

May 14, 1987, 11:25 a.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-6447

SAVINGS AND LOAN RECAPITALIZATION

BILL NO.: H.R. 27

AMENDMENT NO.: 197

TITLE: "Competitive Equality Banking Act of 1987"

SUBJECT: **Garn amendment striking Title I, which closes the nonbank bank loophole and prohibits nonbank banks from commencing new activities, and Title II, which imposes a moratorium, until March 1, 1988, on the expansion of securities, insurance, and real estate activities by banks and bank holding companies.** (See also Vote No. 43. Subsequently, the bill was passed by voice vote.)

NOTE: Proponents maintained that the crisis facing FSLIC is so critical that the bill should be stripped of provisions that do not relate directly to recapitalization in order to expedite its movement through conference. FSLIC is losing $10 million a day, and depositors are reacting by moving their deposits out of S&L's. The issue is not whether the provisions of Title I and II are important, they argued, but whether it is appropriate to address the nonbank bank loophole and the redefining of banking powers on emergency legislation, particularly since the House does not want to go to conference on the Senate bill, and the Treasury Department has recommended that it be vetoed in its present form. Nor are the issues that clearly agreed on. Closing the nonbank bank loophole, some argued, would actually deter the sale of thrifts by chasing away the most likely purchasers—diversified financial companies.

Opponents countered that the provisions in Titles I and II are vital to FSLIC recapitalization, and asserted that this amendment would deny the Senate an opportunity to resolve these issues with the House. Consideration of the provisions will not necessarily delay the bill since there will have to be a conference; the $5 billion in the House bill to recapitalize FSLIC is unacceptable to the Senate, particularly since FSLIC is $6 billion in debt. The Senate should not proceed on the basis of the House's willingness to have a conference, since the purpose of a conference is to resolve the sort of differences the two chambers are now experiencing. Closing the nonbank bank loophole in Title I will reduce the cost of recapitalizing FSLIC by encouraging the acquisition of failed thrifts rather than liquidation. The moratorium provisions in Title II form a framework that will allow the Senate in the coming year to resolve a number of problems in the financial services industry instead of abdicating those responsibilities to regulators.

H.R. 27: Vote Nos. 109, 110, 226.

RESULT: **AMENDMENT REJECTED**

YEAS (37)

Democrats
(4 or 7%)

Biden
Heflin
Hollings
Moynihan

Republicans
(33 or 73%)

Armstrong
Bond
Boschwitz
Chafee
Cochran
Dole
Domenici
Evans
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hecht
Helms
Humphrey
Kassebaum
Lugar
McCain
McClure
Murkowski
Nickles
Packwood
Quayle
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Stevens
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Warner
Wilson

NAYS (62)

Democrats
(50 or 93%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Gore
Graham
Harkin
Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Nunn
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Simon
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans
(12 or 27%)

Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Durenberger
Hatfield
Heinz
Karnes
Kasten
McConnell
Pressler
Specter
Stafford

NOT VOTING (1)

Democrats (0)

Republicans (1)

Weicker—2

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 93%
Republicans— 73%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (37)
Democrats— 4 or 11%
Republicans— 33 or 89%

Against (62)
Democrats— 50 or 81%
Republicans— 12 or 19%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 111

100th Congress
1st Session

May 14, 1987, 4:58 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-6477

PUBLIC DEBT LIMIT EXTENSION

BILL NO.: H.R. 2360

SUBJECT: **Passage of the bill which increases the temporary public debt limit by $20 billion, from $2.3 trillion (expiring on May 15) to $2.32 trillion expiring on July 17, 1987.** (The permanent debt limit remains at $2.111 trillion.)

NOTE: H.R. 2360 became Public Law 100-40, approved May 15, 1987.

H.R. 2360: Vote No. 111.

RESULT: BILL PASSED

YEAS (58)

Democrats
(33 or 65%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Biden
Bradley
Breaux
Byrd
Chiles
Cranston
Daschle
Fowler
Gore
Graham
Hollings
Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Pell
Pryor
Reid
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Simon
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans
(25 or 58%)

Bond
Boschwitz
Chafee
Cochran
Cohen
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Evans
Gramm
Heinz
Kassebaum
Lugar
Murkowski
Packwood
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Specter
Stafford
Stevens
Thurmond
Wallop
Wilson

NAYS (36)

Democrats
(18 or 35%)

Bingaman
Boren
Bumpers
Burdick
Conrad
DeConcini
Dixon
Exon
Ford
Glenn
Harkin
Heflin
Kerry
Melcher
Nunn
Proxmire
Sasser
Shelby

Republicans
(18 or 42%)

Armstrong
Garn
Grassley
Hatch
Hatfield
Hecht
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes
Kasten
McCain
McConnell
Nickles
Pressler
Quayle
Symms
Trible
Warner

NOT VOTING (6)

Democrats (3)

Dodd—2
Lautenberg—2
Riegle—2

Republicans (3)

D'Amato—2
McClure—2
Weicker—2

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 65%
Republicans— 58%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (58)
Democrats— 33 or 57%
Republicans— 25 or 43%

Against (36)
Democrats— 18 or 50%
Republicans— 18 or 50%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 112

100th Congress
1st Session

May 15, 1987, 10:21 a.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-6552

DOD AUTHORIZATION
(CLOTURE)

BILL NO.: S. 1174 (H.R. 1748)

TITLE: "National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Years 1988 and 1989"

SUBJECT: **Ford, et al., motion to close further debate on the motion to proceed to the consideration of the bill.** (See Vote Nos. 114 and 116 on the second and third cloture motions.)

NOTE: The cloture petition, presented on May 13, 1987, was signed by Senators Ford, Exon, Bradley, Inouye, Dixon, Mikulski, Nunn, Burdick, Mitchell, Sanford, Pryor, Conrad, Melcher, Bumpers, Breaux, Kennedy, Lautenberg, Metzenbaum, Rockefeller, Cranston, and Sasser.

S. 1174 (H.R. 1748): Vote Nos. 112-114, 116, 240, 243-257, 259, 260, 263-271, 273, 275-278, 280-287, 292, 294-300, 384, 384.

RESULT: CLOTURE MOTION REJECTED, 3/5THS NOT HAVING VOTED IN THE AFFIRMATIVE

YEAS (52)

Democrats (49 or 100%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Gore
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Hollings
Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans (3 or 8%)

Chafee
Cohen
Kassebaum

NAYS (36)

Democrats (0 or 0%)

Republicans (36 or 92%)

Armstrong
Bond
Boschwitz
Cochran
D'Amato
Dole
Durenberger
Evans
Garn
Grassley
Hatch
Hatfield
Hecht
Heinz
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes
Kasten
Lugar
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Pressler
Quayle
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Specter
Stafford
Stevens
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Warner
Weicker
Wilson

NOT VOTING (12)

Democrats (5)

Biden—2
Bingaman—2AY
Dodd—2
Lautenberg—2
Simon—2

Republicans (7)

Danforth—2
Domenici—2
Gramm—2
McCain—2
McClure—2
Packwood—2
Wallop—2AN

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion	Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on *For* (52)	*Against* (36)
Democrats— 100%	Democrats— 49 or 94%	Democrats— 0 or 0%
Republicans— 92%	Republicans— 3 or 6%	Republicans— 36 or 100%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 113

100th Congress
1st Session

May 19, 1987, 11:59 a.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-6693

DOD AUTHORIZATION

BILL NO.: S. 1174 (H.R. 1748)

TITLE: "National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Years 1988 and 1989"

SUBJECT: **Byrd motion to instruct the Sergeant at Arms to request the attendance of absent Senators.**

S. 1174 (H.R. 1748): Vote Nos. 112-114, 116, 240, 243-257, 259, 260, 263-271, 273, 275-278, 280-287, 292, 294-300, 384.

RESULT: **MOTION FOR ATTENDANCE AGREED TO**

YEAS (91)

Democrats (52 or 100%)		**Republicans (39 or 87%)**	
Adams	Inouye	Armstrong	Kasten
Baucus	Johnston	Boschwitz	Lugar
Bentsen	Kennedy	Cochran	McClure
Biden	Kerry	Cohen	McConnell
Bingaman	Lautenberg	D'Amato	Murkowski
Boren	Leahy	Danforth	Nickles
Bradley	Levin	Dole	Packwood
Breaux	Matsunaga	Domenici	Pressler
Bumpers	Melcher	Durenberger	Roth
Burdick	Metzenbaum	Evans	Rudman
Byrd	Mikulski	Garn	Simpson
Chiles	Mitchell	Gramm	Specter
Conrad	Moynihan	Grassley	Stafford
Daschle	Nunn	Hatfield	Stevens
DeConcini	Pell	Hecht	Symms
Dixon	Proxmire	Heinz	Thurmond
Dodd	Pryor	Helms	Trible
xon	Reid	Humphrey	Warner
ord	Riegle	Karnes	Wilson
owler	Rockefeller	Kassebaum	
lenn	Sanford		
ore	Sarbanes		
raham	Sasser		
Harkin	Shelby		
Heflin	Stennis		
Hollings	Wirth		

NAYS (6)

Democrats (0 or 0%)	**Republicans (6 or 13%)**
	Bond
	Chafee
	McCain
	Quayle
	Wallop
	Weicker

NOT VOTING (3)

Democrats (2)	**Republicans (1)**
Cranston—2	Hatch—2
Simon—2	

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion	**Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on**	
	For (91)	*Against* (6)
Democrats—100%	Democrats—52 or 57%	Democrats—0 or 0%
Republicans—87%	Republicans—39 or 43%	Republicans—6 or 100%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 114

100th Congress
1st Session

May 19, 1987, 12:26 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-6693

DOD AUTHORIZATION
(CLOTURE)

BILL NO.: S. 1174 (H.R. 1748)

TITLE: "National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Years 1988 and 1989"

SUBJECT: **Ford, et al., second motion to close further debate on the motion to proceed to consideration of the bill.** (See also Vote Nos. 112 and 116 on the first and third cloture motions.)

NOTE: The second cloture petition, presented on May 14, 1987, was signed by Senators Ford, Exon, Bradley, Inouye, Dixon, Mikulski, Nunn, Burdick, Mitchell, Sanford, Pryor, Conrad, Melcher, Bumpers, Breaux, Kennedy, Lautenberg, Metzenbaum, Rockefeller, Cranston, and Sasser.

S. 1174 (H.R. 1748): Vote Nos. 112-114, 116, 240, 243-257, 259, 260, 263-271, 273, 275-278, 280-287, 292, 294-300, 384.

RESULT: **CLOTURE MOTION REJECTED, 3/5THS NOT HAVING VOTED IN THE AFFIRMATIVE**

YEAS (58)

Democrats (53 or 100%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Biden
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Gore
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Hollings
Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans (5 or 11%)

Chafee
Cohen
Kassebaum
Stafford
Weicker

NAYS (41)

Democrats (0 or 0%)

Republicans (41 or 89%)

Armstrong
Bond
Boschwitz
Cochran
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Evans
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hatfield
Hecht
Heinz
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes
Kasten
Lugar
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Packwood
Pressler
Quayle
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Specter
Stevens
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Warner
Wilson

NOT VOTING (1)

Democrats (1)

Simon—2

Republicans (0)

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 100%
Republicans— 89%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (58)
Democrats— 53 or 91%
Republicans— 5 or 9%

Against (41)
Democrats— 0 or 0%
Republicans— 41 or 100%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 115

100th Congress
1st Session

May 19, 1987, 5:47 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-6726

NOMINATION OF WILLIAM H. WEBSTER TO BE DIRECTOR OF CIA

POSITION: Director of Central Intelligence

SUBJECT: **Confirmation of the nomination of William H. Webster, of Missouri, to be Director of Central Intelligence.**

NOTE: Proponents noted that the nomination was unanimously reported by the Intelligence Committee. Mr. Webster has served as the Director of the FBI for the past nine years and as a Federal Appeals Court Judge, Federal District Court Judge, and U.S. attorney before that. He has been confirmed by the Senate three times for positions requiring the highest degree of integrity and ability. During his recent confirmation hearings, Mr. Webster stated that he would not serve as a Cabinet member, so as to remove himself from a political role in the Administration. Additionally, he stated that covert action should be conducted in support of legitimate national foreign policy goals and controlled by careful analysis and planning, a finding by the President that supports the plans, and oversight by the intelligence committees of Congress. He testified that he would resign if the President unreasonably withheld notification of a covert operation from the congressional committees, as a show of his belief that mutual trust and cooperation between the CIA and the Congress are essential to carrying out a sound intelligence policy. Issues concerning FBI links to Lt. Col. Oliver North in the Iran-Contra matter and allegations concerning the conduct of FBI agents in other investigations were examined before the nomination was reported without dissent. Some emphasized that the position was so important to U.S. national security that it should be filled as soon as possible.

The opponent of the nomination did not question Mr. Webster's integrity, but rather his ability to serve as an administrator. At a time of revelations of actions taken by the former director in contravention of the law, it is poor judgment to appoint a person who, through his lack of administrative experience, has created several problems at the FBI. His subordinates have violated the very laws which they have sworn to enforce. Mr. Webster should be permitted to remain with the FBI in order to deal with the problems he has created there, rather than be allowed to attempt to solve the problems at the CIA.

Vote No. 115.

RESULT: NOMINATION CONFIRMED

ADMINISTRATION POSITION: YEA

YEAS (94)

Democrats (52 or 98%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Biden
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Gore
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Hollings
Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans (42 or 100%)

Armstrong
Bond
Boschwitz
Chafee
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Domenici
Durenberger
Evans
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hatfield
Hecht
Heinz
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes
Kassebaum
Kasten
Lugar
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Packwood
Pressler
Quayle
Rudman
Simpson
Specter
Stafford
Stevens
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Warner
Wilson

NAYS (1)

Democrats (1 or 2%)

Reid

Republicans (0 or 0%)

NOT VOTING (5)

Democrats (1)

Simon—2

Republicans (4)

Dole—2AY
Roth—2
Symms—2AY
Weicker—2

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion	**Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on**	
	For (94)	*Against* (1)
Democrats— 98%	Democrats— 52 or 55%	Democrats— 1 or 100%
Republicans— 100%	Republicans— 42 or 45%	Republicans— 0 or 0%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 116

100th Congress
1st Session

May 20, 1987, 1:04 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-6832

DOD AUTHORIZATION
(CLOTURE)

BILL NO.: S. 1174 (H.R. 1748)

TITLE: "National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Years 1988 and 1989"

SUBJECT: **Byrd, et al., third motion to close further debate on the motion to proceed to consideration of the bill.** (See also Vote Nos. 112 and 114 on prior cloture motions.)

NOTE: The cloture petition, presented on May 15, 1987, was signed by Senators Byrd, Conrad, Sanford, Graham, Johnston, Metzenbaum, Sarbanes, Riegle, Heflin, Matsunaga, Reid, Bentsen, Dixon, Hollings, Inouye, Adams, and Rockefeller.

S. 1174 (H.R. 1748): Vote Nos. 112-114, 116, 240, 243-257, 259, 260, 263-271, 273, 275-278, 280-287, 292, 294-300, 384.

RESULT: **CLOTURE MOTION REJECTED, 3/5THS NOT HAVING VOTED IN THE AFFIRMATIVE**

YEAS (59)

Democrats (54 or 100%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Biden
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Gore
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Hollings

Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Simon
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans (5 or 11%)

Chafee
Cohen
Kassebaum
Stafford
Weicker

NAYS (39)

Democrats (0 or 0%)

Republicans (39 or 89%)

Armstrong
Bond
Boschwitz
Cochran
D'Amato
Danforth
Domenici
Durenberger
Evans
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hatfield
Hecht
Heinz
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes
Kasten

Lugar
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Packwood
Pressler
Quayle
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Specter
Stevens
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Warner
Wilson

NOT VOTING (2)

Democrats (0)

Republicans (2)

Dole—2
Symms—2

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 100%
Republicans— 89%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (59)
Democrats— 54 or 92%
Republicans— 5 or 8%

Against (39)
Democrats— 0 or 0%
Republicans— 39 or 100%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 117

100th Congress
1st Session

May 20, 1987, 8:09 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-6886

SUPPLEMENTAL APPROPRIATIONS, 1987

BILL NO.: H.R. 1827

AMENDMENT NO.: 200

TITLE: "Supplemental Appropriations Act, 1987"

SUBJECT: **Inouye-Kasten motion to table the Helms amendment which eliminates $257 million in funding for multilateral development banks.**

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment (voting nay) pointed out that this additional funding for the World Bank is not assumed in the Budget Resolution passed two weeks ago, nor is it an urgently needed appropriation. With the deficit still enormous, the U.S. cannot afford this spending. These multinational banks were criticized for unwise administrative spending (on buildings and top employee severance pay benefits) and for lending practices that subsidize American competitors and communist regimes.

Opponents of the amendment (voting yea) maintained that it was far cheaper to help developing nations become economically independent so that they are not only selling to the U.S. but consuming U.S. products. It is essential to American strategic interests as well as to helping reduce the trade deficit. There is no question that it is in the national interest to bring about stability in the world, and this type of assistance is far superior to military support.

H.R. 1827: Vote Nos. 98, 100, 117-145, 176.

RESULT: MOTION TO TABLE AGREED TO

YEAS (57)			NAYS (38)		NOT VOTING (5)	
Democrats (36 or 73%)		Republicans (21 or 46%)	Democrats (13 or 27%)	Republicans (25 or 54%)	Democrats (5)	Republicans (0)
Adams	Johnston	Bond	Baucus	Armstrong	Biden—^{2}	
Bentsen	Lautenberg	Boschwitz	Bingaman	Dole	Kennedy—^{2}	
Bradley	Leahy	Chafee	Boren	Domenici	Kerry—^{2AY}	
Breaux	Levin	Cochran	Bumpers	Garn	Sanford—^{2}	
Chiles	Matsunaga	Cohen	Burdick	Gramm	Simon—^{2}	
Conrad	Metzenbaum	D'Amato	Byrd	Grassley		
Cranston	Mikulski	Danforth	DeConcini	Hatch		
Daschle	Mitchell	Durenberger	Dixon	Hecht		
Dodd	Moynihan	Evans	Heflin	Helms		
Exon	Nunn	Hatfield	Melcher	Humphrey		
Ford	Pell	Heinz	Proxmire	Karnes		
Fowler	Pryor	Kassebaum	Rockefeller	McCain		
Glenn	Reid	Kasten	Shelby	McClure		
Gore	Riegle	Lugar		Murkowski		
Graham	Sarbanes	McConnell		Nickles		
Harkin	Sasser	Packwood		Pressler		
Hollings	Stennis	Quayle		Roth		
Inouye	Wirth	Specter		Rudman		
		Stafford		Simpson		
		Stevens		Symms		
		Weicker		Thurmond		
				Trible		
				Wallop		
				Warner		
				Wilson		

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—73%
Republicans—54%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (57)
Democrats—36 or 63%
Republicans—21 or 37%

Against (38)
Democrats—13 or 34%
Republicans—25 or 66%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 118

100th Congress
1st Session

May 21, 1987, 9:40 a.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-6944

SUPPLEMENTAL APPROPRIATIONS, 1987

BILL NO.: H.R. 1827 **AMENDMENT NO.:** 204

TITLE: "Supplemental Appropriations Act, 1987"

SUBJECT: **Inouye motion to table the Pressler amendment which prohibits the use of any funds ($50 million) for assistance to any country within the Southern Africa Development Coordination Conference (SADCC) until the President certifies that such country has renounced the form of terrorism known as "necklacing" used against South African blacks and has provided assurances and is, according to the best information available to the U.S., making a concerted effort to prevent the operation within its territory of any organization which supports or will not renounce the practice of terrorism, including necklacing.** (See also Vote No. 119.)

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment (voting nay) insisted that it seeks to uphold a certain standard of civilized human conduct. The Senate has previously expressed its abhorrence of necklacing in passing the Anti-Apartheid Act last year. Of the nine members of the SADCC, five countries may harbor terrorists who practice necklacing—Angola, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Tanzania, and Botswana. This torture by setting aflame a gasoline-filled tire placed around the neck has been practiced mostly by blacks against black South Africans. U.S. assistance to SADCC must not give even the appearance of support for such inhumane activity.

Opponents of the amendment (voting yea) asserted that the issue is not whether the U.S. should stop its dealings with countries that have renounced necklacing or other acts of terrorism but whether the U.S. should stop all its dealings with countries which renounce necklacing but nonetheless tolerate those individuals or groups which have not. It is not traditionally American to hold one person or group responsible for the actions of others. The amendment does not apply the same standard to all governments to which the U.S. provides economic aid. Jordan and Egypt have tolerated the PLO—a group which certainly has not renounced terrorism. The Contras, too, use terrorist tactics against civilians. Additionally, the aid helps these southern African countries reduce their dependence on the apartheid political economy, thus weakening apartheid. Conversely, any obstacle to this economic aid strengthens apartheid.

H.R. 1827: Vote Nos. 98, 100, 117-145, 176.

RESULT: **MOTION TO TABLE FAILED**

YEAS (35)			**NAYS (58)**			**NOT VOTING (7)**	
Democrats (29 or 59%)		**Republicans (6 or 14%)**	**Democrats (20 or 41%)**	**Republicans (38 or 86%)**		**Democrats (5)**	**Republicans (2)**
Baucus	Lautenberg	Chafee	Bentsen	Armstrong	McClure	Adams—^{2}	Domenici—^{2}
Bradley	Levin	D'Amato	Bingaman	Bond	McConnell	Biden—^{2}	Kassebaum—^{2}
Byrd	Matsunaga	Danforth	Boren	Boschwitz	Murkowski	Gore—^{2}	
Chiles	Metzenbaum	Evans	Breaux	Cochran	Nickles	Kennedy—^{2}	
Cranston	Mikulski	Lugar	Bumpers	Cohen	Packwood	Kerry—$^{2\text{AY}}$	
Dixon	Moynihan	Weicker	Burdick	Dole	Pressler		
Dodd	Pell		Conrad	Durenberger	Quayle		
Exon	Proxmire		Daschle	Garn	Roth		
Glenn	Pryor		DeConcini	Gramm	Rudman		
Graham	Riegle		Ford	Grassley	Simpson		
Heflin	Rockefeller		Fowler	Hatch	Specter		
Inouye	Sanford		Harkin	Hatfield	Stafford		
Johnston	Sarbanes		Hollings	Hecht	Stevens		
	Sasser		Leahy	Heinz	Symms		
	Shelby		Melcher	Helms	Thurmond		
	Stennis		Mitchell	Humphrey	Trible		
			Nunn	Karnes	Wallop		
			Reid	Kasten	Warner		
			Simon	McCain	Wilson		
			Wirth				

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion	**Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on**	
	For (35)	*Against* (58)
Democrats— 59%	Democrats— 29 or 83%	Democrats— 20 or 34%
Republicans— 86%	Republicans— 6 or 17%	Republicans— 38 or 66%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 119

100th Congress
1st Session

May 21, 1987, 10:14 a.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-6945

SUPPLEMENTAL APPROPRIATIONS, 1987

BILL NO.: **H.R. 1827** — **AMENDMENT NO.: 204**

TITLE: "Supplemental Appropriations Act, 1987"

SUBJECT: **Pressler amendment which prohibits the use of any funds ($50 million) for assistance to any country within the Southern Africa Development Coordination Conference (SADCC) until the President certifies that such country has renounced the form of terrorism known as "necklacing" used against South African blacks and has provided assurances and is, according to the best information available to the U.S., making a concerted effort to prevent the operation within its territory of any organization which supports or will not renounce the practice of terrorism, including necklacing. (See also Vote No. 118.)**

NOTE: Proponents insisted that the amendment seeks to uphold a certain standard of civilized human conduct. The Senate has previously expressed its abhorrence of terrorism and necklacing in passing the Anti-Apartheid Act last year. Of the nine members of the SADCC, five countries may harbor terrorists who practice necklacing—Angola, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Tanzania, and Botswana. This torture of setting aflame a gasoline-filled tire around the neck has been practiced mostly by blacks against black South Africans. U.S. assistance to SADCC must not give even the appearance of support for such inhumane activity.

Opponents asserted that the issue is not whether the U.S. should stop its dealings with countries that have renounced necklacing or other acts of terrorism but whether the U.S. should stop all its dealings with countries which renounce necklacing but nonetheless tolerate those individuals or groups who have not. It is not traditionally American to hold one person or group responsible for the actions of others. The amendment does not apply the same standard to all governments to which the U.S. provides economic assistance. Jordan and Egypt have tolerated the PLO—a group which certainly has not renounced terrorism. The Contras, too, use terrorist tactics against civilians. Additionally, the aid helps these southern African countries reduce their dependence on the apartheid political economy, thus weakening apartheid. Conversely, any obstacle to this economic aid strengthens apartheid.

H.R. 1827: Vote Nos. 98, 100, 117-145, 176.

RESULT: **AMENDMENT AGREED TO**

YEAS (77)

Democrats (39 or 80%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Bingaman
Boren
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Hollings
Johnston
Leahy
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Nunn
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sasser
Shelby
Simon
Wirth

Republicans (38 or 88%)

Armstrong
Bond
Boschwitz
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Dole
Durenberger
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hatfield
Hecht
Heinz
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes
Kasten
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Packwood
Pressler
Quayle
Roth
Simpson
Specter
Stafford
Stevens
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Warner
Wilson

NAYS (15)

Democrats (10 or 20%)

Bradley
Dodd
Inouye
Lautenberg
Levin
Moynihan
Pell
Proxmire
Sarbanes
Stennis

Republicans (5 or 12%)

Chafee
Danforth
Evans
Lugar
Weicker

NOT VOTING (8)

Democrats (5)

Biden—2
Cranston—2
Gore—2
Kennedy—2
Kerry—2AN

Republicans (3)

Domenici—2
Kassebaum—2
Rudman—2

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 80%
Republicans— 88%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (77)
Democrats— 39 or 51%
Republicans— 38 or 49%

Against (15)
Democrats— 10 or 67%
Republicans— 5 or 33%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 120

100th Congress
1st Session

May 21, 1987, 11:41 a.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-6953

SUPPLEMENTAL APPROPRIATIONS, 1987

BILL NO.: H.R. 1827 **AMENDMENT NO.: 209**

TITLE: "Supplemental Appropriations Act, 1987"

SUBJECT: **Byrd, et al., amendment which requires the Secretary of Defense to submit, in both classified and unclassified form, a report to Congress prior to the implementation of any agreement between the U.S. and Kuwait for U.S. military protection of Kuwaiti shipping.**

NOTE: Proponents urged that, in the wake of the Stark tragedy, the U.S. should not rush into an agreement with Kuwait that could cost more American lives. Less than two percent of the oil consumed in the U.S. passes through the Persian Gulf, in contrast to almost 50 and 90 percent of the oil used by western Europe and Japan, respectively. The risks should be shared more equitably with U.S. allies. The amendment calls for a report on cooperative agreements for a shared security system with European allies, an assessment of the threat to the U.S. if the protection is undertaken, adequate U.S. procedures in order to take care of defensive needs, and insurance that all other nations understand the conditions and terms of U.S. military action.
No opposing statements were made.

H.R. 1827: Vote Nos. 98, 100, 117-145, 176.

RESULT: **AMENDMENT AGREED TO**

YEAS (91)				**NAYS (5)**		**NOT VOTING (4)**	
Democrats (50 or 98%)		**Republicans (41 or 91%)**		**Democrats (1 or 2%)**	**Republicans (4 or 9%)**	**Democrats (3)**	**Republicans (1)**
Adams	Kennedy	Armstrong	Karnes	Johnston	McClure	Biden—2AY	Rudman—2
Baucus	Kerry	Bond	Kassebaum		Nickles	Gore—2	
Bentsen	Lautenberg	Boschwitz	Kasten		Symms	Inouye—4	
Bingaman	Leahy	Chafee	Lugar		Wallop		
Boren	Levin	Cochran	McCain				
Bradley	Matsunaga	Cohen	McConnell				
Breaux	Melcher	D'Amato	Murkowski				
Bumpers	Metzenbaum	Danforth	Packwood				
Burdick	Mikulski	Dole	Pressler				
Byrd	Mitchell	Domenici	Quayle				
Chiles	Moynihan	Durenberger	Roth				
Conrad	Nunn	Evans	Simpson				
Cranston	Pell	Garn	Specter				
Daschle	Proxmire	Gramm	Stafford				
DeConcini	Pryor	Grassley	Stevens				
Dixon	Reid	Hatch	Thurmond				
Dodd	Riegle	Hatfield	Trible				
Exon	Rockefeller	Hecht	Warner				
Ford	Sanford	Heinz	Weicker				
Fowler	Sarbanes	Helms	Wilson				
Glenn	Sasser	Humphrey					
Graham	Shelby						
Harkin	Simon						
Heflin	Stennis						
Hollings	Wirth						

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion	**Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on**	
	For (91)	*Against* (5)
Democrats— 98%	Democrats— 50 or 55%	Democrats— 1 or 20%
Republicans— 91%	Republicans— 41 or 45%	Republicans— 4 or 80%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO 121

100th Congress
1st Session

May 21, 1987, 3:38 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-6986

SUPPLEMENTAL APPROPRIATIONS, 1987

BILL NO.: H.R 1827

AMENDMENT NO.: 213

TITLE: "Supplemental Appropriations Act, 1987"

SUBJECT: **DeConcini, et al., amendment stating the sense of the Senate condemning the Soviet-Cuban buildup in Angola and the human rights violations of the Angolan government and that further Cuban-Soviet presence in Angola will impede future positive relations with the U.S.; requesting the President to use the Export Administration Act to block U.S. business transactions which conflict with U.S. security interests in Angola; and requesting the Secretary of State to issue a report on future U.S.-Angola foreign policy, as well as business and trade policies between the two countries.**

NOTE: Proponents noted that several U.S. companies provide Angola, with which the U.S. has severed diplomatic relations, with over 80 percent of its hard currency earnings. Although the U.S. is its largest trading partner, Angola has voted against U.S. interests in the United Nations more than any other country in the world. Moreover, the presence of U.S. companies has helped to finance the oppressive Marxist MPLA government in Luanda that has an abysmal human rights record. This amendment calls for a policy which vigorously pursues peaceful reconciliation for the people of Angola, using economic rather than military sanctions and stressing political leverage rather than covert assistance. This amendment sends a clear signal to the democratic resistance forces (UNITA) of U.S. support and to the USSR that the U.S. opposes their expansionism in Africa. Some saw this as a first step which should be taken in conjunction with increased military aid to UNITA.

H.R. 1827: Vote Nos. 98, 100, 117-145, 176.

RESULT: AMENDMENT AGREED TO

YEAS (94) Democrats (49 or 100%)		YEAS (94) Republicans (45 or 100%)		NAYS (0) Democrats (0 or 0%)	NAYS (0) Republicans (0 or 0%)	NOT VOTING (6) Democrats (5)	NOT VOTING (6) Republicans (1)
Baucus	Kennedy	Armstrong	Kasten			Adams—2	Rudman—2
Bentsen	Kerry	Bond	Lugar			Biden—2	
Bingaman	Lautenberg	Boschwitz	McCain			Gore—2	
Boren	Leahy	Chafee	McClure			Inouye—4	
Bradley	Levin	Cochran	McConnell			Simon—2	
Breaux	Matsunaga	Cohen	Murkowski				
Bumpers	Melcher	D'Amato	Nickles				
Burdick	Metzenbaum	Danforth	Packwood				
Byrd	Mikulski	Dole	Pressler				
Chiles	Mitchell	Domenici	Quayle				
Conrad	Moynihan	Durenberger	Roth				
Cranston	Nunn	Evans	Simpson				
Daschle	Pell	Garn	Specter				
DeConcini	Proxmire	Gramm	Stafford				
Dixon	Pryor	Grassley	Stevens				
Dodd	Reid	Hatch	Symms				
Exon	Riegle	Hatfield	Thurmond				
Ford	Rockefeller	Hecht	Trible				
Fowler	Sanford	Heinz	Wallop				
Glenn	Sarbanes	Helms	Warner				
Graham	Sasser	Humphrey	Weicker				
Harkin	Shelby	Karnes	Wilson				
Heflin	Stennis	Kassebaum					
Hollings	Wirth						
Johnston							

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 100%
Republicans— 100%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (94)
Democrats— 49 or 52%
Republicans— 45 or 48%

Against (0)
Democrats— 0 or 0%
Republicans— 0 or 0%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 122

00th Congress
st Session

May 21, 1987, 4:16 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-6988

SUPPLEMENTAL APPROPRIATIONS, 1987

BILL NO.: H.R. 1827

AMENDMENT NO.: 212

TITLE: "Supplemental Appropriations Act, 1987"

SUBJECT: **Danforth motion to table the Helms amendment which (1) prohibits the use of funds for providing drugs to prolong the life of an individual with AIDS by any State, unless that State requires testing negative for AIDS as a condition for granting a marriage license; and (2) adds AIDS to the list of dangerous contagious diseases for which an individual may be denied entry into the U.S.** (See also Vote Nos. 123 and 142.)

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment (voting nay) insisted that it will not require positive testing as a ground for exclusion from entry into the U.S. or force States to enact laws to require premarital testing. Rather, it simply says that if a State wants free drugs for AIDS victims, paid for by the taxpayers, then it must take preventive steps to curb the spread of the AIDS virus. The amendment places no undue burden on the States because many currently require testing for several communicable diseases, including syphillis, rubella, and tuberculosis, prior to granting a marriage license. Additionally, current immigration law provides that an individual may not enter the country if he or she has a dangerous contagious disease, and AIDS should be added to this list of diseases in order to protect the general population from its spread.

Opponents of the amendment (voting yea) emphasized that the AIDS testing procedure often yields both false positives and false negatives, thus greatly reducing the reliability of the mandatory test. An estimated 50 to 80 percent of positive tests for low-risk groups have been found to be false. The amendment makes no provision to insure the privacy of individuals who do, in fact, test positive. A positive test result, while not necessarily accurate, could result in undue harassment and discrimination. Similarly, an individual who receives a false negative test result would be allowed unknowingly, to further infect other people. Surgeon General Koop has stated his opposition to mandatory testing, in that he feels that it would spend scarce public funds on premarital testing which focuses on those least likely to be at risk and drive those who are most likely to be carrying the disease underground.

H.R. 1827: Vote Nos. 98, 100, 117-145, 176.

RESULT: **MOTION TO TABLE AGREED TO**

YEAS (63)

Democrats (40 or 82%)

Adams
Baucus
Bingaman
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Fowler
Glenn
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Riegle
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans (23 or 50%)

Bond
Boschwitz
Chafee
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Evans
Hatfield
Heinz
Kassebaum
Lugar
McConnell
Packwood
Quayle
Roth
Rudman
Specter
Stafford
Trible
Warner
Weicker
Wilson

NAYS (32)

Democrats (9 or 18%)

Bentsen
Boren
Byrd
Exon
Ford
Hollings
Reid
Rockefeller
Shelby

Republicans (23 or 50%)

Armstrong
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hecht
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes
Kasten
McCain
McClure
Murkowski
Nickles
Pressler
Simpson
Stevens
Symms
Thurmond
Wallop

NOT VOTING (5)

Democrats (5)

Biden—2
Bradley—2
Gore—2
Mikulski—2
Simon—2

Republicans (0)

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 82%
Republicans— 50%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (63)
Democrats— 40 or 63%
Republicans— 23 or 37%

Against (32)
Democrats— 9 or 28%
Republicans— 23 or 72%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 123

100th Congress
1st Session

May 21, 1987, 4:39 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-6988

SUPPLEMENTAL APPROPRIATIONS, 1987

BILL NO.: H.R. 1827

TITLE: "Supplemental Appropriations Act, 1987"

SUBJECT: **Danforth motion to table the Committee amendment which appropriates $30 million for the emergency provision of drugs which have been determined as prolonging the life of those who suffer from AIDS.** (Subsequently, the amendment was agreed to by voice vote. See also Vote Nos. 122 and 142.)

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment (voting nay) asserted that it would provide $30 million to those who are medically eligible for AZT or other drugs, but unable to afford treatment. The current annual treatment for AIDS patients costs approximately $10,000 per person. Although treatment does not cure AIDS victims, it does help to prolong their lives.

Opponents of the amendment (voting yea) insisted that a supplemental appropriations bill is not the proper forum for addressing this issue. In addition, the increasing number of AIDS victims, and the limited funding available for treatment, make trying to determine who should and should not receive treatment more and more difficult.

H.R. 1827: Vote Nos. 98, 100, 117-145, 176.

RESULT: **MOTION TO TABLE FAILED**

YEAS (21)		NAYS (74)			NOT VOTING (5)	
Democrats (4 or 8%)	**Republicans (17 or 37%)**	**Democrats (45 or 92%)**		**Republicans (29 or 63%)**	**Democrats (5)**	**Republicans (0)**
Exon	Armstrong	Adams	Johnston	Boschwitz	Biden—2	
Ford	Bond	Baucus	Kennedy	Chafee	Bradley—2	
Proxmire	Danforth	Bentsen	Kerry	Cochran	Gore—2	
Wirth	Dole	Bingaman	Lautenberg	Cohen	Mikulski—2	
	Evans	Boren	Leahy	D'Amato	Simon—2	
	Gramm	Breaux	Levin	Domenici		
	Helms	Bumpers	Matsunaga	Durenberger		
	Humphrey	Burdick	Melcher	Garn		
	Karnes	Byrd	Metzenbaum	Grassley		
	Lugar	Chiles	Mitchell	Hatch		
	Murkowski	Conrad	Moynihan	Hatfield		
	Nickles	Cranston	Nunn	Hecht		
	Quayle	Daschle	Pell	Heinz		
	Thurmond	DeConcini	Pryor	Kassebaum		
	Trible	Dixon	Reid	Kasten		
	Wallop	Dodd	Riegle	McCain		
	Warner	Fowler	Rockefeller	McClure		
		Glenn	Sanford	McConnell		
		Graham	Sarbanes	Packwood		
		Harkin	Sasser	Pressler		
		Heflin	Shelby	Roth		
		Hollings	Stennis	Rudman		
		Inouye		Simpson		
				Specter		
				Stafford		
				Stevens		
				Symms		
				Weicker		
				Wilson		

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion	**Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on**	
	For (21)	*Against* (74)
Democrats— 92%	Democrats— 4 or 19%	Democrats— 45 or 61%
Republicans— 63%	Republicans— 17 or 81%	Republicans— 29 or 39%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 124

100th Congress
1st Session

May 21, 1987, 5:51 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-7003

SUPPLEMENTAL APPROPRIATIONS, 1987

BILL NO.: **H.R. 1827**

TITLE: "Supplemental Appropriations Act, 1987"

SUBJECT: **Committee amendment which extends the public information period from June 1, 1987, to October 1, 1987, thereby delaying implementation of the employer sanction provisions of the immigration law. (See also Vote No. 130.)**

NOTE: Proponents asserted that an extension of the public information and education period is needed because none of the 6.3 million handbooks explaining the new regulations have yet been mailed out. Unless the public information period is extended, the new regulations will go into effect at the same time information is made available. An extension would protect employees from discrimination and disruption of employment while at the same time protecting the employers from confusion and apprehension caused by misinformation and lack of information. Although the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) intends to enforce the sanctions law lightly at first, which will help employers, it still leaves employees at risk.

Opponents insisted that the four-month grace period is not an extension for education, but rather a delay in enforcement. INS had issued statements to the effect that no written citations, warnings, or any enforcement action would be taken during June 1987. Furthermore, INS agreed that for the period from June 1, 1987, through May 31, 1988, it would not even issue a warning upon discovery of an initial violation, if the violation were determined to be a result of misunderstanding the law. Nor would a penalty be assessed against an employer prior to the issuance of a warning during this period. An extension actually would cause more confusion than leaving the effective dates as they currently are set.

H.R. 1827: Vote Nos. 98, 100, 117-145, 176.

RESULT: **AMENDMENT AGREED TO**

YEAS (48)

Democrats (33 or 69%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Bingaman
Boren
Breaux
Bumpers
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Exon
Harkin
Heflin
Inouye
Johnston
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Mitchell
Pell
Pryor
Reid
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans (15 or 33%)

D'Amato
Domenici
Garn
Hatch
Hecht
Helms
Karnes
McCain
McClure
Nickles
Simpson
Stevens
Symms
Wallop
Wilson

NAYS (45)

Democrats (15 or 31%)

Burdick
Byrd
Dodd
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Graham
Hollings
Kerry
Metzenbaum
Moynihan
Nunn
Proxmire
Riegle
Rockefeller

Republicans (30 or 67%)

Armstrong
Boschwitz
Chafee
Cochran
Cohen
Danforth
Dole
Durenberger
Evans
Gramm
Grassley
Hatfield
Heinz
Humphrey
Kassebaum
Kasten
Lugar
McConnell
Murkowski
Packwood
Pressler
Quayle
Roth
Rudman
Specter
Stafford
Thurmond
Trible
Warner
Weicker

NOT VOTING (7)

Democrats (6)

Biden—^{2}
Bradley—^{2}
Gore—^{2}
Kennedy—^{2}
Mikulski—^{2}
Simon—^{2}

Republicans (1)

Bond—^{2}

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 69%
Republicans— 67%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (48)
Democrats— 33 or 69%
Republicans— 15 or 31%

Against (45)
Democrats— 15 or 33%
Republicans— 30 or 67%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 125

100th Congress
1st Session

May 27, 1987, 5:16 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-7185

SUPPLEMENTAL APPROPRIATIONS, 1987

BILL NO.: H.R. 1827

AMENDMENT NO.: 219

TITLE: "Supplemental Appropriations Act, 1987"

SUBJECT: **Melcher amendment which requires the Secretary of Labor to develop and submit to Congress, using funds appropriated to the Department of Labor in FY 1987 and within 90 days of enactment, a Consumer Price Index which reflects the impact of inflation on elderly Americans.** (See also Vote No. 176.)

NOTE: Proponents asserted that the amendment was necessitated by the increasing disparity in the costs of purchases older Americans are required to make for medical and other needs and those made by other Americans. The Consumer Price Index does not adequately reflect the inflation rate in key services that are essential to the elderly. An inflation index directed at the elderly would give Congress a more accurate picture of the impact of inflation on the lives of older Americans. This study would be done with available funds and would be revenue neutral.

H.R. 1827: Vote Nos. 98, 100, 117-145, 176.

RESULT: **AMENDMENT AGREED TO**

YEAS (95)

Democrats
(51 or 100%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Hollings
Inouye
Johnston
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Simon
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans
(44 or 100%)

Armstrong
Bond
Boschwitz
Chafee
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hatfield
Hecht
Heinz
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes
Kassebaum
Kasten
Lugar
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Nickles
Packwood
Pressler
Quayle
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Specter
Stafford
Stevens
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Warner
Weicker
Wilson

NAYS (0)

Democrats
(0 or 0%)

Republicans
(0 or 0%)

NOT VOTING (5)

Democrats (3)

Biden^{-2}
Gore^{-2}
Kennedy^{-2}

Republicans (2)

Evans^{-2}
Murkowski^{-2}

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 100%
Republicans— 100%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (95)
Democrats— 51 or 54%
Republicans— 44 or 46%

Against (0)
Democrats— 0 or 0%
Republicans— 0 or 0%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 126

100th Congress
1st Session

May 27, 1987, 5:49 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-7186

SUPPLEMENTAL APPROPRIATIONS, 1987

BILL NO.: H.R. 1827

AMENDMENT NO.: 207

TITLE: "Supplemental Appropriations Act, 1987"

SUBJECT: **Heinz motion to waive section 311(a) of the Budget Act (prohibiting consideration of legislation which would increase the deficit above the level established in the budget—Gramm-Rudman-Hollings) to allow the consideration of the Heinz, et al., modified amendment which provides an additional $10 million in budget authority and $2 million in outlays for community service employment for older Americans, offset by a $2 million reduction, from $38 million to $36 million, for foreign military credit sales for the Philippines, Morocco, and Kenya.** (See also Vote No. 127.)

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment noted that it gives a cost-of-living increase to title V programs of the Older Americans Act which provide part-time employment to over 60,000 low-income senior citizens. These persons employed under Title V provide vital services to other elderly citizens, all of whom live on incomes which may not exceed 125 percent of the poverty level. Title V is the only program under the Older Americans Act which did not receive an inflation increase for FY 1987. This funding increase would be the first real growth increase for the program since 1985 and would create approximately 2,000 new jobs. Proponents insisted that the Budget Committee agreed that the outlay cost of this increase would be offset by the reduction to foreign military credit sales.

Opponents of the amendment objected to its financing method and feared adopting add-ons, even for worthy programs, because they would make the bill out of order for exceeding the deficit ceiling. Senator Chiles made the point of order against the amendment because CBO stated that it was not deficit-neutral.

H.R. 1827: Vote Nos. 98, 100, 117-145, 176.

RESULT: **MOTION TO WAIVE BUDGET ACT AGREED TO, 3/5THS HAVING VOTED IN THE AFFIRMATIVE**

YEAS (74)

Democrats (44 or 86%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Bingaman
Boren
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Hollings
Johnston
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Pell
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Simon
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans (30 or 68%)

Bond
Boschwitz
Chafee
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Grassley
Hatch
Hatfield
Hecht
Heinz
Karnes
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Packwood
Pressler
Quayle
Roth
Simpson
Specter
Stevens
Thurmond
Wallop
Weicker
Wilson

NAYS (21)

Democrats (7 or 14%)

Bradley
Chiles
Conrad
Exon
Inouye
Nunn
Proxmire

Republicans (14 or 32%)

Armstrong
Garn
Gramm
Helms
Humphrey
Kassebaum
Kasten
Lugar
Nickles
Rudman
Stafford
Symms
Trible
Warner

NOT VOTING (5)

Democrats (3)

Biden—2
Gore—2
Kennedy—2

Republicans (2)

Evans—2
Murkowski—2

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 86%
Republicans— 68%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (74)
Democrats— 44 or 59%
Republicans— 30 or 41%

Against (21)
Democrats— 7 or 33%
Republicans— 14 or 67%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 127

100th Congress
1st Session

May 27, 1987, 6:11 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-7186

SUPPLEMENTAL APPROPRIATIONS, 1987

BILL NO.: H.R. 1827

AMENDMENT NO.: 207

TITLE: "Supplemental Appropriations Act, 1987"

SUBJECT: **Heinz, et al., modified amendment which provides an additional $10 million in budget authority and $2 million in outlays for community service employment for older Americans, offset by a $2 million reduction, from $38 to $36 million, for foreign military credit sales for the Philippines, Morocco, and Kenya.** (See also Vote No. 126.)

NOTE: Proponents noted that the amendment gives a cost-of-living increase to Title V programs of the Older Americans Act, which provide part-time employment to over 60,000 low-income senior citizens. These persons employed under Title V provide vital services to other elderly citizens, all of whom live on meager incomes which may not exceed 125 percent of the poverty level. Title V is the only program under the Older Americans Act which did not receive an inflation increase for FY 1987. This funding increase would be the first real growth increase for the program since 1985 and would create approximately 2,000 new jobs. Proponents insisted that the Budget Committee agreed that the outlay cost of this increase would be offset by the reduction to foreign military credit sales.

Opponents objected to its financing method and feared adopting add-ons, even for worthy programs, because they would make the bill out of order for exceeding the deficit ceiling.

H.R. 1827: Vote Nos. 98, 100, 117-145, 176.

RESULT: **AMENDMENT AGREED TO**

YEAS (88)

Democrats (50 or 98%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Hollings
Inouye
Johnston
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Simon
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans (38 or 86%)

Bond
Boschwitz
Chafee
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Garn
Grassley
Hatch
Hatfield
Hecht
Heinz
Karnes
Kassebaum
Kasten
Lugar
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Nickles
Packwood
Pressler
Quayle
Roth
Simpson
Specter
Stafford
Stevens
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Warner
Weicker
Wilson

NAYS (7)

Democrats (1 or 2%)

Proxmire

Republicans (6 or 14%)

Armstrong
Gramm
Helms
Humphrey
Rudman
Symms

NOT VOTING (5)

Democrats (3)

Biden—2
Gore—2
Kennedy—2

Republicans (2)

Evans—2
Murkowski—2

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 98%
Republicans— 86%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (88)
Democrats— 50 or 57%
Republicans— 38 or 43%

Against (7)
Democrats— 1 or 14%
Republicans— 6 or 86%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 128

100th Congress
1st Session

May 27, 1987, 6:29 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-7186

SUPPLEMENTAL APPROPRIATIONS, 1987

BILL NO.: H.R. 1827 AMENDMENT NO.: 220

TITLE: "Supplemental Appropriations Act, 1987"

SUBJECT: **Dixon motion to waive section 311(a) of the Budget Act (prohibiting consideration of legislation which would increase the deficit above the level established in the budget—Gramm-Rudman-Hollings) to allow the consideration of the Dixon, et al., amendment which provides $100 million for the Summer Youth Employment and Training Program offset by an equivalent reduction in appropriations for the World Bank. (See also Vote No. 133.)**

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment asserted that the Summer Youth Employment program is so vital that its funding should not be left at the level in the bill, which is over $100 million below last year's and that proposed for next year. This gap will eliminate employment opportunities for 140,000 youths and affect teenage employment in 48 States. Funding should be offset, they proposed, by reducing monies that would create a severance plan for 390 employees of the World Bank, with benefits of up to $200,000 per person. While the amendment would send a message to the World Bank that such action is unacceptable, it also would focus attention on the serious problem of teenage unemployment that breeds crime, and drug and alcohol abuse. The Summer Youth Employment program has been effective in building self-esteem and confidence for many teenagers, giving them useful training, and improving their academic performance. It also has provided necessary services for cities, including cleaning parks, assisting the elderly, and performing clerical work in hospitals.

Opponents of the amendment agreed that the Summer Youth Employment program is both important and underfunded but noted that the amendment increases outlays for this fiscal year, because the World Bank severance program is not included as an outlay in this bill. The supplemental is already $13 billion over the deficit target and therefore subject to a point of order. Such amendments without offsets must be avoided.

H.R. 1827: Vote Nos. 98, 100, 117-145, 176.

RESULT: **MOTION TO WAIVE BUDGET ACT REJECTED, 3/5THS NOT HAVING VOTED IN THE AFFIRMATIVE**

YEAS (33)

Democrats (26 or 51%)

Adams
Bingaman
Bradley
Bumpers
Burdick
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Ford
Harkin
Kerry
Lautenberg
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sarbanes
Shelby
Simon

Republicans (7 or 16%)

Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Heinz
McCain
Specter
Wilson

NAYS (62)

Democrats (25 or 49%)

Baucus
Bentsen
Boren
Breaux
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Exon
Fowler
Glenn
Graham
Heflin
Hollings
Inouye
Johnston
Leahy
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Sanford
Sasser
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans (37 or 84%)

Armstrong
Bond
Boschwitz
Chafee
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hatfield
Hecht
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes
Kassebaum
Kasten
Lugar
McClure
McConnell
Nickles
Packwood
Pressler
Quayle
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Stafford
Stevens
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Warner
Weicker

NOT VOTING (5)

Democrats (3)

Biden—2
Gore—2
Kennedy—2

Republicans (2)

Evans—2
Murkowski—2

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 51%
Republicans— 84%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (33)
Democrats— 26 or 79%
Republicans— 7 or 21%

Against (62)
Democrats— 25 or 40%
Republicans— 37 or 60%

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 129

100th Congress
1st Session

May 27, 1987, 6:47 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-7187

SUPPLEMENTAL APPROPRIATIONS, 1987

BILL NO.: H.R. 1827 **AMENDMENT NO.:** 222

TITLE: "Supplemental Appropriations Act, 1987"

SUBJECT: **Melcher, et al., modified amendment which imposes a moratorium until March 31, 1988, on the approval and issuance of all oil shale patents (except for 10 patents that are currently pending) by the Department of Interior unless Congress directs otherwise.**

NOTE: Proponents asserted that a moratorium on the issuance of oil shale patents will give Congress an opportunity to review oil shale development and pass appropriate legislation, instead of allowing the Interior Department to continue to act on the basis of the 1872 Mining Act and court interpretations which some felt were questionable. The Interior Department's self-imposed moratorium—which was implemented to give Congress time to act on the issue, and during which Congress did not—will expire June 1, 1987. The 1872 Act was intended to allow persons who made mineral discoveries on public lands and developed them for the benefit of the country eventually to obtain title to that land. However, the Interior Department has been awarding the titles of large areas of public land to oil companies which have bought oil shale claims from individuals. While the courts have held that some oil companies have complied with the 1872 Act and therefore should have title to the land, it is not clear that this decision is correct; the cost of the oil produced from the shale is too prohibitive to be considered a benefit to the country. Moreover; there are other issues the Senate needs to review: how to dispose of shale refuse, what to do with the land after it has been exploited, how such exploitation will affect wildlife habitats, and what the land should cost. Under the 1872 Act, land that was leased for up to $40,000 an acre during the 1970's energy crisis would be sold for $2.50 an acre.

Those who opposed the amendment as first proposed (with an indefinite moratorium and exceptions for only two pending patents) based their objections on its being legislation on an appropriation bill and noted that no hearings had been held, despite the fact that the sponsor chairs the subcommittee with jurisdiction. However, they supported the amendment as modified.

H.R. 1827: Vote Nos. 98, 100, 117-145, 176.

RESULT: **AMENDMENT AGREED TO**

YEAS (94)

Democrats (51 or 100%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Hollings
Inouye
Johnston
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Simon
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans (43 or 98%)

Armstrong
Bond
Boschwitz
Chafee
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hatfield
Hecht
Heinz
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes
Kassebaum
Kasten
Lugar
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Nickles
Packwood
Pressler
Quayle
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Specter
Stafford
Stevens
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Warner
Weicker
Wilson

NAYS (1)

Democrats (0 or 0%)

Republicans (1 or 2%)

Symms

NOT VOTING (5)

Democrats (3)

Biden—2
Gore—2
Kennedy—2

Republicans (2)

Evans—2
Murkowski—2

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 100%
Republicans— 98%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (94)
Democrats— 51 or 54%
Republicans— 43 or 46%

Against (1)
Democrats— 0 or 0%
Republicans— 1 or 100%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 130

100th Congress
1st Session

May 28, 1987, 10:00 a.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-7226

SUPPLEMENTAL APPROPRIATIONS, 1987

BILL NO.: H.R. 1827

TITLE: "Supplemental Appropriations Act, 1987"

SUBJECT: **Harkin motion to table the DeConcini motion to reconsider Vote No. 124 by which the Senate adopted the Committee amendment which delays implementation of the employer sanctions of the immigration act until October 1, 1987.**

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment (voting yea) asserted that an extension of the public information and education period is needed because none of the 6.3 million handbooks explaining the new regulations has yet been mailed out. Unless the public information period is extended, the new regulations will go into effect at the same time information is made available. An extension would protect employees from discrimination and disruption of employment while at the same time protect employers from confusion and apprehension caused by misinformation and lack of information. Although the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) intends to enforce the sanctions law lightly at first, which will help employers, it still leaves employees at risk.

Opponents of the amendment (voting nay) insisted that the four-month grace period is not an extension for education but, rather, a delay in enforcement. INS has issued statements to the effect that no written citations, warnings, or any enforcement action would be taken during the month of June 1987. Furthermore, INS agreed that for the period from June 1, 1987, through May 31, 1988, it would not even issue a warning for an initial violation which is determined to be a result of misunderstanding the law. Nor would a penalty be assessed against an employer prior to the issuance of a warning during this period. An extension actually would cause more confusion than leaving the effective dates as they currently are set.

H.R. 1827: Vote Nos. 98, 100, 117-145, 176.

RESULT: **MOTION TO TABLE MOTION TO RECONSIDER AGREED TO**

YEAS (47)

Democrats (33 or 67%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Bingaman
Boren
Breaux
Bumpers
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Exon
Harkin
Heflin
Inouye
Johnston
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Melcher
Mikulski
Mitchell
Pell
Pryor
Reid
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans (14 or 34%)

Chafee
D'Amato
Domenici
Garn
Hatch
Hecht
Helms
Karnes
McCain
McClure
Nickles
Stevens
Symms
Wilson

NAYS (43)

Democrats (16 or 33%)

Bradley
Burdick
Byrd
Dodd
Ford
Fowler
Graham
Hollings
Kerry
Metzenbaum
Moynihan
Nunn
Proxmire
Riegle
Rockefeller
Simon

Republicans (27 or 66%)

Armstrong
Bond
Boschwitz
Cochran
Cohen
Danforth
Dole
Durenberger
Gramm
Grassley
Hatfield
Heinz
Humphrey
Kassebaum
Kasten
Lugar
McConnell
Packwood
Pressler
Quayle
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Stafford
Thurmond
Trible
Weicker

NOT VOTING (9)

Democrats (5)

Biden—^{2}
Glenn—^{1}
Gore—^{2PY}
Kennedy—^{2PN}
Matsunaga—^{2}

Republicans (4)

Evans—^{2}
Murkowski—^{2}
Specter—^{2}
Warner—^{1PN}

LIVE PAIRS (1)

PRESENT AND GIVING:	RECEIVING:
Wallop (PY)	Warner (PN)

GENERAL PAIRS

Gore-Kennedy

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 67%
Republicans— 66%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (47)
Democrats— 33 or 70%
Republicans— 14 or 30%

Against (43)
Democrats— 16 or 37%
Republicans— 27 or 63%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 131

100th Congress
1st Session

May 28, 1987, 11:37 a.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-7236

SUPPLEMENTAL APPROPRIATIONS, 1987

BILL NO.: H.R. 1827

AMENDMENT NO.: 230

TITLE: "Supplemental Appropriations Act. 1987"

SUBJECT: **Grassley motion to waive section 311(a) of the Budget Act (prohibiting consideration of legislation which would increase the deficit above the target) to allow the consideration of the Dole-Grassley, et al., amendment which accelerates deficiency payments for the 1986 corn crop by making $2.77 billion available now rather than on October 1, 1987.**

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment emphasized that it simply accelerates to this summer the payment of $2.77 billion, originally scheduled for October 1, 1987. The feedgrain deficiency payments will be made regardless of whether payments are made now or in October, so the proposal would have no impact on overall government outlays but would help 1.4 million feedgrain farmers across the country. The amendment would bring equity between corn and wheat farmers, as wheat farmers have already had their final deficiency payments moved forward.

Opponents of the amendment insisted that it would violate the Budget Act by increasing outlays by $2.77 billion in FY 1987 rather than in FY 1988. The initial decision by Congress to move to the five-month price was a cost-cutting measure. To abandon the procedure now would lead to higher farm price support payments. Finally, the need for additional income is not critical at this time, as the peak need for credit or income has already passed.

H.R. 1827: Vote Nos. 98, 100, 117-145, 176.

RESULT: **MOTION TO WAIVE BUDGET ACT REJECTED, 3/5THS NOT HAVING VOTED IN THE AFFIRMATIVE**

YEAS (33)

Democrats (14 or 28%)

Baucus
Boren
Bumpers
Burdick
Conrad
Daschle
Dixon
Exon
Ford
Harkin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Pryor
Simon

Republicans (19 or 44%)

Bond
Boschwitz
Cochran
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Durenberger
Grassley
Hatch
Karnes
Kassebaum
Kasten
McClure
McConnell
Pressler
Specter
Stevens
Thurmond
Wilson

NAYS (60)

Democrats (36 or 72%)

Adams
Bentsen
Bingaman
Bradley
Breaux
Byrd
Chiles
Cranston
DeConcini
Dodd
Fowler
Graham
Heflin
Hollings
Inouye
Johnston
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Proxmire
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans (24 or 56%)

Armstrong
Chafee
Cohen
Domenici
Garn
Gramm
Hatfield
Hecht
Heinz
Helms
Humphrey
Lugar
McCain
Nickles
Packwood
Quayle
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Stafford
Symms
Trible
Wallop
Weicker

NOT VOTING (7)

Democrats (4)

Biden—2
Glenn—1
Gore—2
Kennedy—2

Republicans (3)

Evans—2
Murkowski—2
Warner—1

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 72%
Republicans— 56%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (33)
Democrats— 14 or 42%
Republicans— 19 or 58%

Against (60)
Democrats— 36 or 60%
Republicans— 24 or 40%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 132

100th Congress
1st Session

May 28, 1987, 12:25 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-7241

SUPPLEMENTAL APPROPRIATIONS, 1987

BILL NO.: H.R. 1827 **AMENDMENT NO.:** 231

TITLE: "Supplemental Appropriations Act, 1987"

SUBJECT: **D'Amato motion to waive section 311(a) of the Budget Act (prohibiting consideration of legislation which would increase the deficit above the target) to allow the consideration of the Cranston-D'Amato, et al., amendment which fully funds the Urgent Relief for the Homeless Act (H.R. 558) passed earlier this year, and transfers $20 million of VA funds to provide for homeless veterans.**

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment claimed that it would fulfill the commitment that the Senate made to the homeless in passing the Urgent Relief for the Homeless Act earlier this session, by providing funding at levels anticipated in the bill. Various estimates indicate that approximately one-third of the 350,000 homeless Americans are veterans. As such, special efforts should be taken to aid those homeless persons who have served in the Nation's armed forces. Under the amendment, the $20 million allocated to veterans would be divided into two equal parts. Half would go to increasing the Veterans' Administration's capacity to furnish eligible veterans with expanded domiciliary care. The other half would go to furnishing contract halfway houses or other community-based psychiatric residential treatment. The $20 million comes out of moneys for health and human services, alcohol and drug abuse, mental health, and community service block grants. Some argued that it made little sense to help solve some of the problems of the homeless without addressing the main problem—lack of housing.

Opponents of the amendment maintained that the issue should not be considered on this urgent supplemental and could be addressed better in the regular appropriations bill. In addition, taking the funds from other programs, which already are underfunded, merely escalates the problem at hand.

H.R. 1827: Vote Nos. 98, 100, 117-145, 176.

RESULT: **MOTION TO WAIVE BUDGET ACT REJECTED, 3/5THS NOT HAVING VOTED IN THE AFFIRMATIVE**

YEAS (47)

Democrats (29 or 58%)

Adams
Bradley
Bumpers
Burdick
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Ford
Harkin
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Pell
Pryor
Riegle
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Simon

Republicans (18 or 42%)

Boschwitz
Chafee
Cohen
D'Amato
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Grassley
Hatfield
Heinz
McCain
Packwood
Pressler
Specter
Stafford
Stevens
Weicker
Wilson

NAYS (46)

Democrats (21 or 42%)

Baucus
Bentsen
Bingaman
Boren
Breaux
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Exon
Fowler
Graham
Heflin
Hollings
Inouye
Johnston
Nunn
Proxmire
Reid
Rockefeller
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans (25 or 58%)

Armstrong
Bond
Cochran
Danforth
Garn
Gramm
Hatch
Hecht
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes
Kassebaum
Kasten
Lugar
McClure
McConnell
Nickles
Quayle
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop

NOT VOTING (7)

Democrats (4)

Biden—^{2}
Glenn—^{1}
Gore—^{2}
Kennedy—^{2}

Republicans (3)

Evans—^{2}
Murkowski—^{2}
Warner—^{1}

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 58%
Republicans— 58%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (47)
Democrats— 29 or 62%
Republicans-- 18 or 38%

Against (46)
Democrats— 21 or 46%
Republicans— 25 or 54%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 133

100th Congress
1st Session

May 28, 1987, 1:40 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-7246

SUPPLEMENTAL APPROPRIATIONS, 1987

BILL NO.: H.R. 1827

AMENDMENT NO.: 234

TITLE: "Supplemental Appropriations Act, 1987"

SUBJECT: **Dixon, et al., amendment stating the sense of the Senate that no funds provided under this Act may be used for the payment of severance pay to any employee of the World Bank.** (See also Vote No. 128.)

NOTE: Proponents noted that the World Bank, which lends money to the world's poorer countries, has instituted a very generous $100 million severance plan for its top employees. Some individuals would receive up to $200,000. Passage of this amendment would send the message that Congress is conducting its oversight role and is seeking to eliminate waste of American tax dollars.
No opposing statements were made.

H.R. 1827: Vote Nos. 98, 100, 117-145, 176.

RESULT: **AMENDMENT AGREED TO**

YEAS (90)				NAYS (3)		NOT VOTING (7)	
Democrats (49 or 98%)		Republicans (41 or 95%)		Democrats (1 or 2%)	Republicans (2 or 5%)	Democrats (4)	Republicans (3)
Adams	Johnston	Armstrong	Kassebaum	Pell	Lugar	Biden—2	Evans—2
Baucus	Kerry	Bond	Kasten		Weicker	Glenn—1	Murkowski—2
Bentsen	Lautenberg	Boschwitz	McCain			Gore—2	Warner—1
Bingaman	Leahy	Chafee	McClure			Kennedy—2	
Boren	Levin	Cochran	McConnell				
Bradley	Matsunaga	Cohen	Nickles				
Breaux	Melcher	D'Amato	Packwood				
Bumpers	Metzenbaum	Danforth	Pressler				
Burdick	Mikulski	Dole	Quayle				
Byrd	Mitchell	Domenici	Roth				
Chiles	Moynihan	Durenberger	Rudman				
Conrad	Nunn	Garn	Simpson				
Cranston	Proxmire	Gramm	Specter				
Daschle	Pryor	Grassley	Stafford				
DeConcini	Reid	Hatch	Stevens				
Dixon	Riegle	Hatfield	Symms				
Dodd	Rockefeller	Hecht	Thurmond				
Exon	Sanford	Heinz	Trible				
Ford	Sarbanes	Helms	Wallop				
Fowler	Sasser	Humphrey	Wilson				
Graham	Shelby	Karnes					
Harkin	Simon						
Heflin	Stennis						
Hollings	Wirth						
Inouye							

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:
1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:
AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion	Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on	
	For (90)	*Against* (3)
Democrats— 98%	Democrats— 49 or 54%	Democrats— 1 or 33%
Republicans— 95%	Republicans— 41 or 46%	Republicans— 2 or 67%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 134

100th Congress
1st Session

May 28, 1987, 2:45 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-7253

SUPPLEMENTAL APPROPRIATIONS, 1987

BILL NO.: H.R. 1827

AMENDMENT NO.: 236

TITLE: "Supplemental Appropriations Act, 1987"

SUBJECT: **Johnston motion to table the Symms, et al., amendment which strikes all provisions of the bill except $6.7 billion in supplemental appropriations for the Commodity Credit Corporation (CCC).**

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment (voting nay) noted that it would remove controversial issues and ensure quick passage of the bill that would expedite funds to rural America and save almost $3 billion. Some argued that the fundamental difference between the CCC and other worthy projects provided for in the bill was that the CCC is deficit neutral while the other programs are not.

Opponents of the amendment (voting yea) maintained that the CCC was not the only important program provided for in the bill. For example, the bill also provides funds for CHAMPUS, a program which provides medical benefits for military personnel who seek treatment from civilians, and their treatment would be delayed if this amendment were passed. The President requested this supplemental, they noted, and the committee has been assured that he would approve it in its present form.

H.R. 1827: Vote Nos. 98, 100, 117-145, 176.

RESULT: **MOTION TO TABLE AGREED TO**

YEAS (61)

Democrats (42 or 86%)

Adams
Bentsen
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dodd
Ford
Fowler
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Hollings
Johnston
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Simon
Stennis

Republicans (19 or 45%)

Chafee
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Domenici
Hatfield
Heinz
Humphrey
Lugar
McConnell
Packwood
Pressler
Roth
Specter
Stafford
Stevens
Weicker
Wilson

NAYS (30)

Democrats (7 or 14%)

Baucus
Dixon
Exon
Matsunaga
Proxmire
Pryor
Wirth

Republicans (23 or 55%)

Armstrong
Bond
Boschwitz
Dole
Durenberger
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hecht
Helms
Karnes
Kassebaum
Kasten
McCain
McClure
Nickles
Quayle
Simpson
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop

NOT VOTING (9)

Democrats (5)

Biden—2
Glenn—1AY
Gore—2
Inouye—4
Kennedy—2

Republicans (4)

Evans—2
Murkowski—2
Rudman—2
Warner—1

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 86%
Republicans— 55%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (61)
Democrats— 42 or 69%
Republicans— 19 or 31%

Against (30)
Democrats— 7 or 23%
Republicans— 23 or 77%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 135

100th Congress
1st Session

May 28, 1987, 4:42 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-7268

SUPPLEMENTAL APPROPRIATIONS, 1987

BILL NO.: H.R. 1827

AMENDMENT NO.: 229

TITLE: "Supplemental Appropriations Act, 1987"

SUBJECT: **Hatfield motion to table the Helms-Symms, et al., amendment which earmarks $5 million, of the $20 million in the bill for the Air Force, to continue the previously authorized retrofitting of stockpiled MIRV'd Minuteman III ICBM's into existing single-warhead Minuteman II silos.**

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment (voting nay) insisted that it would assure the continuation of a program that is essential to the defense of the U.S. Funding for this retrofitting should proceed because (1) the U.S. is no longer complying with the SALT II Treaty and (2) it would add 100 MIRV'd Minutemen III ICBM's to the American retaliatory force for a very low cost of only $50 million.

Opponents of the amendment (voting yea) insisted that arms control legislation should not be debated in a supplemental appropriations bill. In addition, the Air Force opposes the amendment as it would take away 14 years of Minuteman III missiles normally used for flight testing—halting reliability, accuracy, and other tests vital to maintaining the effectiveness of the Minuteman III force. The Air Force estimates that it would cost at least $117 million. It certainly is not a cost-effective use of these funds which are badly needed for operations and maintenance. Some believed that the real purpose of the amendment was to put the U.S. over the sublimits of MIRV'd missiles under the SALT II Treaty.

H.R. 1827: Vote Nos. 98, 100, 117-145, 176.

RESULT: MOTION TO TABLE AGREED TO

YEAS (57)

Democrats (45 or 94%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Graham
Harkin
Johnston
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans (12 or 29%)

Chafee
Cochran
Cohen
Danforth
Durenberger
Hatfield
Heinz
Kassebaum
Packwood
Roth
Stafford
Stevens

NAYS (32)

Democrats (3 or 6%)

Heflin
Hollings
Shelby

Republicans (29 or 71%)

Armstrong
Bond
Boschwitz
D'Amato
Dole
Domenici
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hecht
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes
Kasten
Lugar
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Nickles
Pressler
Quayle
Simpson
Specter
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Wilson

NOT VOTING (11)

Democrats (6)

Biden—2
Glenn—1
Gore—2
Inouye—4
Kennedy—2
Simon—2

Republicans (5)

Evans—2
Murkowski—2
Rudman—2
Warner—1
Weicker—2

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion	Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on	
	For (57)	*Against* (32)
Democrats— 94%	Democrats— 45 or 79%	Democrats— 3 or 9%
Republicans— 71%	Republicans— 12 or 21%	Republicans— 29 or 91%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 136

00th Congress
st Session

May 28, 1987, 6:06 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-7276

SUPPLEMENTAL APPROPRIATIONS, 1987

ILL NO.: H.R. 1827

ITLE: "Supplemental Appropriations Act, 1987"

UBJECT: **Johnston motion to table the Levin-Gramm motion to recommit the bill to the Appropriations Committee with instructions to report back to the Senate with such changes, including deletions, reductions, rescissions, or deferrals, as may be necessary in order to make Title I (discretionary spending) deficit neutral; however, if the committee is unable to accomplish this through such measures, the committee should urge the Senate to consider legislation raising revenues to fund such programs, projects, and activities.**

NOTE: Proponents of the recommital motion (voting nay) insisted that the bill, which is $2.5 billion over budget, violates the Budget Act. It should be sent back to the Appropriations Committee so that the committee can make the necessary and appropriate cuts. In addition, the cuts may come from any agency covered in Title I, the government section; it is not just limited to the programs covered in that section of the Supplemental Appropriations bill.

Opponents of the recommital motion (voting yea) noted that the Appropriations Committee already has made $3 million worth of offsets and would be hard-pressed to cut further. The amendment, they pointed out, only addresses Title I, and a $1.3 billion deficit would remain in the bill.

H.R. 1827: Vote Nos. 98, 100, 117-145, 176.

RESULT: MOTION TO TABLE AGREED TO

YEAS (52)

Democrats (34 or 69%)

Adams
Bentsen
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Chiles
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Harkin
Heflin
Inouye

Johnston
Lautenberg
Leahy
Matsunaga
Melcher
Mikulski
Moynihan
Pell
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Stennis

Republicans (18 or 43%)

Chafee
Cochran
D'Amato
Dole
Durenberger
Grassley
Hatfield
Heinz
Karnes
Kassebaum
Kasten
McClure
Packwood
Pressler
Roth
Specter
Stafford
Stevens

NAYS (39)

Democrats (15 or 31%)

Baucus
Bingaman
Boren
Byrd
Conrad
Dodd
Graham
Hollings
Kerry
Levin
Metzenbaum
Mitchell
Nunn
Proxmire
Wirth

Republicans (24 or 57%)

Armstrong
Bond
Boschwitz
Cohen
Danforth
Domenici
Garn
Gramm
Hatch
Hecht
Helms
Humphrey
Lugar
McCain
McConnell
Nickles
Quayle
Rudman
Simpson
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Wilson

NOT VOTING (9)

Democrats (5)

Biden—2
Glenn—1
Gore—2
Kennedy—2
Simon—2

Republicans (4)

Evans—2
Murkowski—2AN
Warner—1
Weicker—2

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 69%
Republicans— 57%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (52)
Democrats— 34 or 65%
Republicans— 18 or 35%

Against (39)
Democrats— 15 or 38%
Republicans— 24 or 62%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 137

100th Congress
1st Session

May 29, 1987, 11:42 a.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-7345

SUPPLEMENTAL APPROPRIATIONS, 1987

BILL NO.: H.R. 1827

TITLE: "Supplemental Appropriations Act, 1987"

SUBJECT: **Johnston motion to waive sections 302(f), 303(a), and 311(a) of the Budget Act in order to allow the consideration of the bill.** (See also Vote Nos. 98, 140, and 141.)

NOTE: Section 302(f) prohibits consideration of legislation providing budget authority (BA) or outlays in excess of the subcommittee's allocation. Section 303(a) prohibits consideration of legislation providing new BA, change in revenues, change in public debt, new entitlement authority, or new credit authority for a fiscal year until the budget resolution for that year has been agreed to. Section 311(a) prohibits consideration of legislation which would exceed the outlay ceiling or revenue floor, or would cause the deficit to exceed the maximum deficit amount.

Proponents of the motion pointed out that this was a Presidential request, and the President's own supplemental was not revenue neutral even though he only partially funded the three percent pay increase approved by Congress last year and counted on a so-called saving of $4 billion from prepayment of foreign military sales loans, which was unrealistic. While some funding, such as that for a wildlife refuge, has been criticized as unnecessary, it represents the emergency need to repair destruction caused by floods. The funding needs for CHAMPUS, the CCC, and the Federal Employees Retirement System are real. Without this bill, the functions of the government will, in part, grind to a halt, and tens of thousands of employees will have to be furloughed.

Opponents of the motion claimed that these were the same arguments that led to a $2.4 trillion debt. Many items are included which do not require emergency funding—economic support funds, new research facilities, wildlife refuge establishment, etc. The committee must find the offsets to the $2.6 billion deficit increase.

H.R. 1827: Vote Nos. 98, 100, 117-145, 176.

RESULT: **MOTION TO WAIVE BUDGET ACT REJECTED, 3/5THS NOT HAVING VOTED IN THE AFFIRMATIVE**

YEAS (55)			NAYS (34)		NOT VOTING (11)	
Democrats (37 or 79%)		Republicans (18 or 43%)	Democrats (10 or 21%)	Republicans (24 or 57%)	Democrats (7)	Republicans (4)
Adams	Lautenberg	Chafee	Baucus	Armstrong	Biden—2	Evans—2
Bentsen	Leahy	Cochran	Bingaman	Bond	Bradley—2	Murkowski—2
Boren	Matsunaga	D'Amato	Dixon	Boschwitz	DeConcini—2	Thurmond—2AN
Breaux	Melcher	Dole	Dodd	Cohen	Glenn—1	Warner—1
Bumpers	Mikulski	Durenberger	Hollings	Danforth	Gore—2	
Burdick	Mitchell	Garn	Johnston	Domenici	Kennedy—2	
Byrd	Moynihan	Grassley	Levin	Gramm	Simon—2	
Chiles	Nunn	Hatfield	Metzenbaum	Hatch		
Conrad	Pell	Heinz	Proxmire	Hecht		
Cranston	Pryor	Karnes	Wirth	Helms		
Daschle	Reid	Lugar		Humphrey		
Exon	Riegle	McClure		Kassebaum		
Ford	Rockefeller	Packwood		Kasten		
Fowler	Sanford	Pressler		McCain		
Graham	Sarbanes	Specter		McConnell		
Harkin	Sasser	Stafford		Nickles		
Heflin	Shelby	Stevens		Quayle		
Inouye	Stennis	Weicker		Roth		
Kerry				Rudman		
				Simpson		
				Symms		
				Trible		
				Wallop		
				Wilson		

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 79%
Republicans— 57%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (55)
Democrats— 37 or 67%
Republicans— 18 or 33%

Against (34)
Democrats— 10 or 29%
Republicans— 24 or 71%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 138

100th Congress
1st Session

May 29, 1987, 2:31 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-7349

SUPPLEMENTAL APPROPRIATIONS, 1987

BILL NO.: H.R. 1827 AMENDMENT NO.: 250

TITLE: "Supplemental Appropriations Act, 1987"

SUBJECT: **Melcher motion to waive sections 302(f), 303(a), and 311(a) of the Budget Act in order to allow the consideration of the Melcher amendment which transfers $1.4 million of unobligated FY 1985 and 1986 funds appropriated for section 311 of the Older Americans Act to be used for the Meals on Wheels Program in FY 1987.** (See also Vote No. 139.)

NOTE: Section 302(f) prohibits consideration of legislation providing budget authority (BA) or outlays in excess of the subcommittee's allocation. Section 303(a) prohibits consideration of legislation providing new BA, change in revenues, change in public debt, new entitlement authority, or new credit authority for a fiscal year until the budget resolution for that year has been agreed to. Section 311(a) prohibits consideration of legislation which would exceed the outlay ceiling or revenue floor, or would cause the deficit to exceed the maximum deficit amount.

Proponents of the amendment asserted that it simply allows up to $1.4 million of unused funds to be expended during the remainder of this fiscal year for the Meals on Wheels program which assists in the delivery of nutritional meals to the elderly. This amendment would enable the program to deliver approximately one million more meals this summer.

Opponents of the amendment maintained that there really was no offset for this additional expenditure. It is a ruse to offset a new expenditure against money that was not going to be spent. This amendment, they insisted, will increase the deficit.

H.R. 1827: Vote Nos. 98, 100, 117-145, 176.

RESULT: MOTION TO WAIVE BUDGET ACT AGREED TO, 3/5THS HAVING VOTED IN THE AFFIRMATIVE

YEAS (66)			NAYS (16)		NOT VOTING (18)	
Democrats (40 or 89%)		Republicans (26 or 70%)	Democrats (5 or 11%)	Republicans (11 or 30%)	Democrats (9)	Republicans (9)
Adams	Inouye	Bond	Chiles	Dole	Biden—^{2}	Armstrong—^{2}
Baucus	Johnston	Boschwitz	Dixon	Gramm	Fowler—^{2}	Evans—^{2}
Bentsen	Lautenberg	Chafee	Heflin	Hatfield	Glenn—^{1}	Garn—^{2}
Bingaman	Leahy	Cochran	Proxmire	Helms	Gore—^{2}	McCain—^{2}
Boren	Levin	Cohen	Stennis	Humphrey	Kennedy—^{2}	Murkowski—^{2}
Bradley	Matsunaga	D'Amato		Lugar	Kerry—^{2AY}	Rudman—^{2}
Breaux	Melcher	Danforth		McClure	Riegle—^{2}	Thurmond—^{2AN}
Bumpers	Metzenbaum	Domenici		Nickles	Simon—^{2}	Warner—^{1}
Burdick	Mikulski	Durenberger		Quayle	Wirth—^{2}	Wilson—^{2}
Byrd	Mitchell	Grassley		Symms		
Conrad	Moynihan	Hatch		Wallop		
Cranston	Nunn	Hecht				
Daschle	Pell	Heinz				
DeConcini	Pryor	Karnes				
Dodd	Reid	Kassebaum				
Exon	Rockefeller	Kasten				
Ford	Sanford	McConnell				
Graham	Sarbanes	Packwood				
Harkin	Sasser	Pressler				
Hollings	Shelby	Roth				
		Simpson				
		Specter				
		Stafford				
		Stevens				
		Trible				
		Weicker				

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion	Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on: *For* (66)	*Against* (16)
Democrats— 89%	Democrats— 40 or 61%	Democrats— 5 or 31%
Republicans— 70%	Republicans— 26 or 39%	Republicans— 11 or 69%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 139

100th Congress
1st Session

May 29, 1987, 2:56 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-7350

SUPPLEMENTAL APPROPRIATIONS, 1987

BILL NO.: H.R. 1827

AMENDMENT NO.: 250

TITLE: "Supplemental Appropriations Act, 1987"

SUBJECT: **Melcher amendment which transfers $1.4 million of unobligated FY 1985-86 funds appropriated for section 311 of the Older Americans Act to be used for the Meals on Wheels Program in FY 1987.** (See also Vote No. 138.)

NOTE: Proponents asserted that it allows up to $1.4 million of unused funds to be expended during the remainder of this fiscal year for the Meals on Wheels program which assists in the delivery of nutritional meals to the elderly. This amendment would enable the program to deliver approximately one million more meals this summer.

Opponents maintained that there really was no offset for this additional expenditure. It is a ruse to offset a new expenditure against money that was not going to be spent. This amendment, they insisted, will increase the deficit.

H.R. 1827: Vote Nos. 98, 100, 117-145, 176.

RESULT: **AMENDMENT AGREED TO**

YEAS (70)

Democrats (38 or 95%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dodd
Exon
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Hollings
Johnston
Lautenberg
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Pryor
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Stennis

Republicans (32 or 91%)

Bond
Boschwitz
Chafee
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Grassley
Hatfield
Hecht
Heinz
Karnes
Kassebaum
Kasten
Lugar
McConnell
Nickles
Packwood
Pressler
Quayle
Roth
Simpson
Specter
Stafford
Stevens
Symms
Trible
Wallop
Weicker

NAYS (5)

Democrats (2 or 5%)

Dixon
Proxmire

Republicans (3 or 9%)

Gramm
Helms
Humphrey

NOT VOTING (25)

Democrats (14)

Biden—^{2}
Ford—^{2}
Fowler—^{2}
Glenn—^{1}
Gore—^{2}
Inouye—^{4}
Kennedy—^{2}
Kerry—^{2AY}
Leahy—^{2}
Metzenbaum—^{2}
Reid—^{2}
Riegle—^{2}
Simon—^{2}
Wirth—^{2}

Republicans (11)

Armstrong—^{2}
Evans—^{2}
Garn—^{2}
Hatch—^{2}
McCain—^{2}
McClure—^{2}
Murkowski—^{2}
Rudman—^{2}
Thurmond—^{2AY}
Warner—^{1}
Wilson—^{2AY}

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion	Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on	
	For (70)	*Against* (5)
Democrats— 95%	Democrats— 38 or 54%	Democrats— 2 or 40%
Republicans— 91%	Republicans— 32 or 46%	Republicans— 3 or 60%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 140

100th Congress
1st Session

June 2, 1987, 2:30 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-7409

SUPPLEMENTAL APPROPRIATIONS, 1987

BILL NO.: H.R. 1827

TITLE: "Supplemental Appropriations Act, 1987"

SUBJECT: **Johnston motion to reconsider Vote No. 137 by which the Senate rejected the Johnston motion to waive the Budget Act in order to allow the consideration of the bill.** (See also Vote No. 141.)

NOTE: Proponents of waiving the Budget Act made the following points: this is the President's request and clearly a bipartisan bill; and it is an urgently needed bill for farmers, Federal retirement pay, CHAMPUS, IRS enforcement, and immigration law implementation—just to name a few of the programs in the bill. Calling for control of the deficit on this supplemental, some argued, is just smoke and mirrors. The deficit cannot be controlled as long as military spending is exempt from cuts.

Opponents of waiving the Budget Act noted that it would go into effect immediately and would raise the deficit by $2.6 billion. They questioned the emergency nature of the programs in the bill and reminded their colleagues that they had voted not to increase the deficit when voting on the authorizations for CCC disaster payments and homeless assistance.

H.R. 1827: Vote Nos. 98, 100, 117-145, 176.

RESULT: **MOTION TO RECONSIDER AGREED TO**

YEAS (66)

Democrats (46 or 87%)

Adams
Bentsen
Biden
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Gore
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Matsunaga
Melcher
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Simon
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans (20 or 47%)

Chafee
Cochran
D'Amato
Durenberger
Evans
Garn
Grassley
Hatch
Hatfield
Heinz
Karnes
Lugar
McClure
Packwood
Pressler
Simpson
Specter
Stafford
Stevens
Weicker

NAYS (30)

Democrats (7 or 13%)

Baucus
Bingaman
Dixon
Hollings
Levin
Metzenbaum
Proxmire

Republicans (23 or 53%)

Armstrong
Bond
Boschwitz
Cohen
Danforth
Domenici
Gramm
Hecht
Helms
Humphrey
Kasten
McCain
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Quayle
Roth
Rudman
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Wilson

NOT VOTING (4)

Democrats (1)

Glenn—1

Republicans (3)

Dole—2
Kassebaum—2
Warner—1

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 87%
Republicans— 53%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (66)
Democrats— 46 or 70%
Republicans— 20 or 30%

Against (30)
Democrats— 7 or 23%
Republicans— 23 or 77%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 141

100th Congress
1st Session

June 2, 1987, 2:51 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-7409

SUPPLEMENTAL APPROPRIATIONS, 1987

BILL NO.: H.R. 1827

TITLE: "Supplemental Appropriations Act, 1987"

SUBJECT: **Reconsideration of Vote No. 137 on the Johnston motion to waive the Budget Act in order to allow the consideration of the bill.** (See also Vote No. 140.)

NOTE: Proponents of waiving the Budget Act made the following points: this is the President's request and clearly a bipartisan bill; and it is an urgently needed bill for farmers, Federal retirement pay, CHAMPUS, IRS enforcement, and immigration law implementation—just to name a few of the programs in the bill. Calling for control of the deficit on this supplemental, some argued, is just smoke and mirrors. The deficit cannot be controlled as long as military spending is exempt from cuts.

Opponents of waiving the Budget Act noted that it would go into effect immediately and would raise the deficit by $2.6 billion. They questioned the emergency nature of the programs in the bill and reminded their colleagues that they had voted not to increase the deficit when voting on the authorizations for CCC disaster payments and homeless assistance.

H.R. 1827: Vote Nos. 98, 100, 117-145, 176.

RESULT: **MOTION TO WAIVE BUDGET ACT AGREED TO, 3/5THS HAVING VOTED IN THE AFFIRMATIVE**

YEAS (64)

Democrats (45 or 85%)

Adams
Bentsen
Biden
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Gore
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Inouye
Johnston

Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Matsunaga
Melcher
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Simon
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans (19 or 44%)

Chafee
Cochran
D'Amato
Durenberger
Garn
Grassley
Hatch
Hatfield
Heinz
Karnes
Lugar
McClure
Packwood
Pressler
Simpson
Specter
Stafford
Stevens
Weicker

NAYS (32)

Democrats (8 or 15%)

Baucus
Bingaman
Dixon
Dodd
Hollings
Levin
Metzenbaum
Proxmire

Republicans (24 or 56%)

Armstrong
Bond
Boschwitz
Cohen
Danforth
Domenici
Evans
Gramm
Hecht
Helms
Humphrey
Kasten
McCain
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Quayle
Roth
Rudman
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Wilson

NOT VOTING (4)

Democrats (1)

Glenn—1

Republicans (3)

Dole—2
Kassebaum—2
Warner—1

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 85%
Republicans— 56%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (64)
Democrats— 45 or 70%
Republicans— 19 or 30%

Against (32)
Democrats— 8 or 25%
Republicans— 24 or 75%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 142

100th Congress
1st Session

June 2, 1987, 4:15 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-7415

SUPPLEMENTAL APPROPRIATIONS, 1987

BILL NO.: H.R. 1827 AMENDMENT NO.: 248

TITLE: "Supplemental Appropriations Act, 1987"

SUBJECT: **Helms modified amendment which requires the President, by August 31, 1987, to add the AIDS virus to the list of dangerous, contagious diseases for which a person may be denied entry into the U.S. (including those seeking permanent resident status under the amnesty provisions of the new immigration law).** (See also Vote Nos. 122 and 123.)

NOTE: Proponents noted that since 1891, U.S. law has provided for the exclusion of immigrants who have dangerous contagious diseases. The list of diseases which are considered to be grounds for exclusion include chancroid, gonorrhea, granuloma inguinale, leprosy (infectious), lymphogranuloma, venerium, syphillis (infectious), or tuberculosis (active). As the AIDS epidemic is one of the most deadly diseases of the century, it should be added to this list promptly. These laws were enacted to protect U.S. citizens from immigrants who are infected with diseases which are life-threatening, and Congress would be derelict in its duty to protect American citizens if it did not attempt to protect them from immigrants carrying this disease into the country.

H.R. 1827: Vote Nos. 98, 100, 117-145, 176.

RESULT: AMENDMENT AGREED TO

YEAS (96)

Democrats
(53 or 100%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Biden
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Gore
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Hollings
Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Simon
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans
(43 or 100%)

Armstrong
Bond
Boschwitz
Chafee
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Domenici
Durenberger
Evans
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hatfield
Hecht
Heinz
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes
Kasten
Lugar
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Packwood
Pressler
Quayle
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Specter
Stafford
Stevens
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Weicker
Wilson

NAYS (0)

Democrats
(0 or 0%)

Republicans
(0 or 0%)

NOT VOTING (4)

Democrats (1)

Glenn—1

Republicans (3)

Dole—2
Kassebaum—2
Warner—1

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 100%
Republicans— 100%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (96)
Democrats— 53 or 55%
Republicans— 43 or 45%

Against (0)
Democrats— 0 or 0%
Republicans— 0 or 0%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 143

100th Congress
1st Session

June 2, 1987, 5:41 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-7421

SUPPLEMENTAL APPROPRIATIONS, 1987

BILL NO.: H.R. 1827 **AMENDMENT NO.: 253**

ITLE: "Supplemental Appropriations Act, 1987"

SUBJECT: **Burdick motion to table the Gramm amendment which offsets additional funding for agricultural disaster assistance programs (CCC) and aid to the homeless by reducing from $2 billion to $1.5 billion the amount of loans that may be financed in FY 1987 by the Rural Housing Insurance Funds and directing the Secretary of Agriculture to sell a sufficient amount of Rural Development Insurance Fund loans to realize $70 million in revenues in FY 1987.**

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment (voting nay) stated that the amendment would allow Congress to fulfill its commitment, made during consideration of the Commodity Credit Corporation (CCC) authorization bill and the homeless assistance bill, not to raise the Federal deficit in order to fund these programs. The first offset would cap at $1.5 billion the Rural Housing Insurance Fund, a program which the President has tried to eliminate for the past two years. In addition, $70 million of financial assets would be sold from the Rural Development Insurance Fund.

Opponents of the amendment (voting yea) maintained that the cap on the rural housing fund would translate into a 60 percent reduction in rural housing lending since 1981. The rural housing program, since its inception in 1968, has helped some two million economically disadvantaged families living in rural areas to gain decent and affordable housing. This amendment would only further damage rural America.

H.R. 1827: Vote Nos. 98, 100, 117-145, 176.

RESULT: **MOTION TO TABLE AGREED TO**

YEAS (68)

Democrats (49 or 94%)

dams
aucus
iden
ingaman
oren
radley
reaux
umpers
urdick
yrd
hiles
onrad
ranston
aschle
eConcini
ixon
odd
xon
ord
owler
raham
arkin
eflin
ollings
nouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Simon
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans (19 or 45%)

Boschwitz
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Domenici
Durenberger
Grassley
Hatfield
Heinz
Karnes
McConnell
Murkowski
Packwood
Pressler
Specter
Stafford
Stevens
Trible
Weicker

NAYS (26)

Democrats (3 or 6%)

Bentsen
Lautenberg
Proxmire

Republicans (23 or 55%)

Armstrong
Bond
Chafee
Danforth
Evans
Garn
Gramm
Hatch
Hecht
Helms
Humphrey
Kasten
Lugar
McCain
McClure
Nickles
Quayle
Rudman
Simpson
Symms
Thurmond
Wallop
Wilson

NOT VOTING (6)

Democrats (2)

Glenn—1
Gore—2

Republicans (4)

Dole—2
Kassebaum—2
Roth—2
Warner—1

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 94%
Republicans— 55%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (68)
Democrats— 49 or 72%
Republicans— 19 or 28%

Against (26)
Democrats— 3 or 12%
Republicans— 23 or 88%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 144

100th Congress
1st Session

June 2, 1987, 6:18 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-7426

SUPPLEMENTAL APPROPRIATIONS, 1987

BILL NO.: H.R. 1827 — AMENDMENT NO.: 254

TITLE: "Supplemental Appropriations Act, 1987"

SUBJECT: **Johnston motion to table the Gramm amendment which deletes $85 million for operations and maintenance for defense, $51 million for economic aid for southern Africa, $23 million for Fish and Wildlife Management, $20 million for training and employment services, $30.6 million for agricultural research grants, $11 million for the Forest Service, $2.1 million for the Bureau of Land Management, $3.1 million for the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and $7.2 million for the Peace Corps, for total savings of $213 million in outlays and $325 million in budget authority.**

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment (voting nay) insisted that it merely deletes spending for programs which are not emergency in nature. Funds are deleted for fish and seafood promotion, the International Finance Corporation, the African Development Bank, Poland, a center for the study of weeds, and a new research center to study the milling of flour. While these programs might be of possible merit, their being funded in an emergency supplemental bill would be an insult to the American people.

Opponents of the amendment (voting yea) noted that someone unfamiliar with the circumstances surrounding each program might conclude that they are not of immediate concern. However, upon examination, the significance of each program and its impact is evident.

H.R. 1827: Vote Nos. 98, 100, 117-145, 176.

RESULT: **MOTION TO TABLE AGREED TO**

YEAS (61)

Democrats (47 or 90%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Gore
Graham
Harkin
Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Pell
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Simon
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans (14 or 33%)

Chafee
Cochran
D'Amato
Domenici
Durenberger
Evans
Grassley
Hatfield
Karnes
McClure
Packwood
Pressler
Stafford
Weicker

NAYS (33)

Democrats (5 or 10%)

Heflin
Hollings
Melcher
Nunn
Proxmire

Republicans (28 or 67%)

Armstrong
Bond
Boschwitz
Cohen
Danforth
Garn
Gramm
Hatch
Hecht
Heinz
Helms
Humphrey
Kasten
Lugar
McCain
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Quayle
Rudman
Simpson
Specter
Stevens
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Wilson

NOT VOTING (6)

Democrats (2)

Biden—^{2}
Glenn—^{1}

Republicans (4)

Dole—^{2}
Kassebaum—^{2}
Roth—^{2}
Warner—^{1}

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 90%
Republicans— 67%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (61)
Democrats— 47 or 77%
Republicans— 14 or 23%

Against (33)
Democrats— 5 or 15%
Republicans— 28 or 85%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 145

100th Congress
1st Session

June 2, 1987, 6:43 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-7439

SUPPLEMENTAL APPROPRIATIONS, 1987

BILL NO.: H.R. 1827

TITLE: "Supplemental Appropriations Act, 1987"

SUBJECT: **Passage of the bill to make supplemental appropriations totaling $9,759,478,569 in new budget authority in FY 1987, of which $7,874,296,969 is for general program supplementals, $408,323,000 is for increased pay costs, $1,149,358,600 is for retirement contributions, and $327,500,000 is to fund the homeless initiative approved earlier this year; disapprove deferrals totaling $107,061,000; and rescind $527,948,000 in previously appropriated funds.**

NOTE: The Senate agreed to the conference report on the bill on July 1, 1987, by voice vote. As enacted, the bill makes supplemental appropriations totaling $9,377,119,976 in FY 1987.

H.R. 1827 became Public Law 100-71, approved July 11, 1987.

H.R. 1827: Vote Nos. 98, 100, 117-145, 176.

RESULT: BILL PASSED

YEAS (71)

Democrats (46 or 88%)

Adams
Bentsen
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Gore
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Hollings
Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Simon
Stennis

Republicans (25 or 60%)

Bond
Boschwitz
Chafee
Cochran
D'Amato
Danforth
Domenici
Durenberger
Evans
Grassley
Hatfield
Heinz
Karnes
Kasten
Lugar
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Packwood
Pressler
Specter
Stafford
Stevens
Trible
Weicker

NAYS (23)

Democrats (6 or 12%)

Baucus
Bingaman
Dixon
Levin
Proxmire
Wirth

Republicans (17 or 40%)

Armstrong
Cohen
Garn
Gramm
Hatch
Hecht
Helms
Humphrey
Murkowski
Nickles
Quayle
Rudman
Simpson
Symms
Thurmond
Wallop
Wilson

NOT VOTING (6)

Democrats (2)

Biden—2
Glenn—1

Republicans (4)

Dole—2
Kassebaum—2
Roth—2
Warner—1

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 88%
Republicans— 60%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (71)
Democrats— 46 or 65%
Republicans— 25 or 35%

Against (23)
Democrats— 6 or 26%
Republicans— 17 or 74%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

MAJOR PROVISIONS

DOD—Military items:	
O&M	$612,000,000
RDT&E	156,000,000
Foreign Assistance items:	
Economic Support Fund:	
Assistance to Central America	(300,000,000)
Assistance to Southern Africa	50,000,000
Assistance to Solidarity	1,000,000
Contributions to international financial institutions	257,813,486
FMCS: Direct credits and forgiven loans	36,000,000
Peace Corps	7,200,000
Export-Import Bank	–200,000,000
Nondefense domestic items:	
CCC reimbursement for net realized losses	6,653,189,000
Immigration and Naturalization Service	147,793,000
Corps of Engineers: O&M (by transfer)	(–66,750,000)
VA compensation and pensions	80,200,000
HUD:	
Rent supplement (contract authority)	–389,340,000
Rental housing	–72,873,000
FEMA disaster relief	57,475,000
Timber purchase election (rescission)	–30,000,000
Student financial assistance (by transfer)	(287,000,000)
Family social services	121,644,000
(By transfer)	(43,583,000)
FAA operations (by transfer)	(55,000,000)
FAA airport and airway contract authority	–150,000,000
IRS funding	80,000,000

U.S. Embassy in Moscow: Contains a number of the recommendations of the Select Committee on Intelligence with respect to security of the U.S. embassy in Moscow.

SDI: Includes $131 million for SDI research on advanced technologies for an Advanced Launch System (ALS) of which $38 million is transferred to NASA for its activities with respect to advanced engine and booster development.

Central American/Southern African Assistance: Earmarks the ESF funds for Central America as follows: $55 million for Guatemala, $55 million for Costa Rica, $60 million for Honduras, and $130 million for El Salvador of which $75 million is specifically for earthquake relief; earmarks the ESF funds for southern African states as follows: $37.5 million for member states of the Southern Africa Development Coordination Conference (SADCC) to carry out the most urgent sector projects of which at least 60 percent is for rehabilitation of rail services in the Northern Corridor, and $12.5 million for humanitarian assistance for disadvantaged South Africans or SADCC member states; prohibits use of funds for southern Africa until the President has provided an itemized accounting of all expenditures authorized for southern Africa under the Foreign Assistance Act of 1986 (P.L. 99-83) and P.L. 99-440 and, pursuant to these authorizations, subsequently appropriated; prohibits the use of funds for southern Africa for activities in Mozambique or Angola.

Rural Electrification Administration (REA): Permits REA borrowers who serve six or fewer customers per mile of line to refinance their debt with the Federal Financing Bank without a prepayment penalty.

Saccharin: Extends for five years the statutory exemption of saccharin from a possible FDA ban.

M-833 Antitank Shells: Prohibits the proposed sales of 1,200 rounds of Army M-833 antitank shells to Bahrain and 15,000 rounds to Saudi Arabia on the basis of the potential threat posed to Israel.

N-Reactor: Prohibits restart of the N-Reactor at the Hanford Reservation, Washington, until FY 1988.

Drug Testing of Federal Employees: Precludes implementation of the Federal employees drug testing program initiated under Executive Order No. 12564 until the Administration makes certain certifications.

Superconductor Supercollider: Prohibits the DOE from using appropriated funds to implement its proposal dealing with financial or other incentives to ensure that the site for the superconductor supercollider is based on the best location.

Necklacing: Prohibits assistance to countries aiding organizations supporting "necklacing."

Kuwaiti Shipping: Requires the Secretary of Defense to report to Congress on security arrangements in the Persian Gulf before implementing any agreement with Kuwait for U.S. military protection of Kuwaiti shipping.

Angola: Condemns the Soviet-Cuban buildup in Angola and the human rights violations of the Angolan government.

Employer Sanctions: Delays implementation of the employer sanctions of the immigration bill until October 1, 1987.

Older Americans CPI: Requires the Secretary of Labor to develop and publish a consumer price index which reflects the impact of inflation on goods and services purchased by elderly Americans.

World Bank: Expresses the sense of the Senate that funds under this Act may not be used for the payment of severance pay to any employee of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (World Bank).

Gramm-Rudman-Hollings: Expresses the sense of the Senate that expenditures in the bill, which exceed the requirements of the Budget Act shall, during this calendar year, be offset by rescissions of expenditures, program reductions, or other legislative action sufficient to provide funds.

AIDS: Requires the President, by August 31, 1987, to add AIDS to the list of dangerous contagious diseases for which a person may be denied entry to the U.S.

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 146

100th Congress
1st Session

June 4, 1987, 4:04 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-7651

ECONOMIC SUMMIT AT VENICE

BILL NO.: S. Res. 225

SUBJECT: **Adoption of the resolution stating the sense of the Senate that the President should encourage the allies at the impending Venice Economic Summit to cooperate in diplomatic and military measures to ensure Western security interests in the Persian Gulf, and that the U.S. should seek commitments from: (1) Germany and Japan to reduce their trade surpluses by substantially increasing their imports; (2) the European Community and Japan to liberalize their agricultural import policies; and (3) other participants at the summit to contribute and cooperate with the U.S. and international efforts, particularly those of the World Health Organization, to combat and prevent the spread of AIDS.**

S. Res. 225: Vote No. 146.

RESULT: **RESOLUTION AGREED TO**

YEAS (90)

Democrats (48 or 98%)		Republicans (42 or 100%)	
Adams	Johnston	Armstrong	Kasten
Bentsen	Kennedy	Boschwitz	Lugar
Biden	Kerry	Chafee	McCain
Bingaman	Lautenberg	Cochran	McClure
Boren	Leahy	Cohen	McConnell
Breaux	Levin	D'Amato	Murkowski
Bumpers	Matsunaga	Danforth	Nickles
Burdick	Melcher	Dole	Packwood
Byrd	Mikulski	Domenici	Pressler
Chiles	Mitchell	Durenberger	Quayle
Conrad	Moynihan	Garn	Roth
Cranston	Nunn	Gramm	Simpson
Daschle	Pell	Grassley	Specter
DeConcini	Proxmire	Hatch	Stafford
Dixon	Pryor	Hatfield	Stevens
Dodd	Reid	Hecht	Symms
Exon	Riegle	Heinz	Thurmond
Ford	Rockefeller	Helms	Trible
Fowler	Sanford	Humphrey	Warner
Glenn	Sarbanes	Karnes	Weicker
Graham	Sasser	Kassebaum	Wilson
Harkin	Shelby		
Heflin	Stennis		
Hollings	Wirth		

NAYS (1)

Democrats (1 or 2%)	Republicans (0 or 0%)
Bradley	

NOT VOTING (9)

Democrats (5)	Republicans (4)
Baucus—^{2}	Bond—^{1}
Gore—^{2}	Evans—^{2}
Inouye—^{4}	Rudman—^{2}
Metzenbaum—^{2}	Wallop—^{2}
Simon—^{2}	

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion	Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on	
	For (90)	*Against* (1)
Democrats— 98%	Democrats— 48 or 53%	Democrats— 1 or 100%
Republicans— 100%	Republicans— 42 or 47%	Republicans— 0 or 0%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 147

100th Congress
1st Session

June 5, 1987, 12:04 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-7717

OZONE RESOLUTION

BILL NO.: S. Res. 226

SUBJECT: **Adoption of the resolution stating the sense of the Senate that the President should strongly endorse the U.S.' original position in ongoing international negotiations to protect the earth's ozone layer and continue to seek aggressively an immediate freeze in the production of major ozone-depleting chemicals at 1986 levels, an automatic reduction of at least 50 percent in the production of such chemicals, and their virtual elimination; and further states that any agreement should provide for regularly scheduled assessments of scientific, economic, and technological factors.**

S. Res. 226: Vote No. 147.

RESULT: RESOLUTION AGREED TO

YEAS (80)

Democrats (44 or 100%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Hollings
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans (36 or 95%)

Armstrong
Boschwitz
Chafee
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Evans
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hatfield
Hecht
Heinz
Helms
Humphrey
Kassebaum
Kasten
Lugar
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Packwood
Pressler
Quayle
Roth
Specter
Stafford
Stevens
Thurmond
Trible
Warner
Weicker
Wilson

NAYS (2)

Democrats (0 or 0%)

Republicans (2 or 5%)

McClure
Symms

NOT VOTING (18)

Democrats (10)

Biden—^{2}
DeConcini—^{2AY}
Dixon—^{2AY}
Gore—^{2AY}
Inouye—^{4}
Johnston—^{2}
Metzenbaum—^{2}
Pell—^{2AY}
Rockefeller—^{2AY}
Simon—^{2}

Republicans (8)

Bond—^{1}
Durenberger—^{2AY}
Garn—^{2}
Karnes—^{2}
McCain—^{2}
Rudman—^{2}
Simpson—^{2}
Wallop—^{2}

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion	Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on	
	For (80)	*Against* (2)
Democrats— 100%	Democrats— 44 or 55%	Democrats— 0 or 0%
Republicans— 95%	Republicans— 36 or 45%	Republicans— 2 or 100%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 148

100th Congress
1st Session

June 9, 1987, 5:02 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-7865

CAMPAIGN FINANCING REFORM
(CLOTURE)

BILL NO.: S. 2

TITLE: "Senatorial Election Campaign Act of 1987"

SUBJECT: **Byrd, et al., motion to close further debate on the committee substitute for the bill.** (See also Vote Nos. 150-153 on subsequent cloture motions.)

NOTE; The cloture petition, presented on June 5, 1987, was signed by Senators Byrd, Sanford, Baucus, Daschle, Reid, Kennedy, Levin, Fowler, Boren, Moynihan, Ford, Matsunaga, Sarbanes, Sasser, Cranston, Leahy, Kerry, Mikulski, Conrad, and Harkin.

S. 2: Vote Nos. 148-153, 239, 242.

RESULT: CLOTURE MOTION REJECTED, 3/5THS NOT HAVING VOTED IN THE AFFIRMATIVE

YEAS (52)

Democrats
(50 or 94%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Biden
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Graham
Harkin
Inouye

Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Simon
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans
(2 or 4%)

Chafee
Stafford

NAYS (47)

Democrats
(3 or 6%)

Heflin
Hollings
Shelby

Republicans
(44 or 96%)

Armstrong
Bond
Boschwitz
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Evans
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hatfield
Hecht
Heinz
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes
Kassebaum

Kasten
Lugar
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Packwood
Pressler
Quayle
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Specter
Stevens
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Warner
Weicker
Wilson

NOT VOTING (1)

Democrats (1) **Republicans (0)**

Gore—2AY

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—94%
Republicans—96%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (52)
Democrats—50 or 96%
Republicans—2 or 4%

Against (47)
Democrats—3 or 6%
Republicans—44 or 94%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 149

100th Congress
1st Session

June 11, 1987, 4:55 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-8043

CAMPAIGN FINANCING REFORM

BILL NO.: S. 2

TITLE: "Senatorial Election Campaign Act of 1987"

SUBJECT: **Byrd motion to waive section 303 of the Budget Act (which creates a point of order against legislation providing new budget authority for a fiscal year for which the budget resolution has not been adopted) to allow consideration of the bill.**

S. 2: Vote Nos. 148-153, 239, 242.

RESULT: **MOTION TO WAIVE BUDGET ACT AGREED TO**

YEAS (46)

Democrats (45 or 92%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Graham
Harkin
Inouye

Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Simon
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans (1 or 3%)

Chafee

NAYS (42)

Democrats (4 or 8%)

Heflin
Hollings
Proxmire
Shelby

Republicans (38 or 97%)

Armstrong
Bond
Boschwitz
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Evans
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hecht
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes

Kassebaum
Kasten
Lugar
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Pressler
Quayle
Roth
Specter
Stevens
Symms
Trible
Wallop
Warner
Weicker
Wilson

NOT VOTING (11)

Democrats (4)

Biden—2
Gore—2AY
Leahy—2
Pell—2PY

Republicans (7)

Hatfield—2
Heinz—2PN
Packwood—2
Rudman—2
Simpson—2AN
Stafford—2PY
Thurmond—2AN

LIVE PAIRS (1)

PRESENT AND GIVING:	RECEIVING:
Exon (PN)	Pell (PY)

GENERAL PAIRS

Stafford-Heinz

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—92%
Republicans—97%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (46)
Democrats—45 or 98%
Republicans—1 or 2%

Against (42)
Democrats—4 or 10%
Republicans—38 or 90%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 150

100th Congress
1st Session

June 16, 1987, 5:04 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-8126

CAMPAIGN FINANCING REFORM
(CLOTURE)

BILL NO.: S. 2

TITLE: "Senatorial Election Campaign Act of 1987"

SUBJECT: **Matsunaga, et al., second motion to close further debate on the committee substitute for the bill. (See also Vote Nos. 148 and 151-153.)**

NOTE: The cloture petition, presented on June 11, 1987, was signed by Senators Matsunaga, Boren, Moynihan, Ford, Cranston, Conrad, Levin, Fowler, Sanford, Harkin, Sarbanes, Sasser, Leahy, Mikulski, Kerry, and Riegle.

S. 2: Vote Nos. 148-153, 239, 242.

RESULT: CLOTURE MOTION REJECTED, 3/5THS NOT HAVING VOTED IN THE AFFIRMATIVE

YEAS (49)

Democrats
(47 or 94%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Graham
Harkin
Inouye

Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans
(2 or 4%)

Chafee
Stafford

NAYS (46)

Democrats
(3 or 6%)

Heflin
Hollings
Shelby

Republicans
(43 or 96%)

Armstrong
Bond
Boschwitz
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Evans
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hatfield
Heinz
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes
Kassebaum
Kasten

Lugar
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Packwood
Pressler
Quayle
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Specter
Stevens
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Warner
Weicker
Wilson

NOT VOTING (5)

Democrats (4)

Biden—2
Gore—2AY
Leahy—1
Simon—2

Republicans (1)

Hecht—2

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 94%
Republicans— 96%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (49)
Democrats— 47 or 96%
Republicans— 2 or 4%

Against (46)
Democrats— 3 or 7%
Republicans— 43 or 93%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 151

100th Congress
1st Session

June 17, 1987, 5:25 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-8236

CAMPAIGN FINANCING REFORM
(CLOTURE)

BILL NO.: S. 2

TITLE: "Senatorial Election Campaign Act of 1987"

SUBJECT: **Byrd, et al., third motion to close further debate on the committee substitute for the bill.** (See also Vote Nos. 148, 150, 152, and 153.)

NOTE: The cloture petititon, presented on June 11, 1987, was signed by Senators Byrd, Riegle, Daschle, Proxmire, Baucus, Boren, Wirth, Inouye, Pell, Matsunaga, Reid, Chiles, Adams, Rockefeller, Sanford, Cranston, and Fowler.

S. 2: Vote Nos. 148-153, 239, 242.

RESULT: **CLOTURE MOTION REJECTED, 3/5THS NOT HAVING VOTED IN THE AFFIRMATIVE**

YEAS (51)

Democrats (49 or 94%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Gore
Graham
Harkin
Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Simon
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans (2 or 4%)

Chafee
Stafford

NAYS (47)

Democrats (3 or 6%)

Heflin
Hollings
Shelby

Republicans (44 or 96%)

Armstrong
Bond
Boschwitz
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Evans
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hatfield
Hecht
Heinz
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes
Kassebaum
Kasten
Lugar
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Packwood
Pressler
Quayle
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Specter
Stevens
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Warner
Weicker
Wilson

NOT VOTING (2)

Democrats (2)

Biden—2
Leahy—1AY

Republicans (0)

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 94%
Republicans— 96%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (51)
Democrats— 49 or 96%
Republicans— 2 or 4%

Against (47)
Democrats— 3 or 6%
Republicans— 44 or 94%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 152

100th Congress
1st Session

June 18, 1987, 2:01 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-8306

CAMPAIGN FINANCING REFORM
(CLOTURE)

BILL NO.: S. 2

TITLE: "Senatorial Election Campaign Act of 1987"

SUBJECT: **Byrd, et al., fourth motion to close further debate on the committee substitute for the bill.** (See also Vote Nos. 148, 150, 151, and 153.)

NOTE: The cloture petition, presented on June 16, 1987, was signed by Senators Byrd, Riegle, Daschle, Proxmire, Baucus, Boren, Wirth, Inouye, Pell, Matsunaga, Reid, Chiles, Adams, Rockefeller, Sanford, Cranston, and Fowler.

S. 2: Vote Nos. 148-153, 239, 242.

RESULT: CLOTURE MOTION REJECTED, 3/5THS NOT HAVING VOTED IN THE AFFIRMATIVE

YEAS (50)

Democrats (48 or 94%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Graham
Harkin
Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Simon
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans (2 or 4%)

Chafee
Stafford

NAYS (47)

Democrats (3 or 6%)

Heflin
Hollings
Shelby

Republicans (44 or 96%)

Armstrong
Bond
Boschwitz
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Evans
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hatfield
Hecht
Heinz
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes
Kassebaum
Kasten
Lugar
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Packwood
Pressler
Quayle
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Specter
Stevens
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Warner
Weicker
Wilson

NOT VOTING (3)

Democrats (3)

Biden—2
Gore—2AY
Leahy—1

Republicans (0)

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion	**Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on** *For* (50)	*Against* (47)
Democrats— 94%	Democrats— 48 or 96%	Democrats— 3 or 6%
Republicans— 96%	Republicans— 2 or 4%	Republicans— 44 or 94%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 153

100th Congress
1st Session

June 19, 1987, 10:01 a.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S8363

CAMPAIGN FINANCING REFORM
(CLOTURE)

BILL NO.: S. 2

TITLE: "Senatorial Election Campaign Act of 1987"

SUBJECT: **Adams et al., fifth motion to close further debate on the committee substitute for the bill.** (See also Vote Nos. 148 and 150-152.)

NOTE: The cloture petition, presented on June 18, 1987, was signed by Senators Byrd, Riegle, Daschle, Proxmire, Baucus, Boren, Wirth, Inouye, Pell, Matsunaga, Reid, Chiles, Adams, Rockefeller, Sanford, Cranston, and Fowler.

S. 2: Vote Nos. 148-153, 239, 242.

RESULT: **CLOTURE MOTION REJECTED, 3/5THS NOT HAVING VOTED IN THE AFFIRMATIVE**

YEAS (45)

Democrats (43 or 93%)

Baucus
Bentsen
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Exon
Ford
Glenn
Gore
Graham
Harkin
Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans (2 or 5%)

Chafee
Stafford

NAYS (43)

Democrats (3 or 7%)

Heflin
Hollings
Shelby

Republicans (40 or 95%)

Armstrong
Bond
Boschwitz
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Evans
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hatfield
Hecht
Heinz
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes
Kassebaum
Kasten
Lugar
McCain
McConnell
Nickles
Packwood
Pressler
Quayle
Roth
Rudman
Specter
Stevens
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Warner
Weicker
Wilson

NOT VOTING (12)

Democrats (8)

Adams—2
Biden—2
Chiles—2
Dodd—2
Fowler—2
Leahy—1AY
Reid—2AY
Simon—2

Republicans (4)

McClure—2
Murkowski—2
Simpson—2
Wallop—2

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 93%
Republicans— 95%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (45)
Democrats— 43 or 96%
Republicans— 2 or 4%

Against (43)
Democrats— 3 or 7%
Republicans— 40 or 93%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 154

00th Congress
st Session

June 23, 1987, 5:00 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-8450

FAIRNESS DOCTRINE

ILL NO.: S. 742

ITLE: "Fairness in Broadcasting Act of 1987"

UBJECT: **Hollings motion to refer the veto message on the bill to the Commerce Committee.**

NOTE: On June 19, 1987, President Reagan vetoed the bill. In his veto message to Congress, he stated that "this type of content-based regulation by the Federal government is, in my judgment, antagonistic to the freedom of expression guaranteed by the First Amendment. . . . S. 742 simply cannot be reconciled with the freedom of speech and the press secured by our Constitution. It is, in my judgment, unconstitutional."

S. 742: Vote Nos. 75, 154.

ESULT: **MOTION TO REFER AGREED TO**

ADMINISTRATION POSITION: NAY

YEAS (53)

Democrats (50 or 94%)

dams
aucus
entsen
den
ngaman
oren
radley
reaux
umpers
urdick
rd
hiles
onrad
ranston
aschle
eConcini
odd
xon
ord
owler
lenn
ore
raham
ollings
ouye

Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Simon
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans (3 or 7%)

Cohen
Danforth
Rudman

NAYS (45)

Democrats (3 or 6%)

Dixon
Heflin
Proxmire

Republicans (42 or 93%)

Bond
Boschwitz
Chafee
Cochran
D'Amato
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Evans
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hatfield
Hecht
Heinz
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes
Kassebaum
Kasten

Lugar
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Packwood
Pressler
Quayle
Roth
Simpson
Specter
Stafford
Stevens
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Warner
Weicker
Wilson

NOT VOTING (1)

Democrats (1) **Republicans (0)**

Harkin—2

VOTING PRESENT (1)

Armstrong

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 94%
Republicans— 93%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (53)
Democrats— 50 or 94%
Republicans— 3 or 6%

Against (45)
Democrats— 3 or 7%
Republicans— 42 or 93%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 155

100th Congress
1st Session

June 24, 1987, 5:50 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-8563

FIRST CONCURRENT BUDGET RESOLUTION, 1988

BILL NO.: H. Con. Res. 93 (S. Con. Res. 49)

SUBJECT: **Chiles motion to table the D'Amato motion to refer the conference report to the Finance Committee.**

NOTE: Proponents of the referral motion (voting nay) pointed out that this budget called for $64.3 billion in new taxes over three years—over $19 billion in the first year, which is larger than the 1982 increase. They noted that a majority of the Finance Committee is already on record as favorably disposed to an oil import fee. They contended that an oil import fee would be the least effective way of generating revenues to reduce the deficit, feeling that it would reduce the GNP by $30 billion, increase inflation by two to three percent, cause the loss of 400,000 jobs, and raise consumer costs dramatically for gasoline, heating oil, and diesel fuel. Specific instructions were not included because they could have made the motion subject to a point of order. Others contended that the oil import fee was not at issue and the motion was simply a way of getting rid of a budget resolution.

Opponents of the referral motion (voting yea) noted the unusual parliamentary nature of the motion: referral of a budget resolution conference report to the Finance Committee (not the committee of jurisdiction) with no instructions on such a time-sensitive matter. Without a budget resolution agreed to by both Houses, the reconciliation bill, as well as the appropriations bills, would be out of order. The Senate would be unable to act upon the business of the people. Some who opposed an oil import fee as highly discriminatory on consumers, business, and industry in the Northeast opposed the delaying action on the budget resolution and noted that the resolution does not recommend or even suggest an oil import fee.

H. Con. Res. 93 (S. Con. Res. 49): Vote Nos. 82-84, 87-97, 155-157.

RESULT: **MOTION TO TABLE AGREED TO**

YEAS (56)			NAYS (43)			NOT VOTING (1)	
Democrats (52 or 98%)		Republicans (4 or 9%)	Democrats (1 or 2%)	Republicans (42 or 91%)		Democrats (1)	Republicans (0)
Adams	Inouye	Hatfield	Proxmire	Armstrong	Kassebaum	Biden—2	
Baucus	Johnston	Nickles		Bond	Kasten		
Bentsen	Kennedy	Stafford		Boschwitz	Lugar		
Bingaman	Kerry	Weicker		Chafee	McCain		
Boren	Lautenberg			Cochran	McClure		
Bradley	Leahy			Cohen	McConnell		
Breaux	Levin			D'Amato	Murkowski		
Bumpers	Matsunaga			Danforth	Packwood		
Burdick	Melcher			Dole	Pressler		
Byrd	Metzenbaum			Domenici	Quayle		
Chiles	Mikulski			Durenberger	Roth		
Conrad	Mitchell			Evans	Rudman		
Cranston	Moynihan			Garn	Simpson		
Daschle	Nunn			Gramm	Specter		
DeConcini	Pell			Grassley	Stevens		
Dixon	Pryor			Hatch	Symms		
Dodd	Reid			Hecht	Thurmond		
Exon	Riegle			Heinz	Trible		
Ford	Rockefeller			Helms	Wallop		
Fowler	Sanford			Humphrey	Warner		
Glenn	Sarbanes			Karnes	Wilson		
Gore	Sasser						
Graham	Shelby						
Harkin	Simon						
Heflin	Stennis						
Hollings	Wirth						

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion	Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on	
	For (56)	*Against* (43)
Democrats— 98%	Democrats— 52 or 93%	Democrats— 1 or 2%
Republicans— 91%	Republicans— 4 or 7%	Republicans— 42 or 98%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 156

100th Congress
1st Session

June 24, 1987, 7:36 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-8583

FIRST CONCURRENT BUDGET RESOLUTION, 1988

BILL NO.: H. Con. Res. 93 (S. Con. Res. 49)

SUBJECT: **Domenici appeal of the ruling of the Chair that the Domenici point of order that the conferees exceeded the scope of their authority by including a reconciliation instruction to the Finance Committee to report a debt limit bill which contains the debt level established in the conference version of the budget resolution is not well taken. The question is: "Shall the decision of the Chair stand?"**

NOTE: The Chair did not sustain the point of order, stating that the Senate conferees were authorized to agree to a conference report that contains provisions germane to any provision in either the Senate or House version and that under the precedents of the Senate, the term "germane" as it applies to material in a conference report means any matter not entirely irrelevant to the subject matter contained in either version. The budget resolution as it passed the Senate contained an appropriate figure for the public debt limit and reconciliation instructions to the Finance Committee. Therefore, it is not entirely irrelevant to instruct the Finance Committee to report a debt limit bill.

Those supporting the Chair's decision cited section 310(a)(c) of the Budget Act specifically applying the debt limit to reconciliation. Last year, at the suggestion of then Majority Leader Dole, they noted, the debt limit was included in the reconciliation bill.

Those appealing the ruling of the Chair (voting nay) contended that the debt limit language was out of order because it was not agreed to in any form in either House. Since it is nearly impossible to amend a reconciliation bill other than to strike, it is especially bad judgment to include a debt limit extension under this procedure. This action violates the Byrd rule requiring 60 votes before a nongermane item may be included in a reconciliation bill. A change in the Senate rules should not be accomplished through conference committee action.

H. Con. Res. 93 (S. Con. Res. 49): Vote Nos. 82-84, 87-97, 155-157.

RESULT: **DECISION OF CHAIR SUSTAINED**

YEAS (54)

Democrats (51 or 96%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Gore
Graham
Heflin
Hollings
Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Simon
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans (3 or 7%)

Hatfield
Stafford
Weicker

NAYS (45)

Democrats (2 or 4%)

Harkin
Proxmire

Republicans (43 or 93%)

Armstrong
Bond
Boschwitz
Chafee
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Evans
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hecht
Heinz
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes
Kassebaum
Kasten
Lugar
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Packwood
Pressler
Quayle
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Specter
Stevens
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Warner
Wilson

NOT VOTING (1)

Democrats (1)

Biden—2

Republicans (0)

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion	Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on	
	For (54)	*Against* (45)
Democrats— 96%	Democrats— 51 or 94%	Democrats— 2 or 4%
Republicans— 93%	Republicans— 3 or 6%	Republicans— 43 or 96%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 157

100th Congress
1st Session

June 24, 1987, 8:05 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-8584

FIRST CONCURRENT BUDGET RESOLUTION, 1988

BILL NO.: H. Con. Res. 93 (S. Con. Res. 49)

SUBJECT: **Adoption of the conference report on the resolution which sets forth recommended levels of total new budget authority, outlays, and revenues for the U.S. government for FY 1988 as follows (in billions of dollars):**

	FY 1988	FY 1989	FY 1990
Budget Authority	**$1,153.20**	**$1,217.90**	**$1,261.60**
Outlays	**1,040.80**	**1,083.85**	**1,117.05**
Revenues	**932.80**	**993.95**	**1,066.75**
Deficit	**108.00**	**89.90**	**50.30**
Public Debt Limit	**2,565.10**	**2,777.10**	**2,964.20**

H. Con. Res. 93 (S. Con. Res. 49): Vote Nos. 82-84, 87-97, 155-157.

RESULT: **CONFERENCE REPORT AGREED TO** ADMINISTRATION POSITION: NAY

YEAS (53)

Democrats (50 or 94%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Gore
Graham
Harkin
Hollings
Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Simon
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans (3 or 7%)

Chafee
Stafford
Weicker

NAYS (46)

Democrats (3 or 6%)

Heflin
Proxmire
Shelby

Republicans (43 or 93%)

Armstrong
Bond
Boschwitz
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Evans
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hatfield
Hecht
Heinz
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes
Kassebaum
Kasten
Lugar
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Packwood
Pressler
Quayle
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Specter
Stevens
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Warner
Wilson

NOT VOTING (1)

Democrats (1)

Biden—2

Republicans (0)

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion	Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on	
	For (53)	*Against* (46)
Democrats— 94%	Democrats— 50 or 94%	Democrats— 3 or 7%
Republicans— 93%	Republicans— 3 or 6%	Republicans— 43 or 93%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

MAJOR PROVISIONS

Deficits: Assumes deficits, using CBO and OMB economic and technical estimates, as follows: CBO—$133.6 billion in FY 1988, $105.3 billion in 1989, and $56.3 billion in 1990, with a $2.7 billion surplus in 1991; OMB—107.8 billion in FY 1988, $80.2 billion in 1989, and $33.6 billion in 1990, with a $33.6 billion surplus in 1991.

Revenues: Includes $19.3 billion in additional revenues for 1988, and $64.3 billion over the three-year period FY 1988-90; creates a deficit reduction trust fund into which all new revenues will be deposited; expresses the sense of the Senate that the assumptions underlying these revenue levels will not be achieved by raising or delaying the individual or corporate income tax rates enacted in the Tax Reform Act of 1986; contains an IRS initiative which produces savings of $1.8 billion.

Defense: Includes a two-tier "pay for defense" program as follows: a low tier which provides a freeze in budget authority at 1987 levels ($289 billion in BA and $284 billion in outlays), and a high tier which allows an inflation adjustment to zero real growth ($296 billion in BA and $290 billion in outlays) if the reconciliation bill is enacted.

Domestic Programs: Increases medicaid by $600 million; includes $800 million for NIH and AIDS research; increases funding for assistance to the homeless, WIC, the science and technology programs of the NSF, NASA, and the Department of Energy, key environmental programs including Superfund and clean coal technology, and education programs; includes additional outlays for the Job Corps; provides for a 3 percent pay raise for Federal workers; provides for all scheduled within-grade pay increases and continued availability of "lump sum" retirement option; assumes full COLA's for civil service, railroad, military retirees, and social security recipients; fully funds veterans medical care, including inflation increases, and assumes full COLA's for veterans' compensation and pension programs; assumes funding at current levels for community development programs; saves $1.2 billion in farm programs in 1988; provides funding for the recently-enacted highway bill; allows room for significant increases for air safety programs and for enactment of the Senate campaign financing bill; includes $250 million for war against drugs and law enforcement; reduces foreign assistance programs by $1.3 billion below the baseline in budget authority.

Reserve Funds: Creates reserve funds for the anticipated deficit neutral welfare reform initiative (child care and job training) and for a deficit neutral medicare catastrophic insurance initiative.

Reconciliation: Directs nine Senate authorizing committees to report by July 28, 1987, legislation within their respective jurisdictions to achieve total outlay savings over the three-year period, FY 1988-90, of $23.007 billion—$3.976 billion in FY 1988, $7.713 billion in 1989, and $11.318 billion in 1990; recommends increases in contributions (Agriculture) for REA prepayment totaling $5.642 billion and revenue increases totaling $64.300 billion over the three-year period; instructs the Senate Finance Committee to report changes in laws to increase the statutory public debt limit to $2,565.1 trillion.

Treatment of Prepayments: States that contributions resulting from legislation authorizing waivers of prepayment penalties on certain government guaranteed loans and allowing repayment with new guaranteed loans, would remain unassigned to committees for purposes of allocation and enforcement under section 302 of the Budget Act.

Sale of Government Assets: Expresses the sense of the Congress that the sale of government assets should not be counted for purposes of deficit reduction in the current fiscal year or for purposes of allowing further spending in the current year—asset sales receipts would be available solely to reduce the national debt.

Medicare Savings: States that the Senate Finance Committee and the House Ways and Means and Energy and Commerce Committees would achieve the assumed medicare savings without increasing premiums or deductibles or delaying eligibility or otherwise raising beneficiary out-of-pocket costs; expresses the sense of the Congress that any legislation amending the medicare program to reconcile its expenditures with those required in this resolution should take into account the special needs of rural hospitals under the prospective payment system.

Credit Budget FY 1988-90: Includes non-binding credit levels of $34.6 billion in FY 1988, $33.55 billion in 1989, and $32.45 billion in 1990 for new direct loan obligations, and $156.7 billion in FY 1988, $150.55 billion in 1989, and $158.3 billion in 1990 for new primary loan guarantee commitments.

FUNCTIONAL BREAKDOWN FOR FY 1988-90 (In billions of dollars)

	1988		1989		1990	
FUNCTION	BA	O	BA	O	BA	O
050: National Defense:						
Without Pay for Defense	$296.00	$289.50	$303.70	$292.30	$311.00	$299.20
With Pay for Defense	(289.00)	(283.60)	(294.80)	(288.00)	(297.90)	(292.00)
150: International Affairs	16.20	16.10	21.70	15.25	18.45	15.20
250: General Science, Space & Technology	11.30	11.10	13.50	13.00	15.00	14.60
270: Energy	4.50	4.55	5.05	4.15	4.65	4.25
300: Natural Resources & Environment	15.90	15.10	16.45	16.15	16.85	17.25
350: Agriculture	29.45	28.60	29.95	26.10	25.55	22.35
370: Commerce & Housing Credit	12.50	7.80	12.05	5.00	15.35	6.80
400: Transportation	29.20	28.25	29.50	27.85	30.20	27.65
450: Community & Regional Development	7.50	6.60	7.65	6.40	7.80	6.70
500: Education, Training, Employment, & Social Services	36.45	32.90	38.05	35.70	39.25	37.50
550: Health	45.65	44.85	49.75	49.45	54.20	53.70
570: Medicare	92.85	81.60	102.30	89.45	113.05	99.95
600: Income Security	168.60	131.45	176.65	139.00	183.15	144.60
650: Social Security	256.80	220.75	281.50	235.40	310.60	252.00
700: Veterans' Benefits & Services	27.90	27.35	28.15	27.55	28.25	27.90
750: Administration of Justice	9.60	9.35	9.55	9.55	9.50	9.50
800: General Government	7.70	7.15	7.65	7.00	7.85	7.20
850: General Purpose Fiscal Assistance	1.80	1.80	1.85	1.85	1.90	1.90
900: Net Interest	139.25	139.25	143.30	143.30	144.55	144.55
920: Allowances	–0.70	–0.70	–0.30	–0.55	0.35	0.05
950(A): Undistributed Offsetting Receipts	–40.60	–47.90	–41.95	–41.90	–43.55	–43.50
950(B): Undistributed Offsetting Receipts[1]	–14.65	–14.65	–18.15	–18.15	–32.35	–32.35
TOTAL SPENDING With Pay for Defense	1,153.20	1,040.80	1,217.90	1,083.85	1,261.60	1,117.05

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[1] 950(B) are adjustments for OMB economic and technical assumptions.

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 158

100th Congress
1st Session

June 25, 1987, 9:42 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-8740

TRADE AND COMPETITIVENESS ACT

BILL NO.: S. 1420 (H.R. 3) AMENDMENT NO.: 315

TITLE: "Omnibus Trade and Competitiveness Act of 1987"

SUBJECT: **Bentsen motion to table the Specter, et al., amendment to add the provisions of S. 1396, which provides for a private right of action to allow injured American parties to sue in Federal court for injunctive relief against, and monetary damages for prior injury from, foreign manufacturers and exporters who receive subsidies or "dump" goods in the U.S. or who violate U.S. customs laws; makes importers of subsidized or "dumped" exports also liable for damages; and states the sense of the Congress that the provisions of this section are consistent with the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT). (See also Vote No. 206.)**

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment asserted that creating a private right of action to enforce existing trade laws will correct procedural deficiencies and end non-enforcement that deprive U.S. business of protection from customs fraud, dumping, and foreign subsidy. The Administration has refused to enforce trade laws when they conflict with foreign policy considerations, an action which amounts to confiscation of property. This has cost the U.S. thousands of jobs and prejudiced U.S. national security by weakening critical industries. Allowing businesses to seek redress in court, instead of relying on the administrative procedures of the International Trade Commission, would gain them more timely action, since the ITC can take an extended period of time to reach a decision which the President can overrule in some cases. The amendment also imposes retroactive damages, which would provide compensation to business and discourage importers from pursuing illegal trade practices. It is fully consistent with GATT, which treats dumping as a market distorting process. Moreover, there are precedents which acknowledge the appropriateness of allowing the injured party to pursue remedies in court, including the Anti-Dumping Act of 1916, the antitrust laws, and the securities act. While other nations might retaliate with similar legislation, the net effect will be a situation where the market determines price or quality instead of other factors. The amendment is supported by business, and was the subject of extensive hearings.

Opponents of the amendment asserted that creating this private right of action would have a negative impact on American business because the U.S. does more dumping than any other nation. The "day-after-Christmas" price cuts that are considered a normal business practice in the U.S. are treated as

(OVER)

S. 1420 (H.R. 3): Vote Nos. 158, 160, 161, 164, 166, 168-175, 177-208.

RESULT: MOTION TO TABLE AGREED TO

YEAS (69)

Democrats
(36 or 71%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn

Graham
Harkin
Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Matsunaga
Mitchell
Nunn
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Sasser
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans
(33 or 73%)

Armstrong
Bond
Boschwitz
Chafee
Cochran
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Evans
Gramm
Grassley
Hatfield
Hecht
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes

Kassebaum
Kasten
McCain
McConnell
Nickles
Packwood
Quayle
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Stafford
Stevens
Trible
Wallop
Warner
Weicker

NAYS (27)

Democrats
(15 or 29%)

Byrd
DeConcini
Dixon
Heflin
Hollings
Levin
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Moynihan
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Shelby

Republicans
(12 or 27%)

Cohen
D'Amato
Garn
Hatch
Heinz
McClure
Murkowski
Pressler
Specter
Symms
Thurmond
Wilson

NOT VOTING (4)

Democrats (3)

Biden—2
Gore—2
Simon—2

Republicans (1)

Lugar—1

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 71%
Republicans— 73%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (69)
Democrats— 36 or 52%
Republicans— 33 or 48%

Against (27)
Democrats— 15 or 56%
Republicans— 12 or 44%

"dumping" in international trade, even if the price also is cut in the country of production. U.S. trading partners would retaliate by erecting similar laws that would be punitive for American business, and would exacerbate the trade deficit. Moreover, the amendment is not legal under GATT since GATT prohibits retroactive damages and permits only the imposition of duties to make up for an unfairness. Nor does the 1916 Anti-Dumping Act grandfathered into GATT make it GATT-legal because this amendment wipes out the intent test of that law. It is a mistake to move trade issues into the courts, they argued, since the courts do not have the expertise or the procedures that the ITC does. Moreover, there would be additional delays in the courts; not only does it take the courts longer to process complicated litigation, but they would be flooded with cases since any business could initiate a suit against a foreign company that has dumped only once. Further, the amendment would impact U.S. manufacturers who are dependent on foreign components and does not take into account the effects of exchange rate fluctuation, which can send import prices below fair market. It is opposed by the bulk of industry, particularly the export community, and has been opposed regularly by the Administration in the past. Current law has been working well, they maintained, resulting in some sort of affirmative barrier being placed 50 percent of the time. ITC generally completes a dumping case in seven to nine months. The House bill includes a multi-offender private right of action provision, which moves in the direction of this amendment, but is more moderate.

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 159

100th Congress
1st Session

June 26, 1987, 9:21 a.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-8787

DRUG ABUSE AND ILLICIT TRAFFICKING—U.N. INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE

BILL NO.: **S. Res. 238**

SUBJECT: **Adoption of the resolution which states that the Senate strongly urges the U.S. delegation to the International Conference on Drug Abuse and Illicit Trafficking to secure firm commitments from the governments of drug-producing and drug-transit countries to: support initiatives which rate the reduction in drug abuse and trafficking as priorities in their domestic governments as well as international policy; reduce illicit drug crop production and transshipment; design and participate in more effective methods of sharing intelligence and information for cooperative international drug law enforcement; negotiate extradition treaties and mutual legal assistance treaties for mutual enhancement of efficient drug enforcement; and support the initiative to develop a new convention to combat illicit narcotic traffic.**

S. Res. 238: Vote No. 159.

RESULT: RESOLUTION AGREED TO

YEAS (94)

Democrats
(50 or 100%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Bingaman
Boren
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Hollings
Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans
(44 or 100%)

Armstrong
Bond
Boschwitz
Chafee
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Evans
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hatfield
Hecht
Heinz
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes
Kassebaum
Kasten
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Packwood
Pressler
Quayle
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Specter
Stafford
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Warner
Weicker
Wilson

NAYS (0)

Democrats
(0 or 0%)

Republicans
(0 or 0%)

NOT VOTING (6)

Democrats (4)

Biden—^{2}
Bradley—^{2}
Gore—^{2}
Simon—^{2}

Republicans (2)

Lugar—^{1}
Stevens—^{2}

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 100%
Republicans— 100%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (94)
Democrats— 50 or 53%
Republicans— 44 or 47%

Against (0)
Democrats— 0 or 0%
Republicans— 0 or 0%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 160

00th Congress
st Session

June 26, 1987, 11:46 a.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-8810

TRADE AND COMPETITIVENESS ACT

ILL NO.: S. 1420 (H.R. 3) **AMENDMENT NO.:** 323

ITLE: "Omnibus Trade and Competitiveness Act of 1987"

UBJECT: **Bentsen-Pell motion to table the Armstrong-Dodd amendment which suspends Romania's Most-Favored-Nation trading status for six months until that government recognizes and protects fundamental human rights and allows a lifting of the suspension only upon a determination by the President that the situation has improved and Congress does not disapprove that determination, by enacting a joint resolution.** (See also Vote No. 161, by which the amendment was agreed to.)

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment argued that suspending Romania's Most-Favored-Nation (MFN) status for six months would send a message that the U.S. is critical of that country's human rights violations. U.S. leverage to influence emigration would not be destroyed because MFN status would be reinstated with the annual review under the Jackson-Vanik amendment. While Jackson-Vanik deals primarily with emigration, it was not intended to restrict consideration of other human rights concerns. Romania has continued to receive MFN status, even though little progress has been made toward human rights reform, and emigration has not increased appreciably. Its citizens have no freedom of speech or press, no religious freedom, and no political rights. Romania is a poor trading partner, and has provided training camps for the PLO. Its people associate the U.S. negatively with their dictatorship because the MFN status is perceived as keeping the oppressive Ceausescu regime in power.

Opponents of the amendment asserted that the Senate should not change the premise of the Jackson-Vanik amendment, which is to encourage emigration, not bring about internal change. Although Romania's record on religious freedom is abominable, its emigration record is most generous, totaling 170,000 since first receiving MFN status. While this may not be a direct result of Jackson-Vanik, most major American Jewish organizations strongly urge that Romania continue to receive MFN status. Moreover, the yearly review of Romania's MFN status has created a negotiating relationship that has permitted other objectives to be achieved, including the printing of Bibles and some human rights reforms. The amendment would bring into question the MFN status of other countries that are repressive in terms of religious freedom, including China. Jackson-Vanik is serving a purpose as long as it provides a means for an individual to leave a country to practice his or her religious freedom or civil liberties elsewhere. Suspension of MFN status will jeopardize U.S. coal and agricultural exports to Romania, resulting in a senseless loss of American jobs.

S. 1420 (H.R. 3): Vote Nos. 158, 160, 161, 164, 166, 168-175, 177-208.

ESULT: **MOTION TO TABLE FAILED**

YEAS (44)			NAYS (49)			NOT VOTING (7)	
Democrats (32 or 64%)		Republicans (12 or 28%)	Democrats (18 or 36%)	Republicans (31 or 72%)		Democrats (4)	Republicans (3)
aucus	Inouye	Bond	Adams	Armstrong	Kasten	Biden—2	Lugar—1
entsen	Johnston	Chafee	Bingaman	Boschwitz	McCain	Bradley—2	Stevens—2
oren	Matsunaga	Cohen	DeConcini	Cochran	McClure	Gore—2AY	Thurmond—2AN
reaux	Metzenbaum	Danforth	Dixon	D'Amato	Murkowski	Simon—2	
umpers	Mikulski	Evans	Dodd	Dole	Nickles		
urdick	Mitchell	Hatfield	Glenn	Domenici	Pressler		
yrd	Moynihan	Heinz	Graham	Durenberger	Quayle		
hiles	Pell	McConnell	Hollings	Garn	Roth		
onrad	Pryor	Packwood	Kennedy	Gramm	Rudman		
ranston	Reid	Specter	Kerry	Grassley	Simpson		
aschle	Riegle	Stafford	Lautenberg	Hatch	Symms		
xon	Rockefeller	Weicker	Leahy	Hecht	Trible		
ord	Sanford		Levin	Helms	Wallop		
owler	Sarbanes		Melcher	Humphrey	Warner		
arkin	Sasser		Nunn	Karnes	Wilson		
eflin	Stennis		Proxmire	Kassebaum			
			Shelby				
			Wirth				

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 64%
Republicans— 72%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (44)
Democrats— 32 or 73%
Republicans— 12 or 27%

Against (49)
Democrats— 18 or 37%
Republicans— 31 or 63%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 161

100th Congress
1st Session

June 26, 1987, 12:14 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-8811

TRADE AND COMPETITIVENESS ACT

BILL NO.: S. 1420 (H.R. 3) **AMENDMENT NO.:** 323

TITLE: "Omnibus Trade and Competitiveness Act of 1987"

SUBJECT: **Armstrong-Dodd amendment which suspends Romania's Most-Favored-Nation trading status for six months until that government recognizes and protects fundamental human rights and allows a lifting of the suspension only upon a determination by the President that the situation has improved and Congress does not disapprove that determination, by enacting a joint resolution.** (See also Vote No. 160, by which the motion to table the amendment failed.)

NOTE: Proponents argued that suspending Romania's Most-Favored-Nation (MFN) status for six months would send a message that the U.S. is critical of that country's human rights violations. U.S. leverage to influence emigration would not be destroyed because MFN status would be reinstated with the annual review under the Jackson-Vanik amendment. While Jackson-Vanik deals primarily with emigration, it was not intended to restrict consideration of other human rights concerns. Romania has continued to receive MFN status, even though little progress has been made toward human rights reform, and emigration has not increased appreciably. Its citizens have no freedom of speech or press, no religious freedom, and no political rights. Romania is a poor trading partner, and has provided training camps for the PLO. Its people associate the U.S. negatively with their dictatorship because the MFN status is perceived as keeping the oppressive Ceausescu regime in power.

Opponents asserted that the Senate should not change the premise of the Jackson-Vanik amendment, which is to encourage emigration, not bring about internal change. Although Romania's record on religious freedom is abominable, its emigration record is most generous, totaling 170,000 since first receiving MFN status. While this may not be a direct result of Jackson-Vanik, most major American Jewish organizations strongly urge that Romania continue to receive MFN status. Moreover, the yearly review of Romania's MFN status has created a negotiating relationship that has permitted other objectives to be achieved, including the printing of Bibles and some human rights reforms. The amendment would bring into question the MFN status of other countries that are repressive in terms of

(OVER)

S. 1420 (H.R. 3): Vote Nos. 158, 160, 161, 164, 166, 168-175, 177-208.

RESULT: **AMENDMENT AGREED TO**

YEAS (57)

Democrats
(25 or 50%)

Bingaman
Breaux
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Glenn
Graham
Harkin
Hollings
Inouye
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Nunn
Proxmire
Reid
Riegle
Sarbanes
Shelby
Wirth

Republicans
(32 or 74%)

Armstrong
Boschwitz
Cochran
D'Amato
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hecht
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes
Kassebaum
Kasten
McCain
McClure
Murkowski
Nickles
Pressler
Quayle
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Symms
Trible
Wallop
Warner
Weicker
Wilson

NAYS (36)

Democrats
(25 or 50%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Boren
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Heflin
Johnston
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Pell
Pryor
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sasser
Stennis

Republicans
(11 or 26%)

Bond
Chafee
Cohen
Danforth
Evans
Hatfield
Heinz
McConnell
Packwood
Specter
Stafford

NOT VOTING (7)

Democrats (4)

Biden—2
Bradley—2
Gore—2AN
Simon—2

Republicans (3)

Lugar—1
Stevens—2
Thurmond—2AY

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 50%
Republicans— 74%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (57)
Democrats— 25 or 44%
Republicans— 32 or 56%

Against (36)
Democrats— 25 or 69%
Republicans— 11 or 31%

religious freedom, including China. Jackson-Vanik is serving a purpose as long as it provides a means for an individual to leave a country to practice his or her religious freedom or civil liberties elsewhere. Suspension of MFN status will jeopardize U.S. coal and agricultural exports to Romania, resulting in a senseless loss of American jobs.

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 162

100th Congress
1st Session

June 26, 1987, 5:00 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-8846

PANAMA—HUMAN RIGHTS

BILL NO.: S. Res. 239 AMENDMENT NO.: 335

SUBJECT: **Cranston motion to table the Dodd, et al., amendment (as a substitute for the resolution) deleting the sense of the Senate provision directing the current commander of the Panama Defense Force (General Manuel Noriega) and any other implicated officials to relinquish their duties pending the outcome of an independent investigation of allegations levelled against them and adding instead language (1) calling for the application of all relevant provisions of the Panamanian Judicial Code with respect to all implicated officials, whether civilian or military; and (2) reaffirming U.S. commitment to its treaties.**

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment argued that the resolution should be modified to express more fully U.S. support for democracy in Panama, opposition to military control, and support for basic Panamanian concerns. The amendment would impose the kind of judicial standards called for in the resolution without demanding specific actions that are already required under Panamanian law. This would make the resolution more sensitive to the audiences in Panama to whom it is aimed, including many civilian and military moderates who would be restricted in their ability to bring about change if General Noriega is made the target of the resolution. This amendment, which is based on the concerns raised by Panamanians and by American officials in Panama, would bring the Senate closer to the position taken by the House and by the President, who, they pointed out, has primary responsibility for foreign policy.

Opponents of the amendment countered that removing language from the resolution that refers to General Noriega, who is the source of unrest in Panama, would suggest to some Panamanians that the U.S. is not concerned about his behavior. In fact, the Senate is deeply troubled about his use of the Panama defense forces to intervene in civilian affairs, and his alleged involvement in the flow of narcotics to the U.S. and the laundering of drug money. Furthermore, it is unnecessary to shift the focus of the resolution from democracy in Panama to an affirmation of U.S. commitment to the Panama Canal treaties. The treaties are the law of the land. The resolution has overwhelming bipartisan support, which this amendment would jeopardize.

S. Res. 239: Vote Nos. 162, 163.

RESULT: **MOTION TO TABLE AGREED TO**

YEAS (73) Democrats (37 or 80%)		YEAS (73) Republicans (36 or 90%)		NAYS (13) Democrats (9 or 20%)	NAYS (13) Republicans (4 or 10%)	NOT VOTING (14) Democrats (8)	NOT VOTING (14) Republicans (6)
Adams	Harkin	Armstrong	Kasten	Dodd	Evans	Biden—^{2}	Chafee—^{2}
Baucus	Heflin	Bond	McCain	Hollings	Kassebaum	Bradley—^{2}	Garn—^{2}
Bentsen	Kennedy	Boschwitz	McConnell	Lautenberg	Packwood	Chiles—^{2}	Karnes—^{2}
Bingaman	Kerry	Cochran	Murkowski	Levin	Weicker	Gore—^{2}	Lugar—^{1}
Boren	Leahy	Cohen	Nickles	Metzenbaum		Inouye—^{2}	McClure—^{2}
Breaux	Matsunaga	D'Amato	Pressler	Mitchell		Johnston—^{2}	Stevens—^{2}
Bumpers	Melcher	Danforth	Quayle	Pell		Simon—^{2}	
Burdick	Mikulski	Dole	Roth	Sanford		Wirth—^{2}	
Byrd	Moynihan	Domenici	Rudman	Sarbanes			
Conrad	Nunn	Durenberger	Simpson				
Cranston	Proxmire	Gramm	Specter				
Daschle	Pryor	Grassley	Stafford				
DeConcini	Reid	Hatch	Symms				
Dixon	Riegle	Hatfield	Thurmond				
Exon	Rockefeller	Hecht	Trible				
Ford	Sasser	Heinz	Wallop				
Fowler	Shelby	Helms	Warner				
Glenn	Stennis	Humphrey	Wilson				
Graham							

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 80%
Republicans— 90%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (73)
Democrats— 37 or 51%
Republicans— 36 or 49%

Against (13)
Democrats— 9 or 6[illegible]
Republicans— 4 or [illegible]

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
[illegible]

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 163

100th Congress
1st Session

June 26, 1987, 5:26 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-8848

PANAMA—HUMAN RIGHTS

BILL NO.: S. Res. 239

SUBJECT: **Adoption of the resolution expressing the sense of the Senate that the Government of Panama should: restore suspended constitutional guarantees to the people of Panama; establish genuine autonomy for civilian authorities and remove the Panama Defense Force (PDF) from nonmilitary activities; provide for an impartial investigation of the allegations leveled against certain officials of the PDF; take specific steps to help ensure free and fair elections, the establishment of an independent judicial system, and the guarantee of a professional, nonpolitical military establishment under civilian control; and in accord with the Judicial Code of Panama, direct the current commander of the PDF and any other implicated officials to relinquish their duties pending the outcome of the impartial independent investigation.**

S. Res. 239: Vote Nos. 162, 163.

RESULT: RESOLUTION AGREED TO

YEAS (84)

Democrats
(44 or 96%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Bingaman
Boren
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Hollings
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Stennis

Republicans
(40 or 100%)

Armstrong
Bond
Boschwitz
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Evans
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hatfield
Hecht
Heinz
Helms
Humphrey
Kassebaum
Kasten
McCain
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Packwood
Pressler
Quayle
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Specter
Stafford
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Warner
Weicker
Wilson

NAYS (2)

Democrats
(2 or 4%)

Dodd
Levin

Republicans
(0 or 0%)

NOT VOTING (14)

Democrats (8)

Biden—^{2}
Bradley—^{2}
Chiles—^{2}
Gore—^{2AY}
Inouye—^{2}
Johnston—^{2}
Simon—^{2}
Wirth—^{2}

Republicans (6)

Chafee—^{2}
Garn—^{2}
Karnes—^{2}
Lugar—^{1}
McClure—^{2}
Stevens—^{2}

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 96%
Republicans— 100%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (84)
Democrats— 44 or 52%
Republicans— 40 or 48%

Against (2)
Democrats— 2 or 100%
Republicans— 0 or 0%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee

Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 164

100th Congress
1st Session

June 26, 1987, 6:31 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-8856

TRADE AND COMPETITIVENESS ACT

BILL NO.: S. 1420 (H.R. 3)

AMENDMENT NO.: 338

TITLE: "Omnibus Trade and Competitiveness Act of 1987"

SUBJECT: **Humphrey-Proxmire, et al., modified amendment to authorize the President to prohibit trade between the United States and the Soviet-sponsored regime in Afghanistan.**

NOTE: Proponents noted that the amendment would authorize the President only to prohibit trade between the U.S. and Soviet-controlled Afghanistan. It would not prohibit trade with those Afghan forces for which Congress has expressed support. The amendment is consistent with current U.S. trade policies toward other states that have exhibited human rights abuses.

S. 1420 (H.R. 3): Vote Nos. 158, 160, 161, 164, 166, 168-175, 177-208.

RESULT: AMENDMENT AGREED TO

ADMINISTRATION POSITION: YEA

YEAS (83)

Democrats
(44 or 100%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Bingaman
Boren
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Hollings
Kennedy
Kerry
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Stennis

Republicans
(39 or 100%)

Armstrong
Bond
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Evans
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hatfield
Hecht
Heinz
Helms
Humphrey
Kassebaum
Kasten
McCain
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Packwood
Pressler
Quayle
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Specter
Stafford
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Warner
Weicker
Wilson

NAYS (0)

Democrats
(0 or 0%)

Republicans
(0 or 0%)

NOT VOTING (17)

Democrats (10)

Biden—2
Bradley—2
Chiles—2
Gore—2AY
Inouye—2
Johnston—2
Lautenberg—2
Nunn—2AY
Simon—2
Wirth—2

Republicans (7)

Boschwitz—2
Chafee—2
Garn—2
Karnes—2
Lugar—1
McClure—2
Stevens—2

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 100%
Republicans— 100%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (83)
Democrats— 44 or 53%
Republicans— 39 or 47%

Against (0)
Democrats— 0 or 0%
Republicans— 0 or 0%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
[illegible]

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 165

100th Congress
1st Session

June 27, 1987, 9:45 a.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-8928

KOREAN DEMOCRACY RESOLUTION

BILL NO.: S. Res. 241

SUBJECT: **Adoption of the resolution stating the sense of the Senate that: the U.S. supports Korean efforts to establish fair and free elections and peacefully evolve to a full democratic government; the U.S. recognizes President Chun Doo Hwan's commitment to initiate the first peaceful transition of power in Korea by stepping down in March 1988; the U.S. calls upon all parties in Korea to resume the search for a peaceful agreement on democratic reform; and the President of the U.S. should undertake all possible efforts to facilitate dialogue and negotiation among all parties to achieve democracy in the Republic of Korea.**

S. Res. 241: Vote No. 165.

RESULT: RESOLUTION AGREED TO

YEAS (74)

Democrats
(40 or 100%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Bingaman
Boren
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Exon
Ford
Glenn
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Hollings
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Metzenbaum
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Stennis

Republicans
(34 or 100%)

Armstrong
Bond
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Evans
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hatfield
Heinz
Humphrey
Kassebaum
Kasten
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Packwood
Pressler
Quayle
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Specter
Stafford
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Warner
Wilson

NAYS (0)

Democrats
(0 or 0%)

Republicans
(0 or 0%)

NOT VOTING (26)

Democrats (14)

Biden—^{2}
Bradley—^{2}
Chiles—^{2}
Dodd—^{1}
Fowler—^{1}
Gore—^{2AY}
Inouye—^{2}
Johnston—^{2}
Melcher—^{2AY}
Mikulski—^{1}
Rockefeller—^{2AY}
Sanford—^{1}
Simon—^{2}
Wirth—^{2}

Republicans (12)

Boschwitz—^{2}
Chafee—^{2}
Durenberger—^{2AY}
Garn—^{2}
Hecht—^{2}
Helms—^{2}
Karnes—^{2}
Lugar—^{1}
McCain—^{2}
McClure—^{2}
Stevens—^{2}
Weicker—^{2}

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 100%
Republicans— 100%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (74)
Democrats— 40 or 54%
Republicans— 34 or 46%

Against (0)
Democrats— 0 or 0%
Republicans— 0 or 0%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 166

100th Congress	June 27, 1987, 10:39 a.m.
1st Session	Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-8932

TRADE AND COMPETITIVENESS ACT

BILL NO.: S. 1420 (H.R. 3) AMENDMENT NO.: 345

TITLE: "Omnibus Trade and Competitiveness Act of 1987"

SUBJECT: **Reid amendment which requires the National Critical Materials Council to prepare, within 180 days of enactment, a national Federal program plan for advanced materials research and development; and directs the Council to increase the number of its employees by the equivalent of five full-time employees, with at least four of those employees having expertise in technical fields relevant to the Council's responsibilities.**

NOTE: Proponents noted that the amendment would require the National Critical Materials Council to carry out its legal mandate as established by P.L. 98-373. That law called for the creation of a long-range Federal program for research and development for advanced materials to enable the U.S. to lessen its dependency on foreign sources for critical materials, such as chromium, cobalt, platinum, and manganese. Some noted that the congressional sanctions against South Africa, a large supplier of critical minerals, has lead to increased U.S. purchases of critical minerals from Communist countries. Vast amounts of land owned by the U.S. government are currently off limits to exploration and extraction, and some felt that the U.S. should have greater access to minerals within its borders.

S. 1420 (H.R. 3): Vote Nos. 158, 160, 161, 164, 166, 168-175, 177-208.

RESULT: AMENDMENT AGREED TO

YEAS (73)

Democrats (40 or 100%)		Republicans (33 or 100%)	
Adams	Hollings	Armstrong	Murkowski
Baucus	Kennedy	Bond	Nickles
Bentsen	Kerry	Cochran	Packwood
Bingaman	Lautenberg	Cohen	Pressler
Boren	Leahy	D'Amato	Quayle
Breaux	Levin	Danforth	Roth
Bumpers	Matsunaga	Dole	Rudman
Burdick	Metzenbaum	Domenici	Simpson
Byrd	Mitchell	Evans	Specter
Conrad	Moynihan	Gramm	Stafford
Cranston	Nunn	Grassley	Symms
Daschle	Pell	Hatch	Thurmond
DeConcini	Proxmire	Hatfield	Trible
Dixon	Pryor	Heinz	Wallop
Exon	Reid	Humphrey	Warner
Ford	Riegle	Kasten	Wilson
Glenn	Sarbanes	McConnell	
Graham	Sasser		
Harkin	Shelby		
Heflin	Stennis		

NAYS (0)

Democrats (0 or 0%)	Republicans (0 or 0%)

NOT VOTING (27)

Democrats (14)	Republicans (13)
Biden—^{2}	Boschwitz—^{2}
Bradley—^{2}	Chafee—^{2}
Chiles—^{2}	Durenberger—^{2}
Dodd—^{1}	Garn—^{2}
Fowler—^{1}	Hecht—^{2}
Gore—^{2}	Helms—^{2}
Inouye—^{2}	Karnes—^{2}
Johnston—^{2}	Kassebaum—^{2}
Melcher—^{2}	Lugar—^{1}
Mikulski—^{1}	McCain—^{2}
Rockefeller—^{2}	McClure—^{2}
Sanford—^{1}	Stevens—^{2}
Simon—^{2}	Weicker—^{2}
Wirth—^{2}	

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion	**Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on**	
	For (73)	*Against* (0)
Democrats— 100%	Democrats— 40 or 55%	Democrats— 0 or 0%
Republicans— 100%	Republicans— 33 or 45%	Republicans— 0 or 0%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 167

100th Congress
1st Session

June 27, 1987, 11:53 a.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-8948

HOMELESS ASSISTANCE

BILL NO.: H.R. 558

TITLE: "Stewart B. McKinney Homeless Assistance Act"

SUBJECT: **Adoption of the conference report on the bill which authorizes $442.7 million in FY 1987 and $611 million in 1988 for homeless aid programs including the authorization of new or additional funds for the FEMA Emergency Food and Shelter Program, the HUD Emergency Shelter Grants Program, the Supportive Housing Demonstration Program, Supplemental Assistance for Homeless Facilities, HUD's Section 8 moderate rehabilitation certificates, grant programs to provide health care and mental health services to the homeless, grants to States to develop and implement plans to educate homeless children, a three-year competitive grant job training demonstration program for the homeless, the Community Services Homeless Block Grant Program, and the Veteran's Job Training Act; requires the Secretary of HUD to identify, and make available for lease, surplus Federal real properties that are suitable for use as homeless facilities; makes surplus Federal personal property available to eligible nonprofit organizations; requires a State, city, or county to receive the HUD Secretary's approval of its comprehensive homeless assistance plan in order to be eligible for housing assistance in the Act; establishes the Interagency Council on the Homeless; requires States to expedite food stamp service for the homeless and makes other modifications to the food stamp program; reauthorizes the Temporary Emergency Food Assistance Program (TEFAP) at $50 million in FY 1988 and provides for the distribution of additional TEFAP commodities; and requires that FY 1987 appropriations made pursuant to authorizations provided in this bill not increase the deficit levels established for FY 1987 in the Balanced Budget and Emergency Deficit Control Act of 1985 (Gramm-Rudman-Hollings).**

NOTE: H.R. 558 became Public Law 100-77, approved July 22, 1987.

H.R. 558: Vote Nos. 70-74, 167.

RESULT: **CONFERENCE REPORT AGREED TO**

YEAS (65)

Democrats (39 or 98%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Bingaman
Boren
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Ford
Glenn
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Hollings

Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Metzenbaum
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Stennis

Republicans (26 or 79%)

Bond
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Evans
Grassley
Hatch
Hatfield
Heinz
Kassebaum
Kasten
McConnell
Murkowski
Packwood
Pressler
Quayle
Simpson
Specter
Stafford
Thurmond
Trible
Warner
Wilson

NAYS (8)

Democrats (1 or 3%)

Exon

Republicans (7 or 21%)

Armstrong
Gramm
Nickles
Roth
Rudman
Symms
Wallop

NOT VOTING (27)

Democrats (14)

Biden—^{2}
Bradley—^{2}
Chiles—^{2}
Dodd—^{1}
Fowler—^{1}
Gore—^{2AY}
Inouye—^{2}
Johnston—^{2}
Melcher—^{2}
Mikulski—^{1}
Rockefeller—^{2AY}
Sanford—^{1}
Simon—^{2}
Wirth—^{2}

Republicans (13)

Boschwitz—^{2}
Chafee—^{2}
Durenberger—^{2}
Garn—^{2}
Hecht—^{2}
Helms—^{2}
Humphrey—^{2}
Karnes—^{2}
Lugar—^{1}
McCain—^{2}
McClure—^{2}
Stevens—^{2}
Weicker—^{2}

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 98%
Republicans— 79%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (65)
Democrats— 39 or 60%
Republicans— 26 or 40%

Against (8)
Democrats— 1 or 12.5%
Republicans— 7 or 87.5%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

MAJOR PROVISIONS

Interagency Council on the Homeless: Establishes the Interagency Council on the Homeless to review and reduce duplication among Federal homeless programs, provide professional and technical assistance to public and private nonprofit organizations, coordinate existing programs and develop new, innovative programs, and collect and disseminate information on homelessness; authorizes $200,000 in FY 1987 and $2.5 million in 1988 for the Council; requires each Federal agency represented on the Council to report, within 90 days of enactment and annually thereafter, on its homeless programs; requires the Council to report annually to Congress and the President on the Nation's homeless problems and Federal efforts to address them; and sunsets the Council three years after enactment.

Shelter Program: Authorizes an additional $15 million in FY 1987 and $124 million in 1988 for the FEMA Emergency Food and Shelter Program; creates a National Board, composed of the FEMA Director and representatives of national charitable organizations, to identify localities with the greatest need, distribute program funds, establish eligible costs, and specify the responsibilities of the National Board, local recipients, and service providers; requires that appropriated funds be awarded within three months of their availability; limits administrative costs to five percent; requires that designated localities establish local boards to award grants to and monitor public and private nonprofit programs and coordinate with other available public assistance programs; provides that local grants be used to create more effective and innovative programs, conduct minimal rehabilitation of existing mass shelter or feeding facilities, and supplement and expand ongoing shelter, food, and support service programs for the homeless (especially those which aid homeless handicapped persons, facilitate access of the homeless to other sources of services and benefits, or transfer homeless individuals from temporary to permanent homes).

Housing Assistance: Requires a State, city, or county to receive the HUD Secretary's approval of its comprehensive homeless assistance plan in order to be eligible for housing assistance in the Act, and requires recipients to report annually on their progress in carrying out the plan.

Authorizes an additional $100 million in FY 1987 and $120 million in 1988, for the HUD Emergency Shelter Grants Program to be allocated using the Community Development Block Grant formula; establishes a minimum matching grant allocation of 0.05 percent of appropriated funds; requires that funds be used to provide (1) emergency shelters for the homeless, (2) employment, health, drug abuse or education services for the homeless not offered by the locality during the past year (limited to 15 percent of the grant unless waived by the Secretary), or (3) for related maintenance and operating expenses for such facilities.

Authorizes $80 million in FY 1987 and $100 million in 1988 for the Supportive Housing Demonstration Program to award competitive matching grants for developing innovative supportive housing for the homeless, especially homeless families with children and homeless persons who have been deinstitutionalized or have mental disabilities and other handicaps; earmarks $20 million each year for transitional housing projects for homeless families with children and $15 million each year for permanent housing projects for handicapped homeless persons; and requires repayment of grant assistance when the project ceases to be used as supportive housing, unless it is no longer needed or is approved for a use which benefits low-income persons.

Authorizes $25 million in each FY 1987-88 for Supplemental Assistance for Homeless Facilities; earmarks 50 percent of funds to assist homeless families with children and homeless elderly and handicapped persons; also targets funds to programs which make use of underutilized public buildings and offer innovative methods of serving the homeless; allows funds to be used to acquire or rehabilitate facilities or provide support services for the homeless, with no more than $10,000 of any grant or advance to be used for outpatient health services; and requires repayment of program assistance when the project is sold or otherwise disposed of, unless it is no longer needed or is approved for a use which benefits low-income persons.

Increases by $35 million the budget authority for HUD's Section 8 moderate rehabilitation certificates only for rehabilitating single room occupancy housing for the homeless; competitively allocates funds to applicants who demonstrate the greatest need and the ability to carry out the program; generally limits funding to $14,000 for each rehabilitation unit.

Excess Federal Property: Requires the Secretary of HUD to identify, and make available for lease, surplus Federal real properties that are suitable for use as homeless facilities; makes surplus Federal personal property available to eligible nonprofit organizations to be distributed through State agencies at no cost to recipients and provides for Federal reimbursement of any transportation costs incurred by the State.

Health Care and Mental Health Services: Authorizes $50 million in FY 1987 and $30 million in 1988, for competitive grants to public and private nonprofit entities to provide or arrange for outpatient health services for the homeless; requires a local funding match of 25 percent; authorizes the use of $2 million for technical assistance, and limits individual grants to 75 percent of the costs of the services rendered.

Authorizes $35 million in FY 1987, and such sums as necessary in 1988, for a Alcohol, Drug Abuse, and Mental Health Administration block grant program to States to provide emergency assistance for chronically mentally ill homeless persons; allocates grants based on the ratio of the State's urban population to that of the total U.S., or a minimum of $275,000; and requires a local funding match of 25 percent.

Authorizes an additional $10 million each in FY 1987, to remain available through 1988, for (1) the National Institute on Alcohol Abuse and Alcoholism to award grants or enter into contracts or cooperative agreements with community-based nonprofit entities to provide alcohol and drug abuse treatment services for the homeless; and (2) National Institute of Mental Health Community Support Program demonstration grants for community-based services to chronically mentally ill individuals who are homeless or at risk of becoming homeless.

Makes the homeless population eligible for the assignment of National Health Service Corps health care providers.

Requires the Secretary of HHS to report to Congress, within 18 months of enactment, on the extent to which State deinstitutionalization policies are contributing to the homeless problem.

Homeless Education: Authorizes $5 million in each FY 1987 and 1988 for grants to States to develop and implement plans to educate homeless children and ensure their equal access to public education; makes States eligible for grants proportional to their Chapter I allocations or a minimum of $50,000; authorizes $2.5 million in FY 1988 for grants to exemplary programs addressing the needs of homeless schoolchildren; authorizes a $50,000 grant for a study on youth homelessness; and authorizes $7.5 million in FY 1987 and $10 million in 1988 for grants to State literacy and basic skills education programs for adult homeless individuals.

Job Training for the Homeless: Authorizes $12 million in FY 1988 for a three-year competitive grant job training demonstration program for the homeless; prohibits any State from receiving more than 15 percent of annual appropriations; establishes the Federal share at between 50 and 90 percent, based on the recipient's ability to pay; and earmarks $2 million for homeless veterans job training projects.

Emergency Community Services Homeless Block Grant Program: Authorizes an additional $45 million in each of FY 1987 and 1988 for the Community Services Block Grant Program to be used to meet the urgent needs of the homeless.

Food Assistance: Reauthorizes the Temporary Emergency Food Assistance Program (TEFAP) at $50 million in FY 1988 and requires distribution, upon a State governor's request, of additional commodities, subject to advance appropriations; and modifies the food stamp program to: require States to provide foods stamps to eligible homeless applicants within five days; authorize State outreach programs targeted to the homeless; allow three generations, or siblings with children, to live together and form two separate households under specified circumstances in order to qualify for food stamps; increase the maximum excess shelter deduction and, effective October 1, 1986, include homeowner costs and shelter maintenance and repair costs in the annual inflation adjustment of the deduction; and change the annual inflation adjustment of income eligibility standards from July 1 to October 1, effective in 1988.

Veterans' Assistance: Authorizes $30 million in FY 1987-88 for the Veterans' Job Training Act; exempts homeless veterans from the length-of-employment eligibility criteria; and extends the application deadlines by six months.

Miscellaneous Provisions: Requires that FY 1987 appropriations made pursuant to this bill not increase the deficit levels established in the Balanced Budget and Emergency Deficit Control Act of 1985; earmarks for Indian Tribes 1.5 percent of funds under the FEMA Emergency Food and Shelter Program, Housing Assistance Programs, Health Programs, and the Job Training for the Homeless Demonstration Project.

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 168

100th Congress
1st Session

June 27, 1987, 2:44 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-8961

TRADE AND COMPETITIVENESS ACT

BILL NO.: S. 1420 (H.R. 3) AMENDMENT NO.: 350

TITLE: "Omnibus Trade and Competitiveness Act of 1987"

SUBJECT: **Division I of the Gramm, et al., modified amendment (as amended by amendment No. 351), as amended by modified amendment No. 353 as a substitute for Division I, which requires that Congress complete action on a constitutional amendment to require a balanced Federal budget no later than October 1, 1987; and requires the President to submit a balanced budget by September 15, 1987.**

NOTE: Amendment No. 353 was drafted to include the language of Divisions I and II of amendment No. 350, with the language pertaining to Division II modified to conform to that of the Budget Act, in regard to dictating a future action by Congress. Amendment No. 353, as modified, was agreed to by unanimous consent as a substitute for Division I of Amendment No. 350; therefore, agreeing to Division I of Amendment No. 350 would make action on Division II unnecessary.

Division II would require that the Senate take a certain action on a particular piece of legislation on a specified day, which is tantamount to a special order. With reference to the Chair's ruling on Amendment No. 352, which included the language of Division II, Division II would fall to a point of order under Rule X, because there is no precedent allowing a simple majority of the Senate to dictate that the Senate take a specific action on a certain day.

Proponents asserted that one of the key factors affecting the trade deficit is the Federal deficit, which competes with investment in new economic growth. This has been acknowledged by such opposite ends of the trade spectrum as Representative Gephardt and Federal Reserve Board Chairman Volcker. The

(OVER)

S. 1420 (H.R. 3): Vote Nos. 158, 160, 161, 164, 166, 168-175, 177-208.

RESULT: **DIVISION I OF AMENDMENT AGREED TO**

YEAS (59)

Democrats
(28 or 72%)

Baucus
Bentsen
Boren
Breaux
Burdick
Conrad
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Exon
Ford
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Hollings
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Sasser
Shelby
Stennis

Republicans
(31 or 100%)

Armstrong
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Evans
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hatfield
Heinz
Humphrey
Kassebaum
Kasten
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Packwood
Pressler
Quayle
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Specter
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Warner
Wilson

NAYS (11)

Democrats
(11 or 28%)

Adams
Bumpers
Byrd
Cranston
Glenn
Kennedy
Levin
Matsunaga
Metzenbaum
Riegle
Sarbanes

Republicans
(0 or 0%)

NOT VOTING (30)

Democrats (15)

Biden—[2]
Bingaman—[2]
Bradley—[2]
Chiles—[2]
Dodd—[1]
Fowler—[1]
Gore—[2AY]
Inouye—[2]
Johnston—[2]
Melcher—[2]
Mikulski—[1]
Rockefeller—[2]
Sanford—[1]
Simon—[2]
Wirth—[2]

Republicans (15)

Bond—[2AY]
Boschwitz—[2]
Chafee—[2]
Domenici—[2]
Durenberger—[2]
Garn—[2]
Hecht—[2]
Helms—[2]
Karnes—[2]
Lugar—[1]
McCain—[2]
McClure—[2]
Stafford—[2]
Stevens—[2]
Weicker—[2]

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 72%
Republicans— 100%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (59)
Democrats— 28 or 47%
Republicans— 31 or 53%

Against (11)
Democrats— 11 or 100%
Republicans— 0 or 0%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

amendment would require that Congress take some action on a balanced budget amendment to the Constitution. Defeating this amendment would deny Congress the opportunity to even vote on a balanced budget amendment. Some who supported the amendment stated opposition to a constitutional amendment requiring a balanced budget, while others noted that there are other major factors responsible for the trade deficit.

Opponents argued that this amendment would not lead to the budget being balanced any time soon, since an amendment to the Constitution requires three-fourths of the States to ratify it. While many supported a constitutional amendment to balance the budget, they felt that this amendment was an extension of the President's passing the responsibility for a balanced budget to Congress. The President cannot be taken seriously, they insisted, since despite his rhetoric to the contrary, he has never submitted a balanced budget, and the budget he submitted this year failed to gain the support of more than 18 Senators. Moreover, the amendment directs the leadership of the Senate and the House to take specific action on a certain date, which is not likely to be supported by the House.

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 169

100th Congress
1st Session

June 30, 1987, 11:06 a.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-8973

TRADE AND COMPETITIVENESS ACT

BILL NO.: S. 1420 (H.R. 3)

AMENDMENT NO.: 349

TITLE: "Omnibus Trade and Competitiveness Act of 1987"

SUBJECT: **Exon-Melcher, et al., amendment which requires the FDA Commissioner, within six months of enactment, to issue regulations which provide for the labeling of food products which are imported or which contain a significant amount of imported ingredients; and requires the Secretary of Agriculture, within six months of enactment, to issue regulations which provide for the labeling of meat, meat products, poultry, and poultry products, which are imported or contain a significant amount of imported ingredients.** (These provisions would not affect existing laws and regulations which apply to restaurants.)

NOTE: Proponents asserted that the amendment would give the American consumer the opportunity to make an informed choice when purchasing food products. Most Americans are unaware of the fact that they are consuming a substantial amount of imported food products. The amendment in no way restricts the flow of imports; it merely requires that food be treated the same way as manufactured goods in labeling the country of origin.

While agreeing with the intent of the amendment, opponents contended that the wording was too vague and could be subjected to many interpretations. Actual implementation could require considerable extra recordkeeping, a cost that would be passed on to consumers. The American food production and distribution process is so large and complex that the actual implementation of this proposal must be examined carefully.

S. 1420 (H.R. 3): Vote Nos. 158, 160, 161, 164, 166, 168-175, 177-208.

RESULT: **AMENDMENT AGREED TO**

YEAS (73)

Democrats (43 or 88%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Bingaman
Boren
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Daschle
DeConcini
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Hollings
Kennedy
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans (30 or 70%)

Armstrong
Bond
Boschwitz
Cohen
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hecht
Humphrey
Karnes
Kassebaum
Kasten
McClure
McConnell
Nickles
Pressler
Simpson
Specter
Stafford
Stevens
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Warner
Wilson

NAYS (19)

Democrats (6 or 12%)

Bradley
Cranston
Dixon
Kerry
Lautenberg
Proxmire

Republicans (13 or 30%)

Chafee
D'Amato
Evans
Hatch
Hatfield
Helms
Lugar
McCain
Packwood
Quayle
Roth
Rudman
Weicker

NOT VOTING (7)

Democrats (5)

Biden—2
Gore—2
Inouye—2
Johnston—4
Simon—2

Republicans (2)

Cochran—2
Murkowski—2

VOTING PRESENT (1)

Heinz

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion	**Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on**	
	For (73)	*Against* (19)
Democrats— 88%	Democrats— 43 or 59%	Democrats— 6 or 32%
Republicans— 70%	Republicans— 30 or 41%	Republicans— 13 or 68%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 170

100th Congress
1st Session

June 30, 1987, 3:30 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-8981

TRADE AND COMPETITIVENESS ACT

BILL NO.: S. 1420 (H.R. 3)

AMENDMENT NO.: 356

TITLE: "Omnibus Trade and Competitiveness Act of 1987"

SUBJECT: **McConnell, et al., amendment which requires that annual appropriations to reimburse the Commodity Credit Corporation (CCC) for net realized losses be made by means of "a current indefinite appropriation."**

NOTE: Proponents noted that five times in the last two years the CCC was forced to halt payments of checks to farmers until Congress passed appropriations legislation to permit continued payments. The amendment would change the status of the CCC to that of a current indefinite appropriation, subject to the annual approval of the Appropriation Committees. Officers of the CCC would be required to make regular reports to the Appropriation Committees, but a separate bill would not be necessary every time the CCC needed money. This would allow the CCC account to remain viable throughout the year without sacrificing the congressional oversight authority. The amendment would have no effect on the budget as it is deficit neutral. Furthermore, the amendment would provide for a more permanent solution, whereas the supplemental appropriation would only provide temporary relief.

Opponents felt that the trade bill was not the appropriate vehicle for this type of legislation. Passage of the supplemental appropriations bill would result in the farmers getting their money immediately, and the Senate should concentrate on its passage.

S. 1420 (H.R. 3): Vote Nos. 158, 160, 161, 164, 166, 168-175, 177-208.

RESULT: **AMENDMENT AGREED TO**

YEAS (80)

Democrats (41 or 82%)

Baucus
Bentsen
Bingaman
Boren
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Hollings
Kennedy
Leahy
Matsunaga
Melcher
Mikulski
Mitchell
Nunn
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Simon
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans (39 or 87%)

Bond
Boschwitz
Chafee
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Evans
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hecht
Helms
Karnes
Kassebaum
Kasten
Lugar
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Nickles
Packwood
Pressler
Quayle
Rudman
Simpson
Specter
Stafford
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Warner
Weicker
Wilson

NAYS (15)

Democrats (9 or 18%)

Adams
Bradley
DeConcini
Glenn
Kerry
Lautenberg
Levin
Metzenbaum
Moynihan

Republicans (6 or 13%)

Armstrong
Hatfield
Heinz
Humphrey
Roth
Stevens

NOT VOTING (5)

Democrats (4)

Biden—[2]
Gore—[2AY]
Inouye—[2]
Johnston—[4]

Republicans (1)

Murkowski—[2]

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 82%
Republicans— 87%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (80)
Democrats— 41 or 51%
Republicans— 39 or 49%

Against (15)
Democrats— 9 or 60%
Republicans— 6 or 40%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 171

100th Congress
1st Session

June 30, 1987, 6:27 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-9004

TRADE AND COMPETITIVENESS ACT

BILL NO.: S. 1420 (H.R. 3) AMENDMENT NO.: 359

TITLE: "Omnibus Trade and Competitiveness Act of 1987"

SUBJECT: **Shelby motion to table the Garn-Heinz-Proxmire, et al., amendment (to the Shelby amendment No. 355) which requires the President to impose sanctions on the importation of the products of the Toshiba Corporation and Kongsberg Vaapenfabrik for not less than two years and not more than five years; authorizes the President to limit these sanctions under certain circumstances or to waive them if he determines that it is in the interest of national security or that the firm in question is a sole source supplier of essential defense articles, or for products under current contract which are necessary to satisfy U.S. operational military requirements; exempts from these sanctions imports that are shipped under contracts signed before May 1, 1987, and spare parts; and establishes a process for mandatory and discretionary sanctions against future COCOM violations.**

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment asserted that the recent disclosures of the sale of sensitive machining technology to the Soviet Union by the Toshiba and Kongsberg companies necessitated the proposed sanctions in order to protect the Nation from further security breaches. A permanent ban would not be practical because it would not provide an incentive for future cooperation. Barring all sales could significantly damage the U.S.' ability to maintain technological security as some of the equipment sold by Toshiba and Kongsberg is state-of-the-art high technology that is needed by DOD. Therefore, the amendment gives the President discretion to make exceptions in the case of defense procurement, existing contracts, sole routine services, information, and technology. In addition, the amendment would improve the international system for preventing future damage to U.S. national security by applying sanctions to future violators.

Opponents of the amendment insisted that the sanctions were not severe enough considering the damage that resulted from the security breach. Some argued that the amendment gives the President too much discretion. Other opponents apparently believed the sanctions went too far.

S. 1420 (H.R. 3): Vote Nos. 158, 160, 161, 164, 166, 168-175, 177-208.

RESULT: **MOTION TO TABLE FAILED**

YEAS (19)		NAYS (78)				NOT VOTING (3)	
Democrats (12 or 23%)	Republicans (7 or 16%)	Democrats (40 or 77%)		Republicans (38 or 84%)		Democrats (2)	Republicans (1)
Bingaman	Armstrong	Adams	Lautenberg	Bond	Karnes	Gore—^{2AN}	Murkowski—^{2AN}
Breaux	Gramm	Baucus	Leahy	Boschwitz	Kassebaum	Johnston—^{4}	
Bumpers	Pressler	Bentsen	Levin	Chafee	Kasten		
Byrd	Quayle	Biden	Matsunaga	Cochran	Lugar		
Chiles	Roth	Boren	Melcher	Cohen	McCain		
Conrad	Symms	Bradley	Metzenbaum	D'Amato	McClure		
Ford	Weicker	Burdick	Mikulski	Danforth	McConnell		
Heflin		Cranston	Mitchell	Dole	Nickles		
Hollings		Daschle	Moynihan	Domenici	Packwood		
Riegle		DeConcini	Nunn	Durenberger	Rudman		
Shelby		Dixon	Pell	Evans	Simpson		
Stennis		Dodd	Proxmire	Garn	Specter		
		Exon	Pryor	Grassley	Stafford		
		Fowler	Reid	Hatch	Stevens		
		Glenn	Rockefeller	Hatfield	Thurmond		
		Graham	Sanford	Hecht	Trible		
		Harkin	Sarbanes	Heinz	Wallop		
		Inouye	Sasser	Helms	Warner		
		Kennedy	Simon	Humphrey	Wilson		
		Kerry	Wirth				

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 77%
Republicans— 84%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (19)
Democrats— 12 or 63%
Republicans— 7 or 37%

Against (78)
Democrats— 40 or 51%
Republicans— 38 or 49%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 172

100th Congress
1st Session

June 30, 1987, 6:50 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-9004

TRADE AND COMPETITIVENESS ACT

BILL NO.: S. 1420 (H.R. 3) — AMENDMENT NO.: 359

TITLE: "Omnibus Trade and Competitiveness Act of 1987"

SUBJECT: **Garn-Heinz-Proxmire, et al., amendment (to the Shelby amendment No. 355) which requires the President to impose sanctions on the importation of products of the Toshiba Corporation and Kongsberg Vaapenfabrik for not less than two years and not more than five years; authorizes the President to limit these sanctions under certain circumstances or to waive them if he determines that it is in the interest of national security or that the firm in question is a sole source supplier of essential defense articles, or for products under current contract which are necessary to satisfy U.S. operational military requirements; exempts from these sanctions imports that are shipped under contracts signed before May 1, 1987, and spare parts; and establishes a process for mandatory and discretionary sanctions against future COCOM violations.** (Subsequently, the Shelby amendment No. 355, as amended by the Garn, et al., amendment No. 359, was agreed to by voice vote.)

NOTE: Proponents asserted that the recent disclosures of the sale of sensitive machining technology to the USSR by the Toshiba and Kongsberg companies necessitated the proposed sanctions in order to protect the U.S. from further security breaches. A permanent ban would not be practical because it would not provide an incentive for future cooperation. Barring all sales could significantly damage the U.S.' ability to maintain technological security as some of the equipment sold by Toshiba and Kongsberg is state-of-the art high technology that is needed by DOD. Therefore, the amendment gives the President the discretion to make exceptions in the case of defense procurement, existing contracts, sole source suppliers, coproduction agreements and spare parts essential to U.S. commercial production, routine services, information, and technology. In addition, it would improve the international system for preventing future damage to U.S. national security by applying sanctions to future violators.

Opponents insisted that the sanctions were not severe enough considering the damage that resulted from the security breach. Some argued that the amendment gives the President too much discretion. Other opponents apparently believed the sanctions went too far.

S. 1420 (H.R. 3): Vote Nos. 158, 160, 161, 164, 166, 168-175, 177-208.

RESULT: AMENDMENT AGREED TO

YEAS (92)

Democrats (49 or 94%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Biden
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Fowler
Glenn
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Hollings

Inouye
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Simon
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans (43 or 96%)

Armstrong
Bond
Boschwitz
Chafee
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hecht
Heinz
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes
Kassebaum
Kasten

Lugar
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Nickles
Packwood
Pressler
Quayle
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Specter
Stafford
Stevens
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Warner
Weicker
Wilson

NAYS (5)

Democrats (3 or 6%)

Ford
Riegle
Shelby

Republicans (2 or 4%)

Evans
Hatfield

NOT VOTING (3)

Democrats (2)

Gore—2AY
Johnston—4

Republicans (1)

Murkowski—2AY

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 94%
Republicans— 96%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (92)
Democrats— 49 or 53%
Republicans— 43 or 47%

Against (5)
Democrats— 3 or 60%
Republicans— 2 or 40%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 173

100th Congress
1st Session

June 30, 1987, 9:04 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-9012

TRADE AND COMPETITIVENESS ACT

BILL NO.: S. 1420 (H.R. 3)

AMENDMENT NO.: 362

TITLE: "Omnibus Trade and Competitiveness Act of 1987"

SUBJECT: **Melcher-Exon, et al., amendment which states the sense of the Congress that the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) negotiation process should be used to achieve a significant reduction in the high tariffs imposed on wheat gluten by other countries; the President should aggressively take all appropriate steps to defend the domestic wheat gluten industry should such negotiations fail to equalize gluten import duties; the Secretary of Agriculture should favorably consider industry proposals that utilize the agricultural export enhancement and targeted export assistance programs and should promote the use of wheat gluten to enhance wheat flour offered through various foreign food assistance programs; and requires the Secretary of Agriculture to report to Congress, within 120 days of enactment, on the impact of the current international tariff structure on the U.S. wheat gluten industry.**

NOTE: Proponents argued that the U.S. market for wheat gluten is far more open than that of many other countries, to the disadvantage of the U.S. industry. They argued that fairness dictates foreign countries lower their tariffs to a level comparable to the U.S.

S. 1420 (H.R. 3): Vote Nos. 158, 160, 161, 164, 166, 168-175, 177-208.

RESULT: AMENDMENT AGREED TO

YEAS (94)

Democrats (50 or 100%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Biden
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Glenn
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Hollings
Inouye
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Simon
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans (44 or 100%)

Armstrong
Boschwitz
Chafee
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Evans
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hatfield
Hecht
Heinz
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes
Kassebaum
Kasten
Lugar
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Nickles
Packwood
Pressler
Quayle
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Specter
Stafford
Stevens
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Warner
Weicker
Wilson

NAYS (0)

Democrats (0 or 0%)

Republicans (0 or 0%)

NOT VOTING (6)

Democrats (4)

Fowler—2
Gore—2AY
Johnston—4
Nunn—2

Republicans (2)

Bond—2
Murkowski—2

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 100%
Republicans— 100%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (94)
Democrats— 50 or 53%
Republicans— 44 or 47%

Against (0)
Democrats— 0 or 0%
Republicans— 0 or 0%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 174

100th Congress
1st Session

July 1, 1987, 9:30 a.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-9086

TRADE AND COMPETITIVENESS ACT

BILL NO.: S. 1420 (H.R. 3)

AMENDMENT NO.: 363

TITLE: "Omnibus Trade and Competitiveness Act of 1987"

SUBJECT: **Wilson, et al., amendment stating the sense of the Congress that Japan should liberalize its trade policies by lowering high tariffs and removing quotas on competitive agricultural exports of the U.S., and should perform these actions in a prompt and timely manner to avoid any damage to the close relations between Japan and the U.S.**

NOTE: Proponents asserted that the protectionist trade policy practiced by Japan is an affront to U.S. agricultural exporters attempting to sell their products in Japan. American agricultural products are competitive in quality and price with Japanese products, but Japan does not permit U.S. producers the market access that the U.S. permits Japanese exports. Moreover, Japan has resisted efforts by the U.S. to form a panel under article 23 of GATT to discuss Japan's illegal import quotas with regard to 12 agricultural products. These actions are now beginning to alienate those members of the Senate who had resisted the move toward sanctions against Japan. One of the most notable examples of Japan's protectionism is rice, which the Japanese Food Agency buys primarily from Japanese producers at nearly ten times the world market price. It buys two-tenths of one percent of its rice from the U.S., limited largely to rice used in specialty items. Consequently, Japanese consumers are spending nearly $25 billion to support their own rice growers, while American producers are being denied sales that could amount to $1.7 billion per year. A similar situation exists with beef and citrus products. If Japan were to remove these unfair trade barriers, the U.S. trade deficit, which totaled $58.6 billion in 1986, would be reduced, and a signal would be received here in the U.S. that Japan is now willing to be a fair trading partner in the global trading system that defines today's marketplace.

S. 1420 (H.R. 3): Vote Nos. 158, 160, 161, 164, 166, 168-175, 177-208.

RESULT: **AMENDMENT AGREED TO**

YEAS (94)

Democrats (49 or 100%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Hollings
Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans (45 or 100%)

Armstrong
Bond
Boschwitz
Chafee
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Evans
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hatfield
Hecht
Heinz
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes
Kassebaum
Kasten
Lugar
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Nickles
Packwood
Pressler
Quayle
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Specter
Stafford
Stevens
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Warner
Weicker
Wilson

NAYS (0)

Democrats (0 or 0%)

Republicans (0 or 0%)

NOT VOTING (6)

Democrats (5)

Biden—2
Dodd—2
Gore—2AY
Matsunaga—2
Simon—2

Republicans (1)

Murkowski—2AY

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 100%
Republicans— 100%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (94)
Democrats 49 or 52%
Republicans 45 or 48%

Against (0)
Democrats— 0 or 0%
Republicans— 0 or 0%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 175

100th Congress
1st Session

July 1, 1987, 1:03 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-9118

TRADE AND COMPETITIVENESS ACT

BILL NO.: S. 1420 (H.R. 3) **AMENDMENT NO.:** 364

TITLE: "Omnibus Trade and Competitiveness Act of 1987"

SUBJECT: **Bradley-Packwood, et al., amendment to strike section 502 which requires the President to establish a national oil import ceiling at or below 50 percent of U.S. consumption, as determined annually by the Secretary of Commerce for that year and the two succeeding years; requires the President, if the ceiling is exceeded within the three-year period, to submit to Congress, within 90 days, an energy production and oil security policy utilizing the authorities accorded to him by the Trade Expansion Act of 1962 (which allows the President to adjust such imports to levels that will not threaten national security); and provides that such policy shall take effect unless both Houses of Congress disapprove it within 90 days.**

NOTE: Proponents asserted that section 502 is aimed at protecting the domestic oil industry and represents an abdication of legislative responsibility for developing a national energy policy. It calls for the President to act on the basis of authority contained in the Trade Expansion Act, which is so ill defined that the President is left with a broad set of options that could result in the imposition of an oil import fee, establishment of quotas, invasion of wilderness areas, decontrol of natural gas prices, or changes in tax policy. While Congress is permitted to modify the measures for limiting oil imports by joint resolution, such modification could be prevented by a vote of one-third plus one in either House voting to sustain the President's veto. Moreover, the President is permitted to adjust the ceiling below 50 percent, about which Congress could do nothing. Because the provision makes Presidential action mandatory, it could force action when it is unwarranted. Today, the U.S. imports eight percent of its oil from the Persian Gulf, compared to 28 percent in the 1970's. Most oil now is imported from such reliable sources as Canada, Mexico, and Venezuela. In addition, the U.S. has more than a 100-day supply of oil in the strategic petroleum reserve, compared to a ten-day supply in the 1970's, and there

(OVER)

S. 1420 (H.R. 3): Vote Nos. 158, 160, 161, 164, 166, 168-175, 177-208.

RESULT: **AMENDMENT AGREED TO** ADMINISTRATION POSITION: NAY

YEAS (55)

Democrats
(22 or 43%)

Adams
Bradley
Byrd
Cranston
Dixon
Dodd
Glenn
Graham
Harkin
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Matsunaga
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Pell
Proxmire
Rockefeller
Sarbanes

Republicans
(33 or 73%)

Armstrong
Bond
Boschwitz
Chafee
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Durenberger
Evans
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Heinz
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes

Kasten
Lugar
McCain
McConnell
Packwood
Pressler
Quayle
Roth
Rudman
Specter
Stafford
Symms
Trible
Warner
Weicker
Wilson

NAYS (41)

Democrats
(29 or 57%)

Baucus
Bentsen
Bingaman
Boren
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Chiles
Conrad
Daschle
DeConcini
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Heflin
Hollings
Inouye
Johnston
Levin
Melcher
Nunn
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Sanford
Sasser
Shelby
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans
(12 or 27%)

Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Hatfield
Hecht
Kassebaum
McClure
Nickles
Simpson
Stevens
Thurmond
Wallop

NOT VOTING (4)

Democrats (3)

Biden—2
Gore—2AN
Simon—2

Republicans (1)

Murkowski—2AN

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 57%
Republicans— 73%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (55)
Democrats— 22 or 40%
Republicans— 33 or 60%

Against (41)
Democrats— 29 or 71%
Republicans— 12 or 29%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C Byrd, Chairman

exists ten billion barrels of excess production capacity in the world, compared to 2.8 billion in the 1970's. The provision will not prevent the problems experienced in the 1970's; it will not prevent price increases, since the price is set by the world market; and it will not avoid the long gas lines since that problem resulted from price controls and allocations by bureaucracies established to shift around oil supplies. It also will not reduce the U.S. commitment to its allies and its presence in the Persian Gulf. Instead of subsidizing domestic oil producers, the Senate should be considering policies to allow for new capacity in an emergency, tax breaks for depletion, a larger strategic petroleum reserve, effective management planning, and an economy that is flexible with respect to fuel use and supply. It also should begin to develop various alternative sources of energy—such as nuclear, tar sands, oil shale, hydroelectric, superconductivity, and coal, of which the U.S. has a 400-year supply, compared to a 35-year supply of oil.

Opponents asserted that the section would ensure that the U.S. has some sort of energy policy when imports reach a specific crisis level, so that the U.S. will not be subject to the sudden, dramatic, and unpredictable price increases experienced in the 1970's. The provision does not grant the President any new powers; nor does it commit him to any specific action, permit the violation of environmental regulations, or detract from the role of Congress to modify or block the President's policy. The powers contained in section 232 have been tested by congressional action, they pointed out, when Congress successfully blocked President Carter's attempt to impose a conservation fee. Since the U.S. spends as much as $40 billion a year to keep the Persian Gulf lanes open, some argued, it should be prepared to protect the ability of the U.S. to respond to an energy crisis. The U.S. has a number of alternative sources of domestic energy but cannot wait until there is energy crisis to decide to begin developing them. Dependence on foreign energy is a national security threat, and an embargo comparable to that experienced in 1973 would cost the U.S. over $700 billion in GNP, two million jobs, and would double the inflation rate. Moreover, OPEC's artificially low prices are destroying the U.S. oil industry. While the U.S. now gets most of its imported oil from sources other than the Persian Gulf, the country is still susceptible to the effects of a Persian Gulf embargo, since an embargo would increase competition among the industrial nations for the available supplies from other countries, resulting in shortages and price increases.

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 176

100th Congress
1st Session

July 1, 1987, 5:55 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-9168

SUPPLEMENTAL APPROPRIATIONS, 1987

BILL NO.: H.R. 1827 **AMENDMENT NO.:** 370

TITLE: "Supplemental Appropriations Act, 1987"

SUBJECT: **Stennis motion to table the Melcher substitute amendment (for the House amendment to the Senate amendment No. 387) to require the Secretary of Labor to develop and furnish to Congress, within 180 days of enactment, a Consumer Price Index which reflects the distribution of expenditures and the inflation rate on goods and services which are purchased by retired individuals who are 62 years of age or older. (See also Vote No. 125.)**

NOTE: Proponents (voting nay) asserted that the amendment was necessitated by the increasing disparity in costs of purchases older Americans are required to make for medical and other needs and those made by other Americans. The Consumer Price Index does not adequately reflect the inflation rate in key services that are essential to the elderly. The January 1 cost-of-living increase of 1.3 percent did not reflect increased cost for those Americans who have to live on Social Security benefits, railroad retirement, or military pensions. An inflation index directed at the elderly would give Congress a more accurate picture of the impact of inflation on the lives of older Americans. This study would be done with available funds and would be revenue neutral.

Opponents (voting yea) displayed no opposition to the concept of the amendment but urged that this was neither the time nor place to debate the amendment. Its passage could hold up the entire supplemental appropriations bill, since the House conferees were adamant in refusing to accept this amendment. The Older Americans authorization will be considered very soon and it should be part of that reauthorization.

H.R. 1827: Vote Nos. 98, 100, 117-145, 176.

RESULT: **MOTION TO TABLE AGREED TO**

YEAS (50)		NAYS (42)		NOT VOTING (8)	
Democrats (24 or 49%)	**Republicans (26 or 60%)**	**Democrats (25 or 51%)**	**Republicans (17 or 40%)**	**Democrats (5)**	**Republicans (3)**
Adams	Armstrong	Baucus	Boschwitz	Biden—2	Evans—2
Bentsen	Bond	Bingaman	Chafee	Cranston—2	Garn—2
Boren	Cochran	Bradley	Cohen	Dodd—2	Murkowski—2
Breaux	Danforth	Bumpers	D'Amato	Gore—2	
Chiles	Dole	Burdick	Domenici	Simon—2	
Conrad	Gramm	Byrd	Durenberger		
Daschle	Grassley	DeConcini	Hecht		
Dixon	Hatch	Glenn	Heinz		
Exon	Hatfield	Graham	Helms		
Ford	Karnes	Heflin	Humphrey		
Fowler	Kassebaum	Inouye	McCain		
Harkin	Kasten	Kennedy	Pressler		
Hollings	Lugar	Levin	Specter		
Johnston	McClure	Melcher	Thurmond		
Kerry	McConnell	Metzenbaum	Trible		
Lautenberg	Nickles	Mikulski	Warner		
Leahy	Packwood	Mitchell	Wilson		
Matsunaga	Quayle	Moynihan			
Nunn	Roth	Pell			
Reid	Rudman	Proxmire			
Sanford	Simpson	Pryor			
Sarbanes	Stafford	Riegle			
Stennis	Stevens	Rockefeller			
Wirth	Symms	Sasser			
	Wallop	Shelby			
	Weicker				

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 51%
Republicans— 60%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (50)
Democrats— 24 or 48%
Republicans— 26 or 52%

Against (42)
Democrats— 25 or 60%
Republicans— 17 or 40%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 177

100th Congress
1st Session

July 7, 1987, 3:55 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-9292

TRADE AND COMPETITIVENESS ACT

BILL NO.: S. 1420 (H.R. 3)

AMENDMENT NO.: 426

TITLE: "Omnibus Trade and Competitiveness Act of 1987"

SUBJECT: **Pell motion to table the Nickles, et al., amendment to insert the text of the Foreign Agricultural Investment Reform (FAIR) Act which instructs the U.S. representatives to multilateral development banks to withhold funds for the subsidization of foreign competition in minerals or agricultural products, effective on October 2, 1987.** (Subsequently, the Symms-Nickles, et al., substitute amendment for the Nickles amendment was agreed to by voice vote. The substitute has an October 1, 1987, effective date.)

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment claimed that the World Bank and the multilateral development banks are making loans to Third World nations to develop agricultural sectors for products already in surplus, despite U.S. protests. Such loans also are being made for coal, natural gas, and petroleum development. The Foreign Agriculture Investment Reform amendment, which the Senate has already passed three times, would address this trade-distorting process. It would not result in penalties for loans made to countries where it is economical to produce a commodity. Using U.S. tax dollars to finance foreign competitors who cannot produce economically only adds to existing surpluses, and hurts U.S. farmers. Moreover, these loans are creating a debt service situation for developing nations that forces them to produce at any cost to meet loan obligations. This often leads to irreversible environmental damage that negates any economic advantages gained from agricultural development. Consequently, a country like Brazil, with the West's eighth largest economy, has one of the poorest levels of health, education, and housing. Recent studies suggest that loans for agricultural development are unnecessary, since food importing nations have been shown to have a stronger growth in GNP, a faster rise in per capita income, and less debt than nations which subsidize agricultural production.

(OVER)

S. 1420 (H.R. 3): Vote Nos. 158, 160, 161, 164, 166, 168-175, 177-208.

RESULT: **MOTION TO TABLE FAILED**

YEAS (34)

Democrats (25 or 50%)

Adams
Bingaman
Bradley
Cranston
Daschle
Dodd
Gore
Harkin
Inouye
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Metzenbaum
Mitchell
Moynihan
Pell
Proxmire
Riegle
Sanford
Sarbanes
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans (9 or 21%)

Chafee
Evans
Hatfield
Humphrey
Kassebaum
Lugar
Packwood
Stafford
Weicker

NAYS (58)

Democrats (25 or 50%)

Baucus
Bentsen
Boren
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Dixon
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Graham
Heflin
Hollings
Johnston
Melcher
Mikulski
Nunn
Pryor
Reid
Rockefeller
Sasser
Shelby

Republicans (33 or 79%)

Armstrong
Bond
Boschwitz
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hecht
Heinz
Helms
Karnes

Kasten
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Quayle
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Specter
Stevens
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Warner

NOT VOTING (8)

Democrats (4)

Biden—2
DeConcini—2AN
Glenn—2
Simon—2

Republicans (4)

Danforth—2
Pressler—2
Wallop—2
Wilson—2

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 50%
Republicans— 79%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (34)
Democrats— 25 or 74%
Republicans— 9 or 26%

Against (58)
Democrats— 25 or 43%
Republicans— 33 or 57%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

Opponents of the amendment supported eliminating agricultural subsidies, but disagreed with proceeding in a way that hurts the multilateral banking system. Not only would the amendment remove U.S. capital from the banks, but it would prohibit them from borrowing on the U.S. capital markets, thus threatening their ability to operate. It, too, would reduce U.S. voting power in the multilaterals and U.S. influence regarding policies with which it does not agree. Moreover, the amendment's impact has not been assessed by the Foreign Relations Committee, and there has been no study of whether these loans have done any harm. According to the Treasury Department, which opposes the amendment, questions have been raised regarding only 100 of the 2,200 loans made over the last four years. Some members raised concern about the amendment's ambiguous use of "surplus" and noted that using the multilaterals for political purposes would invite other nations to do the same. This is not the FAIR amendment passed by the Senate previously: it does not include tests for whether injury has been done to a U.S. producer, or whether the products in question were intended for export. There are laws less than one year old designed to accomplish the same goal which have not been given time to work. Some members defended the loans, explaining that strengthening the agricultural bases of developing nations will ultimately lead to increased agricultural exports for the U.S. The U.S. helped Korea develop its agricultural base twenty years ago, and it now imports $1 billion a year in U.S. agricultural products. Instead of reducing its commitment to developing countries, the U.S. should support the Administration's initiative to eliminate worldwide agricultural subsidies, leveling the field with the biggest U.S. competitors—Canada, Australia, and the European Economic Community—which receive nothing from the multilateral banks.

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 178

100th Congress
1st Session

July 7, 1987, 10:03 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-9328

TRADE AND COMPETITIVENESS ACT

BILL NO.: S. 1420 (H.R. 3)

AMENDMENT NO.: 431

TITLE: "Omnibus Trade and Competitiveness Act of 1987"

SUBJECT: **Packwood-Evans-Roth amendment to restore the President's discretionary authority, under Section 201 of the Trade Act of 1974, to weigh the general public good, and the Nation's economic interest in deciding whether to grant relief, as recommended by the International Trade Commission (ITC), to industries injured by fair import competition.**

NOTE: Proponents asserted that the President should be permitted to keep the discretionary authority available under current law because Section 201 requires the ITC only to determine the level of tariff or quota relief needed to help an industry; the Commission is not required to consider the effect of the relief on the Nation in terms of jobs, possible retaliation, and increased consumer costs. Moreover, the bill gives the ITC power that many questioned, since its members are not elected, and its decisions might not reflect the views of the current Administration. It would hurt the Nation's most competitive businesses: since Section 201 cases do not involve alleged unfair trade practices, it is legal for affected countries to retaliate with tariffs on U.S. products. Rather than try to protect every U.S. business, some suggested that the U.S. focus on just those businesses that the U.S. excels in, as does Japan. The amendment does not affect the positive adjustment plan in the bill, which requires businesses seeking relief to make a commitment to becoming competitive. Presidential discretion has worked well, they noted; of the six Section 201 cases to come before President Reagan, four received some level of protection.

Opponents countered that restoring Presidential discretion would unbalance the Section 201 provisions in the bill, which are designed to promote positive adjustment in industries heavily affected by imports. New provisions in this bill would require, for the first time, that businesses make a substantial commitment to either adjust to competition or move their resources to more productive areas. This limitation is placed on Presidential discretion so that businesses that successfully meet the bill's more demanding requirements would be assured government support. Section 201 has not worked well;

(OVER)

S. 1420 (H.R. 3): Vote Nos. 158, 160, 161, 164, 166, 168-175, 177-208.

RESULT: **AMENDMENT REJECTED**

ADMINISTRATION POSITION: YEA

YEAS (41)

Democrats (8 or 15%)

Adams
Conrad
Cranston
Dodd
Graham
Harkin
Kerry
Wirth

Republicans (33 or 75%)

Armstrong
Boschwitz
Chafee
Cochran
Dole
Durenberger
Evans
Garn
Gramm
Hatch
Hatfield
Hecht
Humphrey
Karnes
Kassebaum
Lugar
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Packwood
Pressler
Quayle
Roth
Simpson
Stafford
Stevens
Symms
Trible
Wallop
Warner
Weicker

NAYS (55)

Democrats (44 or 85%)

Baucus
Bentsen
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Gore
Heflin
Hollings
Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Stennis

Republicans (11 or 25%)

Bond
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Domenici
Grassley
Heinz
Helms
Kasten
Specter
Thurmond

NOT VOTING (4)

Democrats (2)

Biden—2
Simon—2AN

Republicans (2)

Rudman—2
Wilson—2

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 85%
Republicans— 75%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (41)
Democrats— 8 or 20%
Republicans— 33 or 80%

Against (55)
Democrats— 44 or 80%
Republicans— 11 or 20%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C Byrd, Chairman

during the Reagan period of rapidly increasing imports, only six section 201 cases have been filed; in the four cases where some relief was granted, the industries were not required to make commitments to adjust. The ITC is well-suited to process petitions for relief because it is not subject to political pressures. The amendment would create a situation that is worse than current law because it removes the government commitment but leaves in place the added commitment from industry. It would be much more difficult for businesses to get import relief, and only those politically powerful enough to lobby Congress would obtain help.

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 179

100th Congress
1st Session

July 8, 1987, 10:42 a.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-9384

TRADE AND COMPETITIVENESS ACT

BILL NO.: S. 1420 (H.R. 3)

AMENDMENT NO.: 433

TITLE: "Omnibus Trade and Competitiveness Act of 1987"

SUBJECT: **Domenici, et al., amendment which gives the President discretionary authority, under section 301 of the Trade Act, to retaliate against foreign subsidization (including the provision of funds on terms inconsistent with commercial consideration} of excess capacity to produce nonagricultural, fungible goods such as copper, steel, potash, coal, aluminum, and other minerals.** (Section 301 presently permits, but does not require, the President to take action to eliminate the unreasonable practice through negotiations, suspension of trade agreements, or imposition of duties or import restrictions.)

NOTE: Proponents asserted that making the subsidization of excess capacity an unfair trade practice will attack the source of world oversupply without turning to import restrictions or protectionism, and discourage foreign governments from contributing to world oversupply. Governments are becoming increasingly involved in the production of nonagricultural fungible goods, and their strategy is not to show a profit, but to gain and hold on to as large a market share as they can. Consequently, decisions to subsidize additional production capacity are not based on sound commercial considerations, and U.S. businesses are suffering as a result. The amendment would ensure that domestic industries are adequately protected against the effects of this subsidized overcapacity. The President would have discretionary authority over implementing the relief, which would allow for subsidies that might be essential to a nation's economic development.

Opponents countered that U.S. credibility in world trade would be weakened by this amendment, since it allows retaliation for practices that do not distort trade and sets a definition of unfairness that varies from industry to industry. It also distorts the purpose of Section 301, they argued, which is to open up foreign markets for U.S. exports, and invites retaliation against U.S. agricultural exports. The amendment does not recognize that additional capacity might be more efficient than existing capacity, or that subsidizing additional capacity does not necessarily distort trade. The U.S. subsidizes excess capacity production in agriculture, they pointed out, which does not distort trade. The real reason for the commodity price slump in the world is the pressure on developing countries to earn hard currency to pay off debts. Rather than pursue a course of action that increases the likelihood of Third World default, the Senate should be exploring selective interest rate relief and debt forgiveness, since reducing these obligations will reduce the necessity to export.

S. 1420 (H.R. 3): Vote Nos. 158, 160, 161, 164, 166, 168-175, 177-208.

RESULT: **AMENDMENT AGREED TO**

YEAS (71)

Democrats (35 or 66%)

Baucus
Bentsen
Biden
Bingaman
Boren
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Exon
Ford
Glenn
Gore
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Hollings
Inouye
Johnston
Levin
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Stennis

Republicans (36 or 78%)

Armstrong
Bond
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hecht
Heinz
Helms
Kassebaum
Kasten
Lugar
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Pressler
Quayle
Rudman
Simpson
Specter
Stevens
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Warner
Wilson

NAYS (28)

Democrats (18 or 34%)

Adams
Bradley
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Dodd
Fowler
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Matsunaga
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Proxmire
Wirth

Republicans (10 or 22%)

Boschwitz
Chafee
Evans
Hatfield
Humphrey
Karnes
Packwood
Roth
Stafford
Weicker

NOT VOTING (1)

Democrats (1)

Simon—^{2}

Republicans (0)

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 66%
Republicans— 78%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (71)
Democrats— 35 or 49%
Republicans— 36 or 51%

Against (28)
Democrats— 18 or 64%
Republicans— 10 or 36%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 180

100th Congress
1st Session

July 9, 1987, 9:30 a.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-9494

TRADE AND COMPETITIVENESS ACT

BILL NO.: S. 1420 (H.R. 3)

AMENDMENT NO.: 442

TITLE: "Omnibus Trade and Competitiveness Act of 1987"

SUBJECT: **Quayle-Boren amendment to strike the plant closing provisions of the bill which require employers who employ at least 100 full-time workers to give 60 days notice of plant closings and mass layoffs.**

NOTE: Proponents insisted that inclusion of mass layoff and closedown notification provisions would invite Presidential veto of the trade bill. Their requirements would put an unfair burden on small- and medium-size businesses and impede American competitiveness by imposing unnecessary bureaucratic burdens. Such a notification requirement would force employers to make the decision to close a plant two months earlier than they might otherwise. All the major business groups oppose these notification provisions. While certain modifications to the original language have improved these provisions, they are still seriously flawed and would invite litigation.

Opponents asserted that most businesses recognize that notification is the responsible approach. Several recent studies have found that blue collar workers typically receive only a few days' notice, but that they are more successful at finding a good job when they receive a couple of months' notice. The provisions are essential to the effectiveness of the bill's expanded job training provisions that will increase participation in worker adjustment programs and make a significant decrease in unemployment. The provisions do not apply to employers who employ less than 100 full-time non-seasonal workers. Additionally, an employer is exempt from the provision if the employer was actively pursuing measures, such as raising capital or business that would avoid or indefinitely postpone the closing, and the employer reasonably believed that giving notice would prevent such actions from succeeding.

S. 1420 (H.R. 3): Vote Nos. 158, 160, 161, 164, 166, 168-175, 177-208.

RESULT: **AMENDMENT REJECTED**

YEAS (40)			NAYS (60)			NOT VOTING (0)	
Democrat (4 or 7%)	**Republicans (36 or 78%)**		**Democrats (50 or 93%)**		**Republicans (10 or 22%)**	**Democrats (0)**	**Republicans (0)**
Boren	Armstrong	Kasten	Adams	Johnston	Cohen		
Bumpers	Bond	Lugar	Baucus	Kennedy	D'Amato		
Hollings	Boschwitz	McCain	Bentsen	Kerry	Durenberger		
Pryor	Chafee	McClure	Biden	Lautenberg	Hatfield		
	Cochran	McConnell	Bingaman	Leahy	Heinz		
	Danforth	Murkowski	Bradley	Levin	Packwood		
	Dole	Nickles	Breaux	Matsunaga	Specter		
	Domenici	Pressler	Burdick	Melcher	Stafford		
	Evans	Quayle	Byrd	Metzenbaum	Stevens		
	Garn	Roth	Chiles	Mikulski	Weicker		
	Gramm	Rudman	Conrad	Mitchell			
	Grassley	Simpson	Cranston	Moynihan			
	Hatch	Symms	Daschle	Nunn			
	Hecht	Thurmond	DeConcini	Pell			
	Helms	Trible	Dixon	Proxmire			
	Humphrey	Wallop	Dodd	Reid			
	Karnes	Warner	Exon	Riegle			
	Kassebaum	Wilson	Ford	Rockefeller			
			Fowler	Sanford			
			Glenn	Sarbanes			
			Gore	Sasser			
			Graham	Shelby			
			Harkin	Simon			
			Heflin	Stennis			
			Inouye	Wirth			

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 93%
Republicans— 78%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (40)
Democrats— 4 or 10%
Republicans— 36 or 90%

Against (60)
Democrats— 50 or 83%
Republicans— 10 or 17%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 181

100th Congress
1st Session

July 9, 1987, 9:56 a.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-9495

TRADE AND COMPETITIVENESS ACT
(CLOTURE)

BILL NO.: S. 1420 (H.R. 3) **AMENDMENT NO.:** 367

TITLE: "Omnibus Trade and Competitiveness Act of 1987"

SUBJECT: **Sasser, et al., motion to close further debate on the Moynihan, et al., amendment expressing the sense of the Congress that: the U.S. should seek a settlement of the Iran-Iraq war through diplomatic means and pursue, through the U.N., efforts to (1) effect mandatory sanctions including an arms embargo, against any combatant state which fails to cooperate in establishing a negotiated cease-fire, and (2) promote a cessation by Iran and Iraq of shipping attacks in the Persian Gulf; the U.S. should deploy such naval forces in, or proximate to, the Persian Gulf as necessary to protect the right of free transit through the Strait of Hormuz, and work closely with the Persian Gulf states to reestablish stability, security, and peace in the region; the President should, in implementing these policies, take the steps necessary to achieve the cooperation of interested parties, particularly naval powers among the major importers of Persian Gulf oil and the Gulf Cooperation Council nations; the President should seek to convene a conference of exporters and importers of Persian Gulf oil to assess means for ensuring the free flow of oil, promoting freedom of navigation, deescalating hostilities, contributing to a negotiated end to the Iran-Iraq war, and developing a long-term policy which advances the strategic interests of the West and to states of the region; the proposed reflagging of Kuwaiti tankers should be delayed pending the outcome of these initiatives; and the U.S. should preserve its military flexibility in the Persian Gulf and not commit itself rigidly and exclusively to any narrow protection regime, such as convoying, for one country or specific group of ships, and should explore cooperative efforts involving other naval powers and the regional states to ensure the free transit of oil.** (See also Vote No. 189.)

NOTE: The cloture petition, presented on July 7, 1987, was signed by Senators Sasser, Glenn, Pell, Kennedy, Kerry, Bumpers, Riegle, Byrd, Bentsen, Johnston, Burdick, Moynihan, Daschle, Levin,

(OVER)

S. 1420 (H.R. 3): Vote Nos. 158, 160, 161, 164, 166, 168-175, 177-208.

RESULT: **CLOTURE MOTION REJECTED, 3/5THS NOT HAVING VOTED IN THE AFFIRMATIVE**

YEAS (57)			NAYS (42)			NOT VOTING (1)	
Democrats (52 or 98%)		Republicans (5 or 11%)	Democrats (1 or 2%)	Republicans (41 or 89%)		Democrats (1)	Republicans (0)
Adams	Johnston	Hatfield	Boren	Armstrong	Kasten	Gore—2	
Baucus	Kennedy	Humphrey		Bond	Lugar		
Bentsen	Kerry	Roth		Boschwitz	McCain		
Biden	Lautenberg	Specter		Chafee	McClure		
Bingaman	Leahy	Weicker		Cochran	McConnell		
Bradley	Levin			Cohen	Murkowski		
Breaux	Matsunaga			D'Amato	Nickles		
Bumpers	Melcher			Danforth	Packwood		
Burdick	Metzenbaum			Dole	Pressler		
Byrd	Mikulski			Domenici	Quayle		
Chiles	Mitchell			Durenberger	Rudman		
Conrad	Moynihan			Evans	Simpson		
Cranston	Nunn			Garn	Stafford		
Daschle	Pell			Gramm	Stevens		
DeConcini	Proxmire			Grassley	Symms		
Dixon	Pryor			Hatch	Thurmond		
Dodd	Reid			Hecht	Trible		
Exon	Riegle			Heinz	Wallop		
Ford	Rockefeller			Helms	Warner		
Fowler	Sanford			Karnes	Wilson		
Glenn	Sarbanes			Kassebaum			
Graham	Sasser						
Harkin	Shelby						
Heflin	Simon						
Hollings	Stennis						
Inouye	Wirth						

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion	Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on	
	For (57)	*Against* (42)
Democrats— 98%	Democrats— 52 or 91%	Democrats— 1 or 2%
Republicans— 89%	Republicans— 5 or 9%	Republicans— 41 or 98%

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Conrad, and Chiles. Some Senators voted for cloture reluctantly, feeling that the vote should occur on invoking the war powers resolution, not on a toothless "sense of the Congress" resolution.

Proponents of the amendment (and cloture) noted that the Senate has carefully examined the President's reflagging/convoying proposal and finds it seriously flawed. It appears, they argued, that the Administration rushed to this solution without consulting Congress as a political reaction to the secret sale of arms to Iran. This amendment represents a serious effort to avoid getting involved as a participating belligerent in the Iran-Iraq war. None of the reasons given for this policy—freedom of navigation, freedom of flow of oil, the lack of Soviet influence—stands up to scrutiny.

Opponents of the amendment (and cloture) maintained that it was an effort to embarrass the Administration. The National Security adviser has written the Republican leader that reflagging of any Kuwaiti tanker will not occur before mid-July. Therefore, no emergency exists to consider this matter before the Fourth of July recess. The President has consulted with Congress and plans to consult further after the recess. The amendment does not belong on the trade bill, and precious time should not be wasted at this point. Others felt it an empty gesture; the Senate should demand compliance with the war powers resolution.

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 182

100th Congress
1st Session

July 9, 1987, 11:20 a.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-9510

TRADE AND COMPETITIVENESS ACT

BILL NO.: S. 1420 (H.R. 3)

AMENDMENT NO.: 448

TITLE: "Omnibus Trade and Competitiveness Act of 1987"

SUBJECT: **Stevens motion to table the DeConcini-Dole-Chiles, et al., amendment which prohibits the importation of products from Angola and the exportation of U.S. goods or technology to Angola, except for disaster relief and U.S. petroleum extraction products bound for Angola as a result of contracts entered into prior to July 1, 1987, or upon Presidential certification that all Cuban and Soviet troops have been withdrawn from Angola and Angola has made certain democratic changes to its government.**

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment stated that U.S. policy regarding Angola is inconsistent. The U.S. provides aid to support the UNITA anti-government forces, but in effect helps finance the present Marxist government by allowing American companies to continue to operate in Angola. The U.S.-run oil fields provide them several advantages. The revenues derived from oil exports are used to buy more Soviet arms and pay for the Cuban troops. The U.S. should continue to assist UNITA and use every possible economic measure to make the MPLA government realize that it cannot continue its repression of the Angolan people. An embargo would exhaust the resources which Angola wastefully expends for weapons and troops. America has no security in its oil supplies from Angola, proponents asserted, and never will until the Cubans go home, the war ends, and a new government is set up.

Opponents of the amendment contended that an embargo against Angola would make less economic and political sense than the U.S. embargo on grain to Russia did several years ago. Withdrawal of American firms and currency would not necessarily result in the withdrawal of Cuban troops or Soviet support. Angola has been suffering declining oil prices over the past 18 months, but not one Cuban soldier has left. However, the embargo would have an adverse impact of about $2 billion a year on the American economy. Pulling American firms out of Angola would allow the Europeans and Japanese

(OVER)

S. 1420 (H.R. 3): Vote Nos. 158, 160, 161, 164, 166, 168-175, 177-208.

RESULT: **MOTION TO TABLE AGREED TO**

YEAS (61)

Democrats (36 or 68%)

Adams
Baucus
Biden
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
Dodd
Fowler
Glenn
Harkin
Inouye
Johnston

Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Moynihan
Pell
Pryor
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Simon
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans (25 or 54%)

Bond
Boschwitz
Chafee
Cochran
Cohen
Danforth
Durenberger
Evans
Garn
Hatfield
Heinz
Karnes
Kassebaum
Lugar
Murkowski
Nickles
Packwood
Quayle
Roth
Simpson
Specter
Stafford
Stevens
Warner
Weicker

NAYS (38)

Democrats (17 or 32%)

Bentsen
Byrd
Chiles
DeConcini
Dixon
Exon
Ford
Graham
Heflin
Hollings
Melcher
Mitchell
Nunn
Proxmire
Reid
Sasser
Shelby

Republicans (21 or 46%)

Armstrong
D'Amato
Dole
Domenici
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hecht
Helms
Humphrey
Kasten
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Pressler
Rudman
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Wilson

NOT VOTING (1)

Democrats (1) **Republicans (0)**

Gore—2AY

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 68%
Republicans— 54%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (61)
Democrats— 36 or 59%
Republicans— 25 or 41%

Against (38)
Democrats— 17 or 45%
Republicans— 21 or 55%

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Robert C Byrd, Chairman

to move in, giving the Angolan government a chance to negotiate new deals which could lead to increased hard currency earnings. The amendment would make the U.S. more dependent on a smaller group of oil producers, when it needs instead to hold on to every available source of oil in light of the high risk involved in reflagging Kuwaiti vessels in the Persian Gulf. Angola has recently shown a willingness to negotiate with the U.S. for Namibian independence and the withdrawal of Cuban troops. Adoption of this amendment would also put added economic and political pressures on the economically struggling independent black-ruled states in southern Africa.

SENATE VOTING RECORD
NO. 183

100th Congress
1st Session

July 9, 1987, 4:13 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-9538

TRADE AND COMPETITIVENESS ACT

BILL NO.: S. 1420 (H.R. 3) AMENDMENT NO.: 450

TITLE: "Omnibus Trade and Competitiveness Act of 1987"

SUBJECT: **Bumpers motion to table the Bumpers-Hatfield-Adams amendment which postpones the reflagging of any Kuwaiti naval vessel for an 89-day period following enactment of this legislation.** (See also Vote No. 196 by which cloture was not invoked on this amendment. It fell on July 15 pursuant to a comprehensive unanimous consent agreement.)

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment pointed out that the amendment imposes a binding deferral to American reflagging of Kuwaiti tankers. If American citizens or troops are going to be introduced into the Persian Gulf war zone, it should be done with the concurrence of the American people. Kuwait has requested U.S. presence not so much to protect oil shipping as to stop the war between Iraq and Iran. Kuwait has lost only $10 million in damage costs to their fleet in the last four years. If the War Powers Act were invoked, as the President should do, Congress would have 60 days to approve or disapprove, and this amendment would not be necessary. Delay is important so that reflagging does not trigger any new reaction that could lead to war. While the Constitution gives the President the authority to conduct foreign policy, it vests the legislative branch with the power to conduct war. For the first time in history, the American flag is being used as a flag of convenience for merchant ships of other nations. This policy breaks faith with the men and women who committed themselves to defend our country—not the oil trade of Kuwait, Japan, or Europe. Reflagging sets a terrible precedent and diminishes the meaning of the flag.

Opponents noted that Senators had been working for a compromise amendment that would supplant the Moynihan amendment and be acceptable to the Administration. There has already been a delay while Congress has been consulted. This consultative process should be allowed to continue to work. They

(OVER)

S. 1420 (H.R. 3): Vote Nos. 158, 160, 161, 164, 166, 168-175, 177-208.

RESULT: **MOTION TO TABLE FAILED**

YEAS (42)			NAYS (56)			NOT VOTING (2)	
Democrats (3 or 6%)	Republicans (39 or 85%)		Democrats (49 or 94%)		Republicans (7 or 15%)	Democrats (2)	Republicans (0)
Boren	Armstrong	Kassebaum	Adams	Johnston	D'Amato	Pryor—2	
Gore	Bond	Kasten	Baucus	Kennedy	Hatfield	Simon—2	
Heflin	Boschwitz	Lugar	Bentsen	Kerry	Murkowski		
	Chafee	McCain	Biden	Lautenberg	Packwood		
	Cochran	McClure	Bingaman	Leahy	Roth		
	Cohen	McConnell	Bradley	Levin	Specter		
	Danforth	Nickles	Breaux	Matsunaga	Weicker		
	Dole	Pressler	Bumpers	Melcher			
	Domenici	Quayle	Burdick	Metzenbaum			
	Durenberger	Rudman	Byrd	Mikulski			
	Evans	Simpson	Chiles	Mitchell			
	Garn	Stafford	Conrad	Moynihan			
	Gramm	Stevens	Cranston	Nunn			
	Grassley	Symms	Daschle	Pell			
	Hatch	Thurmond	DeConcini	Proxmire			
	Hecht	Trible	Dixon	Reid			
	Heinz	Wallop	Dodd	Riegle			
	Helms	Warner	Exon	Rockefeller			
	Humphrey	Wilson	Ford	Sanford			
	Karnes		Fowler	Sarbanes			
			Glenn	Sasser			
			Graham	Shelby			
			Harkin	Stennis			
			Hollings	Wirth			
			Inouye				

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion	Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on	
	For (42)	*Against* (56)
Democrats— 94%	Democrats— 3 or 7%	Democrats— 49 or 87.5%
Republicans— 85%	Republicans— 39 or 93%	Republicans— 7 or 12.5%

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also questioned whether the drafting of the amendment would accomplish its purpose since the President has made the commitment to reflag. Technically "reflagging" means the more or less ministerial tasks to be performed by the Coast Guard. All the amendment may do is cut off the salaries of several Coast Guard employees without affecting the implementation of the protection regime. They noted the reaction that would result around the world if Congress cut off the funds by which the President was going to implement his stated policy. Others contended that a vote to delay today would turn into a vote to delay tomorrow and is basically a vote to abandon the Gulf--where the U.S. has vital national security interests.

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 184

100th Congress
1st Session

July 9, 1987, 7:38 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-9568

TRADE AND-COMPETITIVENESS ACT

BILL NO.: S. 1420 (H.R. 3)

TITLE: "Omnibus Trade and Competitiveness Act of 1987"

SUBJECT: **Byrd motion to instruct the Sergeant at Arms to request the attendance of absent Senators.**

S. 1420 (H.R. 3): Vote Nos. 158, 160, 161, 164, 166, 168-175, 177-208.

RESULT: **MOTION FOR ATTENDANCE AGREED TO**

YEAS (74)

Democrats (47 or 98%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Hollings
Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Wirth

Republicans (27 or 66%)

Armstrong
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Garn
Grassley
Hatch
Hatfield
Heinz
Helms
Humphrey
Kasten
Lugar
McCain
McClure
Murkowski
Packwood
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Thurmond
Trible
Warner
Wilson

NAYS (15)

Democrats (1 or 2%)

Proxmire

Republicans (14 or 34%)

Boschwitz
Chafee
Gramm
Hecht
Karnes
McConnell
Nickles
Pressler
Quayle
Specter
Stevens
Symms
Wallop
Weicker

NOT VOTING (11)

Democrats (6)

Biden—2
Gore—2
Lautenberg—2
Pryor—2
Simon—2
Stennis—2

Republicans (5)

Bond—2
Danforth—2
Evans—2
Kassebaum—2
Stafford—2

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 98%
Republicans— 66%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (74)
Democrats— 47 or 64%
Republicans— 27 or 36%

Against (15)
Democrats— 1 or 7%
Republicans— 14 or 93%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C Byrd, Chairman

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SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 185

100th Congress
1st Session

July 9, 1987, 9:27 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-9577

TRADE AND COMPETITIVENESS ACT

BILL NO.: S. 1420 (H.R. 3) **AMENDMENT NO.:** 460

TITLE: "Omnibus Trade and Competitiveness Act of 1987"

SUBJECT: **Armstrong, et al., amendment to cap at $400 million per year the amount of money which may be spent on Trade Adjustment Assistance (TAA).** (The bill establishes an import fee to pay for TAA that is capped at one percent of the import value.)

NOTE: Proponents asserted that a cap should be placed on the funds available for TAA to avoid fiscally irresponsible expenditures. The issue is not whether the program is worthy, they argued, but whether programs Congress creates should have spending limits. The bill would change the funding of the TAA program from an appropriation to an across-the-board import fee of up to one percent, which could raise as much as $4 billion. By not limiting the use of this money, the program could expand beyond its estimated maximum cost of $300 million. Congress could use the money for other purposes by removing the restriction that limits its use to TAA. Also, since the fee is GATT-illegal at this time, U.S. trading partners would be free to retaliate with tariffs on U.S. products, which would hurt those U.S. businesses that are competitive in the international market. The amendment sets the cap at a level higher than the estimated cost of the program and therefore will not harm it.

Opponents countered that TAA has been part of U.S. trade expansion efforts for the last 25 years. The program in the bill will reassure American workers that TAA will no longer be subject to the "vagaries" of congressional appropriation. It also will promote open trade by helping people make the transition to productive areas. CBO estimates the necessary tariff to be less than one tenth of one percent. The bill places a cap of one percent to serve as a negotiating limit in the next round of GATT negotiations, which they felt would make the tariff legal since other countries will require similar assistance for their workers. The import fee cap leaves adequate room for adjustment during a deep recession (which the amendment does not), alleviating the necessity to renegotiate under GATT to increase the tariff or rely on Congress to provide emergency funds. These changes to TAA were reported unanimously in 1985 by the Finance Committee, and enjoy bipartisan support in Congress and by a number of organizations and unions. Since the program would no longer require an appropriation, the deficit would be reduced.

S. 1420 (H.R. 3): Vote Nos. 158, 160, 161, 164, 166, 168-175, 177-208.

RESULT: **AMENDMENT REJECTED**

YEAS (39)			NAYS (53)			NOT VOTING (8)	
Democrats (6 or 13%)	Republicans (33 or 75%)		Democrats (42 or 88%)		Republicans (11 or 25%)	Democrats (6)	Republicans (2)
Chiles	Armstrong	Lugar	Baucus	Kennedy	Chafee	Adams—2	Humphrey—2
DeConcini	Bond	McClure	Bentsen	Kerry	Cohen	Biden—2	Stafford—2
Exon	Boschwitz	McConnell	Bingaman	Lautenberg	Danforth	Gore—2AN	
Heflin	Cochran	Murkowski	Boren	Leahy	Grassley	Pryor—2	
Hollings	D'Amato	Nickles	Bradley	Levin	Heinz	Simon—2	
Proxmire	Dole	Packwood	Breaux	Matsunaga	Kasten	Stennis—2	
	Domenici	Pressler	Bumpers	Melcher	McCain		
	Durenberger	Quayle	Burdick	Metzenbaum	Roth		
	Evans	Rudman	Byrd	Mikulski	Specter		
	Garn	Simpson	Conrad	Mitchell	Thurmond		
	Gramm	Stevens	Cranston	Moynihan	Weicker		
	Hatch	Symms	Daschle	Nunn			
	Hatfield	Trible	Dixon	Pell			
	Hecht	Wallop	Dodd	Reid			
	Helms	Warner	Ford	Riegle			
	Karnes	Wilson	Fowler	Rockefeller			
	Kassebaum		Glenn	Sanford			
			Graham	Sarbanes			
			Harkin	Sasser			
			Inouye	Shelby			
			Johnston	Wirth			

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 88%
Republicans— 75%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (39)
Democrats— 6 or 15%
Republicans— 33 or 85%

Against (53)
Democrats— 42 or 79%
Republicans— 11 or 21%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 186

100th Congress
1st Session

July 10, 1987, 10:30 a.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-9635

TRADE AND COMPETITIVENESS ACT

BILL NO.: S. 1420 (H.R. 3)

AMENDMENT NO.: 464

TITLE: "Omnibus Trade and Competitiveness Act of 1987"

SUBJECT: **Ford motion to table the Chafee, et al., amendment which would strike the bill's provision that makes tobacco eligible for export promotion programs with any resulting losses to be borne by the the Commodity Credit Corporation (CCC).**

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment asserted that the money used to subsidize tobacco over the next five years would be better spent for export programs that supply food to hungry people. Tobacco is responsible for nearly 1,000 deaths each day in the U.S., and smoking-related diseases cost over $53 billion annually in lost productivity and health costs. These statistics are greatly multiplied when worldwide figures are taken into account. It is irrational to subsidize a commodity which brings so much suffering to its users, especially when the U.S. government spends millions of dollars each year on smoking prevention and education programs, research, and health care.

Opponents of the amendment argued that Congress did not intend the "no net cost" legislation to exclude tobacco from participating in export promotion programs, even though the Administration has interpreted it that way. Since that legislation was enacted in 1982, the trade deficit has worsened and tobacco exports have fallen 12 percent while tobacco imports have risen. The U.S. exports 40 percent of all tobacco produced in this country. If it cannot maintain foreign markets, the reduced demand for tobacco products may result in a loss of livelihood for thousands of small farmers. The argument that Americans are subsidizing bad health is not true since the tobacco program costs the American taxpayer nothing. It is the only crop operating in the black and will return about $450 million to the CCC during FY 1987-88, while other commodities will incur costs around $50 billion. This is not a health issue; it is an economic issue. Its outcome will determine the well-being of many American farmers.

S. 1420 (H.R. 3): Vote Nos. 158, 160, 161, 164, 166, 168-175, 177-208.

RESULT: **MOTION TO TABLE AGREED TO**

YEAS (51)

Democrats (26 or 52%)

Boren
Breaux
Bumpers
Byrd
Conrad
Cranston
DeConcini
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Harkin
Heflin
Hollings
Inouye
Johnston
Matsunaga
Melcher
Nunn
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sasser
Shelby
Stennis

Republicans (25 or 57%)

Bond
Boschwitz
Cochran
D'Amato
Dole
Domenici
Gramm
Grassley
Hecht
Helms
Karnes
Kassebaum
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Roth
Rudman
Stevens
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Warner
Weicker
Wilson

NAYS (43)

Democrats (24 or 48%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Biden
Bingaman
Bradley
Burdick
Chiles
Dixon
Graham
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Pell
Proxmire
Reid
Sarbanes
Wirth

Republicans (19 or 43%)

Armstrong
Chafee
Cohen
Danforth
Durenberger
Evans
Garn
Hatch
Hatfield
Humphrey
Kasten
Lugar
McCain
Nickles
Packwood
Pressler
Quayle
Specter
Stafford

NOT VOTING (6)

Democrats (4)

Daschle—2
Gore—2
Pryor—2
Simon—2

Republicans (2)

Heinz—2AN
Simpson—2

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 52%
Republicans— 57%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (51)
Democrats— 26 or 51%
Republicans— 25 or 49%

Against (43)
Democrats— 24 or 56%
Republicans— 19 or 44%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 187

100th Congress
1st Session

July 10, 1987, 3:11 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-9664

TRADE AND COMPETITIVENESS ACT

BILL NO.: S. 1420 (H.R. 3) AMENDMENT NO.: 466

TITLE: "Omnibus Trade and Competitiveness Act of 1987"

SUBJECT: **Danforth perfecting amendment (to the Byrd-Dole, et al., amendment No. 465) which requires the U.S. Trade Representative (USTR) to: (1) identify foreign countries that maintain a consistent pattern of import barriers and trade distorting practices, (2) evaluate their effect on U.S. exports and estimate the value in lost trade to the U.S. during the preceding year; (3) negotiate agreements with each foreign country either to eliminate the trade barriers or to provide alternative export opportunities equivalent to any barriers remaining; and (4) if no agreements are reached, or agreements are violated, impose sanctions against those countries under Section 301; and allows the Senate Finance Committee and the House Ways and Means Committee, by adoption of a Committee resolution, to file a Section 301 petition with the USTR for the investigation of a foreign country suspected of maintaining a consistent pattern of import barriers and trade distorting practices.** (The Danforth amendment was almost identical to the Byrd-Dole amendment, and was offered so that the vote would occur on what was essentially the Byrd-Dole amendment.)

NOTE: Proponents asserted that this "market opening initiative" would stimulate negotiations to eliminate trade barriers and consequently lead to the expansion of the U.S. economy. The initiative is not intended to ensure American success in international trade, but to develop more open trade. Unlike the Gephardt amendment, which triggers retaliation based on the size of the trade deficit, the initiative focuses on negotiating to remove barriers that would improve overall trade relations and be a net benefit to the U.S. using the negotiating tools of Section 301 (permitting retaliation against countries that maintain a consistent pattern of trade barriers). Retaliation would occur only if exports did not rise following the removal of a barrier, which is a necessary criteria, they argued, because many nations have become adept at erecting new trade barriers immediately after existing barriers have been negotiated away. By permitting either the Senate Finance Committee or the House Ways and Means

(OVER)

S. 1420 (H.R. 3): Vote Nos. 158, 160, 161, 164, 166, 168-175, 177-208.

RESULT: AMENDMENT AGREED TO

YEAS (87)

Democrats (49 or 100%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Hollings
Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Proxmire
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans (38 or 84%)

Armstrong
Bond
Boschwitz
Chafee
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Garn
Grassley
Hatch
Hecht
Heinz
Helms
Karnes
Kassebaum
Kasten
Lugar
McCain
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Packwood
Pressler
Quayle
Roth
Rudman
Specter
Stafford
Stevens
Thurmond
Trible
Warner
Weicker
Wilson

NAYS (7)

Democrats (0 or 0%)

Republicans (7 or 16%)

Evans
Gramm
Hatfield
Humphrey
McClure
Symms
Wallop

NOT VOTING (6)

Democrats (5)

Biden—2AY
Daschle—2
Gore—2AY
Pryor—2
Simon—2

Republicans (1)

Simpson—2

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 100%
Republicans— 84%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (87)
Democrats— 49 or 56%
Republicans— 38 or 44%

Against (7)
Democrats— 0 or 0%
Republicans— 7 or 100%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

Committee to file a Section 301 petition with the USTR (a power they already have with respect to Section 201), it gives Congress a method of stimulating debate within the Administration in situations where the President refuses to address a trade issue. This is not an extensive power, since the USTR could drop the case; nor would the Committees be swamped with constituent requests because Section 201 is still available for more specific complaints that anyone who feels he has been injured can initiate. The procedure used in the initiative has been used by the Senate before, such as in the Wine Equity Act.

Opponents pointed out that the amendment would allow the Finance Committee to issue whatever number of petitions to the USTR it wants; does not balance the concerns of consumers with those of the workers whom the bill would protect; and proceeds on the assumption that, just because a nation removes a trade barrier, U.S. exports will necessarily increase, when, in fact, another country more efficient than the U.S. may fill the opening afforded by the removal of a trade barrier. Rather than relying on legislation aimed at protecting American industry (whether it is referred to as such or not), the U.S. should become more efficient and competitive, reduce the Federal deficit, and continue to negotiate to reduce trade barriers, which the Nation is doing well enough now without requiring the extreme actions called for in the bill. The trading practices of other nations have not changed substantially enough to account for the current trade deficit, they pointed out. The huge fiscal deficit, and the resulting impact on the strength of the dollar is directly responsible for placing the U.S. in a more competitive situation, and the Nation has not yet learned how to compete in this environment.

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 188

100th Congress
1st Session

July 14, 1987, 9:39 a.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-9795

TRADE AND COMPETITIVENESS ACT

BILL NO.: S. 1420 (H.R. 3)

TITLE: "Omnibus Trade and Competitiveness Act of 1987"

SUBJECT: **Byrd motion to instruct the Sergeant at Arms to request the attendance of absent Senators.**

S. 1420 (H.R. 3): Vote Nos. 158, 160, 161, 164, 166, 168-175, 177-208.

RESULT: **MOTION FOR ATTENDANCE AGREED TO**

YEAS (84)

Democrats (48 or 98%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Hollings
Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans (36 or 80%)

Armstrong
Boschwitz
Chafee
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Evans
Garn
Grassley
Hatch
Hatfield
Hecht
Heinz
Humphrey
Karnes
Kassebaum
Lugar
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Packwood
Pressler
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Specter
Stafford
Stevens
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Warner

NAYS (10)

Democrats (1 or 2%)

Proxmire

Republicans (9 or 20%)

Bond
Gramm
Helms
Murkowski
Nickles
Quayle
Wallop
Weicker
Wilson

NOT VOTING (6)

Democrats (5)

Biden—^{2}
Daschle—^{2}
Gore—^{2}
Pryor—^{4}
Simon—^{2}

Republicans (1)

Kasten—^{2}

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion	**Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on**	
	For (84)	*Against* (10)
Democrats— 98%	Democrats— 48 or 57%	Democrats— 1 or 10%
Republicans— 80%	Republicans— 36 or 43%	Republicans— 9 or 90%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 189

100th Congress
1st Session

July 14, 1987, 10:10 a.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-9796

TRADE AND COMPETITIVENESS ACT
(CLOTURE)

BILL NO.: S. 1420 (H.R. 3)

AMENDMENT NO.: 367

TITLE: "Omnibus Trade and Competitiveness Act of 1987"

SUBJECT: **Exon, et al., second motion to close further debate on the Moynihan, et al., amendment to express the sense of the Congress that: the U.S. should seek a settlement of the Iran-Iraq war through diplomatic means and pursue, through the U.N., efforts to (1) effect mandatory sanctions including an arms embargo, against any combatant state which fails to cooperate in establishing a negotiated ceasefire and (2) promote a cessation by Iran and Iraq of shipping attacks in the Persian Gulf; the U.S. should deploy such naval forces in, or proximate to, the Perisan Gulf as necessary to protect the right of free transit through the Strait of Hormuz, and work closely with the Persian Gulf states to reestablish stability, security, and peace in the region; the President should, in implementing these policies, take the steps necessary to achieve the cooperation of interested parties, particularly naval powers among the major importers of Persian Gulf oil, and the Gulf Cooperation Council nations; the President should seek to convene a conference of the exporters and importers of Persian Gulf oil to assess means for ensuring the free flow of oil, promoting freedom of navigation, deescalating hostilities, contributing to a negotiated end to the Iran-Iraq war, and developing a long-term policy which advances the strategic interests of the West and to states of the region; the proposed reflagging of Kuwaiti tankers should be delayed pending the outcome of these initiatives; and the U.S. should preserve its military flexibility in the Persian Gulf and not commit itself rigidly and exclusively to any narrow protection regime, such as convoying for one country or specific group of ships, and should explore further cooperative efforts involving other naval powers and the regional states to ensure the free transit of oil.** (See also Vote No. 181 on the first cloture motion.)

NOTE: The cloture petition, presented on July 9, 1987, was signed by Senators Exon, Byrd, Glenn, Simon, Sasser, Moynihan, Johnston, Sanford, Conrad, Ford, Pell, Levin, Cranston, Graham, Bumpers, and Adams. (See Vote No. 181 for arguments for and against the amendment.)

S. 1420 (H.R. 3): Vote Nos. 158, 160, 161, 164, 166, 168-175, 177-208.

RESULT: **CLOTURE MOTION REJECTED, 3/5THS NOT HAVING VOTED IN THE AFFIRMATIVE**

YEAS (53)

Democrats (48 or 98%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Bingaman
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Hollings
Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Proxmire
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans (5 or 11%)

Hatfield
Humphrey
Roth
Specter
Weicker

NAYS (40)

Democrats (1 or 2%)

Boren

Republicans (39 or 89%)

Armstrong
Bond
Boschwitz
Chafee
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Evans
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hecht
Heinz
Helms
Karnes
Kassebaum
Lugar
McCain
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Packwood
Pressler
Quayle
Rudman
Simpson
Stafford
Stevens
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Warner
Wilson

NOT VOTING (7)

Democrats (5)

Biden—2
Daschle—2
Gore—2
Pryor—4
Simon—2

Republicans (2)

Kasten—2
McClure—2

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—98%
Republicans—89%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (53)
Democrats—48 or 91%
Republicans—5 or 9%

Against (40)
Democrats—1 or 2.5%
Republicans—39 or 97.5%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 190

100th Congress
1st Session

July 14, 1987, 3:37 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-9831

TRADE AND COMPETITIVENESS ACT

BILL NO.: S. 1420 (H.R. 3) **AMENDMENT NO.: 498**

TITLE: "Omnibus Trade and Competitiveness Act of 1987"

SUBJECT: **Hollings motion to table the Glenn perfecting amendment (to the language to be struck by the Hollings, et al., amendment No. 488) which strikes the trade reorganization section from the bill, as reported by the Governmental Affairs Committee, and reduces funding for the Advanced Civilian Technology Agency (ACTA) from $480 million to $80 million in 1988 and 1989.**

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment asserted that ACTA is intended to strengthen the Nation's industrial and technological foundations by creating a framework for developing coherent, long-term technology, trade, and economic policies. Such an agency would assist the development and transfer of technology from research to commercialization, and consequently make the Nation more competitive. The U.S. is the only industrialized nation without a substantial government mechanism to catalyze the production of new technology for commercial purposes. Even though the U.S. leads the world in basic scientific advances, it does not apply them as effectively as other nations. The Japanese government has already formed groups to begin applying the recent U.S. discoveries involving superconductivity. (The sponsor agreed to reduce the appropriation of ACTA and strike the trade reorganization section from the bill as a compromise in order to establish the principle that the Nation needs ACTA.)

Opponents of the amendment countered that ACTA is an underdeveloped proposal. It was designed without any input from the authorizing committee, the Commerce Committee. It creates a new bureaucracy within the Commerce Department, while failing to build on existing Commerce Department programs. It does not address the specific needs of civilian industry and is unclear with regard to cost-sharing requirements. The Administration opposes this proposal. Moreover, there is a program already incorporated in the trade bill to expand the Bureau of Standards into these areas, which is more appropriate and more cost effective than creating ACTA. The program would expand the Bureau into the National Institute of Technology, with an even more explicit purpose than ACTA, to help industry improve manufacturing and product commercialization

S. 1420 (H.R. 3): Vote Nos. 158, 160, 161, 164, 166, 168-175, 177-208.

RESULT: **MOTION TO TABLE AGREED TO**

YEAS (73)

Democrats (30 or 63%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Conrad
Cranston
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Heflin
Hollings
Inouye
Johnston
Kerry
Lautenberg
Pell
Proxmire
Riegle
Sanford
Shelby
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans (43 or 93%)

Armstrong
Bond
Boschwitz
Chafee
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Evans
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hatfield
Hecht
Heinz
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes
Kassebaum
Kasten
Lugar
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Packwood
Pressler
Quayle
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Specter
Stafford
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Warner
Weicker
Wilson

NAYS (21)

Democrats (18 or 38%)

Bingaman
Chiles
Glenn
Graham
Harkin
Kennedy
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Reid
Sarbanes
Sasser

Republicans (3 or 7%)

Durenberger
Garn
Stevens

NOT VOTING (6)

Democrats (6)

Biden—^{2}
Daschle—^{2}
Gore—^{2}
Pryor—^{4}
Rockefeller—^{2AY}
Simon—^{2}

Republicans (0)

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 63%
Republicans— 93%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (73)
Democrats— 30 or 41%
Republicans— 43 or 59%

Against (21)
Democrats— 18 or 86%
Republicans— 3 or 14%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 191

100th Congress
1st Session

July 14, 1987, 5:43 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-9838

TRADE AND COMPETITIVENESS ACT

BILL NO.: S. 1420 (H.R. 3) **AMENDMENT NO.:** 503

TITLE: "Omnibus Trade and Competitiveness Act of 1987"

SUBJECT: **Helms motion to table the Baucus, et al., amendment which requires the President to maintain a list of agricultural commodities and products that may be exported to Cuba if he determines that U.S. national security interests will not be harmed and the product is freely available to Cuba from other world market suppliers; and requires the President to supply Congress with a detailed explanation for not placing a major agricultural product on this list.**

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment asserted that the objective of putting pressure on Cuba through an embargo to topple the Castro government has failed, so continuing the embargo only hurts the U.S. By allowing the export of certain agricultural products, which should be as acceptable as exporting to the Soviet Union, American farmers would have access to a market that imports $1.3 billion in agricultural products a year. The amendment would not have an economic effect on Cuba because it deals only with those products which are available from other countries. The amendment is supported by a number of agricultural groups.

Opponents of the amendment countered that Castro has done nothing to justify providing Cuba with the economic benefits of weakening the embargo. Doing so would give him an agricultural supplier less than 90 miles away, and allows him to obtain a greater variety of products at lower costs, which would save Cuba foreign exchange and help prop up its failing economy. Even though other countries trade with Cuba, the embargo serves as a moral statement that the U.S. finds Castro's government unacceptable. The amendment would suggest that the U.S. has found some sort of improvement in his actions, when there has been none. Life in Cuba is still characterized by a denial of human rights. Moreover, Cuba is one of the five countries that the U.S. has designated as supportive of international terrorism. The government is known to be involved in the drug trade, and to be actively exporting its revolution to both Central America and Africa. Rather than weakening the embargo, the U.S. should be encouraging other nations to join with the U.S. in this matter.

S. 1420 (H.R. 3): Vote Nos. 158, 160, 161, 164, 166, 168-175, 177-208.

RESULT: **MOTION TO TABLE AGREED TO**

YEAS (71)				**NAYS (25)**		**NOT VOTING (4)**	
Democrats (32 or 64%)		**Republicans (39 or 85%)**		**Democrats (18 or 36%)**	**Republicans (7 or 15%)**	**Democrats (4)**	**Republicans (0)**
Bentsen	Kerry	Armstrong	McCain	Adams	Bond	Biden—^{2}	
Bingaman	Lautenberg	Chafee	McClure	Baucus	Boschwitz	Gore—^{2}	
Boren	Levin	Cochran	McConnell	Breaux	Danforth	Pryor—^{4}	
Bradley	Mikulski	Cohen	Murkowski	Bumpers	Hatfield	Simon—^{2}	
Byrd	Mitchell	D'Amato	Nickles	Burdick	Karnes		
Chiles	Moynihan	Dole	Packwood	Conrad	Pressler		
DeConcini	Nunn	Domenici	Quayle	Cranston	Weicker		
Dixon	Proxmire	Durenberger	Roth	Daschle			
Ford	Reid	Evans	Rudman	Dodd			
Fowler	Riegle	Garn	Simpson	Exon			
Glenn	Rockefeller	Gramm	Specter	Harkin			
Graham	Sanford	Grassley	Stafford	Kennedy			
Heflin	Sarbanes	Hatch	Stevens	Leahy			
Hollings	Sasser	Hecht	Symms	Matsunaga			
Inouye	Shelby	Heinz	Thurmond	Melcher			
Johnston	Stennis	Helms	Trible	Metzenbaum			
		Humphrey	Wallop	Pell			
		Kassebaum	Warner	Wirth			
		Kasten	Wilson				
		Lugar					

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion	**Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on**	
	For (71)	*Against* (25)
Democrats— 64%	Democrats— 32 or 45%	Democrats— 18 or 72%
Republicans— 85%	Republicans— 39 or 55%	Republicans— 7 or 28%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 192

100th Congress
1st Session

July 14, 1987, 8:09 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-9853

TRADE AND COMPETITIVENESS ACT

BILL NO.: S. 1420 (H.R. 3)

TITLE: "Omnibus Trade and Competitiveness Act of 1987"

SUBJECT: **Metzenbaum motion to table the Gramm-Boren motion to recommit the bill to the Finance Committee with instructions to report back forthwith with all amendments agreed to, all pending amendments in status quo, and a provision to repeal the windfall profits tax, effective December 31, 1987.** (See also Vote Nos. 193-200.)

NOTE: After objection was heard to a request to set aside the pending amendment in order to bring up a Gramm-Boren amendment repealing the windfall profit tax, Senator Gramm made the above motion so as not to be precluded from getting a vote on the matter.

Proponents of repeal (voting nay) noted that there were 19 Senators sponsoring this amendment and that it was relevant to this bill because 20 percent of the trade deficit results from oil. No industry, they asserted, has paid as much in taxes as the oil industry. This complex and burdensome tax has compounded energy problems. Oil prices are not currently high enough to trigger the tax, but there are significant costs associated with the paperwork it requires.

Opponents of repeal (voting yea) emphasized that the difficulty facing the oil industry is not a result of the windfall profit tax but the low prices created by OPEC's manipulation of world production. Repeal would be a mistake at a time when the government needs money. The tax was part of a political bargain made in exchange for the lifting of price controls. Once gas prices go up, revenues will increase as they should with increased profits. This is a killer amendment and will cause Senators to vote against the bill. Elimination of the windfall profit tax will increase the deficit and put a disproportionate burden on the poor. There are numerous other tax loopholes that could be brought up if tax issues are going to be attached to this trade bill.

S. 1420 (H.R. 3): Vote Nos. 158, 160, 161, 164, 166, 168-175, 177-208.

RESULT: **MOTION TO TABLE MOTION TO RECOMMIT REJECTED**

YEAS (36)

Democrats (26 or 55%)

Bradley
Byrd
Chiles
Cranston
DeConcini
Dodd
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Graham
Harkin
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Pell
Proxmire
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sarbanes
Sasser

Republicans (10 or 22%)

Chafee
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Durenberger
Grassley
Heinz
Packwood
Specter
Weicker

NAYS (57)

Democrats (21 or 45%)

Baucus
Bentsen
Bingaman
Boren
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Conrad
Daschle
Dixon
Exon
Heflin
Hollings
Inouye
Johnston
Matsunaga
Melcher
Sanford
Shelby
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans (36 or 78%)

Armstrong
Bond
Boschwitz
Cochran
Dole
Domenici
Evans
Garn
Gramm
Hatch
Hatfield
Hecht
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes
Kassebaum
Kasten
Lugar
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Pressler
Quayle
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Stafford
Stevens
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Warner
Wilson

NOT VOTING (7)

Democrats (7)

Adams—2
Biden—2
Gore—2
Kennedy—2
Nunn—2
Pryor—4
Simon—2

Republicans (0)

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion	Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on *For* (36)	*Against* (57)
Democrats—55%	Democrats—26 or 72%	Democrats—21 or 37%
Republicans—78%	Republicans—10 or 28%	Republicans—36 or 63%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 193

100th Congress
1st Session

July 14, 1987, 8:35 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-9853

TRADE AND COMPETITIVENESS ACT

BILL NO.: S. 1420 (H.R. 3) **AMENDMENT NO.:** 506

TITLE: "Omnibus Trade and Competitiveness Act of 1987"

SUBJECT: **Gramm motion to table the Cranston amendment (to the Bradley amendment No. 505 to the Gramm-Boren motion to recommit the bill with instructions to report back forthwith with a provision repealing the windfall profit tax) which increases the cigarette excise tax to 34 cents per pack.**

NOTE: This amendment was offered in an effort to keep an amendment to repeal the windfall profit tax off the trade bill. Tax issues, many contended, should not be considered during debate on a major trade bill. Including such matters in this bill threatens the ability to complete action on a trade bill. When the reconciliation bill comes to the floor in the near future, tax issues will be appropriately debated. Some stated that while favoring some of the tax proposals, they would vote against them as part of this bill.

S. 1420 (H.R. 3): Vote Nos. 158, 160, 161, 164, 166, 168-175, 177-208.

RESULT: **MOTION TO TABLE AGREED TO**

YEAS (74)

Democrats (32 or 67%)

Adams
Bentsen
Boren
Breaux
Bumpers
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Graham
Heflin
Hollings
Inouye
Johnston
Kerry
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Mikulski
Mitchell
Nunn
Proxmire
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Stennis

Republicans (42 or 91%)

Armstrong
Bond
Boschwitz
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Evans
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hecht
Heinz
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes
Kassebaum
Kasten
Lugar
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Pressler
Quayle
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Stafford
Stevens
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Warner
Weicker
Wilson

NAYS (20)

Democrats (16 or 33%)

Baucus
Bingaman
Bradley
Burdick
Cranston
Dodd
Glenn
Harkin
Lautenberg
Leahy
Metzenbaum
Moynihan
Pell
Reid
Rockefeller
Wirth

Republicans (4 or 9%)

Chafee
Hatfield
Packwood
Specter

NOT VOTING (6)

Democrats (6)

Biden—2
Gore—2
Kennedy—2
Pryor—4
Riegle—2
Simon—2

Republicans (0)

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 67%
Republicans— 91%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (74)
Democrats— 32 or 43%
Republicans— 42 or 57%

Against (20)
Democrats— 16 or 80%
Republicans— 4 or 20%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 194

100th Congress
1st Session

July 14, 1987, 9:26 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-9856

TRADE AND COMPETITIVENESS ACT

BILL NO.: S. 1420 (H.R. 3) **AMENDMENT NO.: 507**

TITLE: "Omnibus Trade and Competitiveness Act of 1987"

SUBJECT: **Gramm motion to table the Byrd amendment (to the Bradley amendment No. 505 to the Gramm-Boren motion to recommit the bill with instructions to report back forthwith with a provision repealing the windfall profit tax) which increases the cigarette excise tax to 35 cents per pack.**

NOTE: This amendment was offered to show the futility of the situation where nongermane amendments were being offered. Tax issues, many contended, should not be considered during debate on a major trade bill. Including such matters in this bill threatens the ability to complete action on a trade bill. When the reconciliation bill comes to the floor in the near future, tax issues will be appropriately debated. Some stated that while favoring some of the tax proposals, they would vote against them as part of this bill.

S. 1420 (H.R. 3): Vote Nos. 158, 160, 161, 164, 166, 168-175, 177-208.

RESULT: **MOTION TO TABLE AGREED TO**

YEAS (77)

Democrats (37 or 76%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Boren
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Graham
Heflin
Hollings
Inouye
Johnston
Kerry
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Mikulski
Mitchell
Nunn
Proxmire
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Stennis

Republicans (40 or 87%)

Armstrong
Bond
Boschwitz
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Evans
Gramm
Grassley
Hecht
Heinz
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes
Kassebaum
Kasten
Lugar
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Pressler
Quayle
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Stafford
Stevens
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Warner
Weicker
Wilson

NAYS (18)

Democrats (12 or 24%)

Bingaman
Bradley
Cranston
Glenn
Harkin
Lautenberg
Leahy
Metzenbaum
Moynihan
Pell
Reid
Wirth

Republicans (6 or 13%)

Chafee
Garn
Hatch
Hatfield
Packwood
Specter

NOT VOTING (5)

Democrats (5)

Biden^{-2}
Gore^{-2}
Kennedy^{-2}
Pryor^{-4}
Simon^{-2}

Republicans (0)

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 76%
Republicans— 87%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (77)
Democrats— 37 or 48%
Republicans— 40 or 52%

Against (18)
Democrats— 12 or 67%
Republicans— 6 or 33%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 195

100th Congress
1st Session

July 14, 1987, 10:53 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-9863

TRADE AND COMPETITIVENESS ACT

BILL NO.: S. 1420 (H.R. 3)

AMENDMENT NO.: 505

TITLE: "Omnibus Trade and Competitiveness Act of 1987"

SUBJECT: **Gramm motion to table the Bradley amendment (to the Gramm-Boren motion to recommit the bill and taking with it the Byrd amendment No. 510 regarding U.S. policy toward protecting reflagged Kuwaiti tankers in the Persian Gulf) which increases the cigarette excise tax to 33 cents per pack.**

NOTE: This amendment was offered in an effort to keep an amendment to repeal the windfall profit tax off the trade bill. Tax issues, many contended, should not be considered during debate on a major trade bill. Including such matters in this bill threatens the ability to complete action on a trade bill. When the reconciliation bill comes to the floor in the near future, tax issues will be appropriately debated. Some stated that while favoring some of the tax proposals, they would vote against them as part of this bill.

S. 1420 (H.R. 3): Vote Nos. 158, 160, 161, 164, 166, 168-175, 177-208.

RESULT: MOTION TO TABLE AGREED TO

YEAS (75)

Democrats (37 or 76%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Bingaman
Boren
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Graham
Heflin
Hollings
Inouye
Johnston
Kerry
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Mikulski
Mitchell
Nunn
Proxmire
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans (38 or 84%)

Armstrong
Bond
Boschwitz
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Evans
Gramm
Grassley
Hecht
Heinz
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes
Kassebaum
Kasten
Lugar
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Pressler
Quayle
Roth
Simpson
Stafford
Stevens
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Warner
Wilson

NAYS (19)

Democrats (12 or 24%)

Bradley
Cranston
Glenn
Harkin
Kennedy
Lautenberg
Leahy
Metzenbaum
Moynihan
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller

Republicans (7 or 16%)

Chafee
Garn
Hatch
Hatfield
Packwood
Specter
Weicker

NOT VOTING (6)

Democrats (5)

Biden—2
Gore—2
Pell—2AN
Pryor—4
Simon—2

Republicans (1)

Rudman—2

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 76%
Republicans— 84%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (75)
Democrats— 37 or 49%
Republicans— 38 or 51%

Against (19)
Democrats— 12 or 63%
Republicans— 7 or 37%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 196

100th Congress
1st Session

July 15, 1987, 10:31 a.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-9936

TRADE AND COMPETITIVENESS ACT
(CLOTURE)

BILL NO.: S. 1420 (H.R. 3)

AMENDMENT NO.: 450

TITLE: "Omnibus Trade and Competitiveness Act of 1987"

SUBJECT: **Bumpers, et al., motion to close further debate on the Bumpers-Hatfield-Adams amendment to prohibit the use of funds to reflag any Kuwaiti naval vessels for a period of 89 days following enactment of this legislation.** (See also Vote No. 183.)

NOTE: See Vote No. 183 for arguments for and against the amendment. The cloture petition, presented on July 10, 1987, was signed by Senators Bumpers, Cranston, Leahy, Ford, Matsunaga, Wirth, Burdick, Kerry, Proxmire, Melcher, Baucus, Sanford, DeConcini, Lautenberg, Dodd, Rockefeller, Sasser, and Reid.

S. 1420 (H.R. 3): Vote Nos. 158, 160, 161, 164, 166, 168-175, 177-208.

RESULT: **CLOTURE MOTION REJECTED, 3/5THS NOT HAVING VOTED IN THE AFFIRMATIVE**

YEAS (54)

Democrats (48 or 92%)

Adams
Baucus
Biden
Bingaman
Bradley
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Hollings
Inouye

Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Proxmire
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Simon
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans (6 or 13%)

Hatfield
Murkowski
Packwood
Roth
Specter
Weicker

NAYS (44)

Democrats (4 or 8%)

Bentsen
Boren
Breaux
Shelby

Republicans (40 or 87%)

Armstrong
Bond
Boschwitz
Chafee
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Evans
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hecht
Heinz
Helms
Humphrey

Karnes
Kassebaum
Kasten
Lugar
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Nickles
Pressler
Quayle
Rudman
Simpson
Stafford
Stevens
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Warner
Wilson

NOT VOTING (2)

Democrats (2)

Gore—2
Pryor—4

Republicans (0)

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 92%
Republicans— 87%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (54)
Democrats— 48 or 89%
Republicans— 6 or 11%

Against (44)
Democrats— 4 or 9%
Republicans— 40 or 91%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 197

100th Congress
1st Session

July 15, 1987, 2:31 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-9971

TRADE AND COMPETITIVENESS ACT

BILL NO.: S. 1420 (H.R. 3)

AMENDMENT NO.: 547

TITLE: "Omnibus Trade and Competitiveness Act of 1987"

SUBJECT: **Dole-Byrd, et al., amendment which imposes a trade embargo against Iran, or any other state in the Persian Gulf region, which launches a purposeful military or terrorist attack on U.S. vessels, facilities, or personnel with "silkworm" missiles or other weapons; and urges the President to persuade all nations to discontinue the practice of transferring offensive weaponry, including silkworm missiles, to belligerent nations in the Persian Gulf region.**

NOTE: Proponents asserted that the U.S. should use all available means of sanction against Iran in the event that it launches its silkworm missiles, or directly attacks American vessels or personnel. American trade with Iran represents a major dollar earner for Iran, almost all of which is from Iranian oil. Those dollars have paid for military equipment which Iran is using in its war against Iraq and to threaten many U.S. allies in the gulf. The amendment also encourages the Administration to exert pressure on governments to quit sending such dangerous weapons to Iran.

Opponents called the amendment a hollow gesture that would only diminish respect for American resolve. Others objected because the People's Republic of China was not specifically condemned for supplying the Iranians with the silkworm missiles, which constitute the current threat to safe passage in the Persian Gulf.

S. 1420 (H.R. 3): Vote Nos. 158, 160, 161, 164, 166, 168-175, 177-208.

RESULT: **AMENDMENT AGREED TO**

YEAS (82)

Democrats (49 or 94%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Biden
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Graham
Heflin
Hollings
Inouye
Johnston

Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Proxmire
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Simon
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans (33 or 72%)

Armstrong
Bond
Chafee
Cochran
Cohen
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hatfield
Hecht
Humphrey
Karnes
Kassebaum

Kasten
McCain
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Packwood
Pressler
Roth
Simpson
Stafford
Stevens
Thurmond
Trible
Warner
Weicker
Wilson

NAYS (16)

Democrats (3 or 6%)

Cranston
Exon
Harkin

Republicans (13 or 28%)

Boschwitz
D'Amato
Durenberger
Evans
Heinz
Helms
Lugar
McClure
Quayle
Rudman
Specter
Symms
Wallop

NOT VOTING (2)

Democrats (2)

Gore—2AY
Pryor—4

Republicans (0)

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 94%
Republicans— 72%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (82)
Democrats— 49 or 60%
Republicans— 33 or 40%

Against (16)
Democrats— 3 or 19%
Republicans— 13 or 81%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 198

100th Congress
1st Session

July 15, 1987, 4:55 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-9993

TRADE AND COMPETITIVENESS ACT

BILL NO.: S. 1420 (H.R. 3) **AMENDMENT NO.: 574**

TITLE: "Omnibus Trade and Competitiveness Act of 1987"

SUBJECT: **Armstrong motion to table the Danforth-Metzenbaum, et al., amendment which would permit the President to continue Romania's Most-Favored-Nation (MFN) trading status (which the Armstrong-Dodd, et al., amendment—Vote No. 161—suspended for six months unless Romania makes improvements in protecting fundamental human rights) if he reports to Congress that the denial of such trade status would make it more difficult to improve human rights practices in Romania or to enhance opportunities for emigration from Romania.**

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment asserted that the President should have discretionary authority over the application of the Armstrong-Dodd amendment (Vote No. 161) since by the time it is actually applied, conditions may have changed to the extent that it may worsen the human rights situation. The issue is not Romania's treatment of its citizens, which is unarguably reprehensible, but how the U.S. can be most constructive. The Romanian government has reportedly already reacted to the Senate's passage of Armstrong-Dodd. To pursue suspension of MFN anyway may cause Romania to retaliate against various minorities, and will remove the only means the U.S. has for stimulating emigration and other human rights reforms. Not only would this amendment preserve that means, but it would provide additional incentive for Romania to move forward with reforms, since the Jackson-Vanik amendment is less demanding than Armstrong-Dodd.

Opponents of the amendment countered that Armstrong-Dodd would be completely negated by this amendment, and claimed that it implies that present Romanian emigration levels are an acceptable benchmark. It would actually hurt emigration since Romania need only allow human rights to deteriorate to assure that the President decides against Armstrong-Dodd. Further, it denies Congress the right to disagree with a presidential certification. During the last 12 years, the Senate has

(OVER)

S. 1420 (H.R. 3): Vote Nos. 158, 160, 161, 164, 166, 168-175, 177-208.

RESULT: **MOTION TO TABLE AGREED TO**

YEAS (53)		NAYS (44)		NOT VOTING (3)	
Democrats (25 or 48%)	**Republicans (28 or 62%)**	**Democrats (27 or 52%)**	**Republicans (17 or 38%)**	**Democrats (2)**	**Republicans (1)**
Biden	Armstrong	Adams	Bond	Gore—2	Rudman—2
Bingaman	Cochran	Baucus	Boschwitz	Pryor—4	
Bradley	D'Amato	Bentsen	Chafee		
Breaux	Dole	Boren	Cohen		
Daschle	Domenici	Bumpers	Danforth		
DeConcini	Durenberger	Burdick	Evans		
Dodd	Garn	Byrd	Hatfield		
Glenn	Gramm	Chiles	Hecht		
Graham	Grassley	Conrad	Heinz		
Harkin	Hatch	Cranston	McConnell		
Hollings	Helms	Dixon	Packwood		
Inouye	Humphrey	Exon	Pressler		
Johnston	Karnes	Ford	Roth		
Kennedy	Kassebaum	Fowler	Specter		
Kerry	Kasten	Heflin	Stafford		
Lautenberg	Lugar	Matsunaga	Weicker		
Leahy	McCain	Metzenbaum	Wilson		
Levin	McClure	Mikulski			
Melcher	Murkowski	Mitchell			
Nunn	Nickles	Moynihan			
Proxmire	Quayle	Pell			
Reid	Simpson	Rockefeller			
Riegle	Stevens	Sanford			
Sarbanes	Symms	Sasser			
Wirth	Thurmond	Shelby			
	Trible	Simon			
	Wallop	Stennis			
	Warner				

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 52%
Republicans— 62%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (53)
Democrats— 25 or 47%
Republicans— 28 or 53%

Against (44)
Democrats— 27 or 61%
Republicans— 17 or 39%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

considered but withheld legislation addressing Romanian human rights abuses, believing that passing legislation would cause greater harm; however, since human rights have steadily worsened, as the recent Amnesty International report illustrates, there is no longer any reason for the Senate to withhold action. While Armstrong-Dodd requires greater assurances from Romania than Jackson-Vanik, the latter was never intended to restrict consideration of other human rights violations. Moreover, the requirements of Armstrong-Dodd are broad enough that any positive action may be sufficient for restoration of MFN status. This approach was overwelmingly supported in the House.

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 199

100th Congress
1st Session

July 15, 1987, 11:44 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-10043

TRADE AND COMPETITIVENESS ACT

BILL NO.: S. 1420 (H.R. 3)

AMENDMENT NO.: 589

TITLE: "Omnibus Trade and Competitiveness Act of 1987"

SUBJECT: **Gramm-Armstrong amendment to strike Title XVII which deals with international debt and instructs the Secretary of the Treasury to negotiate with industrialized and developing countries, as he deems appropriate, for the establishment of an international debt management agency which would be designed to operate as a self-supporting entity, requiring no routine appropriation of resources from any member government.**

NOTE: Proponents claimed that the international debt management authority section of the bill should be struck because the authors do not understand international debt management, what reform would cost, or how to pay for it. To mandate the Treasury Secretary to hold talks under these circumstances is not appropriate and would create the false expectation in the Third World that some official arrangement would be made to alleviate all or part of their debt burden. Consequently, they would withhold payments, and banks would stop making loans, awaiting the creation of some agency that under these ill-defined circumstances probably would pass the cost of reform to the American taxpayer. While Third World debt restructuring of some sort is essential, this provision does not accomplish it. A sense of the Senate resolution to express the importance of international debt management and initiate a study would be more appropriate. The provision is opposed by the Federal Reserve Bank, and the Treasury Secretary has indicated he would urge a veto if it remained in the bill.

Opponents countered that the provision only requires the Secretary to initiate discussions, with the eventual goal of developing an international debt management plan, and stressed that it does not mandate specific action. The debt crisis has not been handled well, and testimony before the Banking Committee emphasized the necessity of pursuing such discussions. The crisis is crippling Third World economic growth, hurting U.S. trade, and fueling the movement of illegal aliens to the U.S. Moreover, democratic governments in Latin America are suffering under the debt burden, a weakness the Soviet

(OVER)

S. 1420 (H.R. 3): Vote Nos. 158, 160, 161, 164, 166, 168-175, 177-208.

RESULT: **AMENDMENT REJECTED**

YEAS (49)

Democrats
(3 or 6%)

Baucus
Bentsen
DeConcini

Republicans
(46 or 100%)

Armstrong
Bond
Boschwitz
Chafee
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Evans
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hatfield
Hecht
Heinz
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes
Kassebaum
Kasten
Lugar
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Packwood
Pressler
Quayle
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Specter
Stafford
Stevens
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Warner
Weicker
Wilson

NAYS (50)

Democrats
(50 or 94%)

Adams
Biden
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Gore
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Hollings
Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Proxmire
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Simon
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans
(0 or 0%)

NOT VOTING (1)

Democrats (1)

Pryor—4

Republicans (0)

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 94%
Republicans— 100%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (49)
Democrats— 3 or 6%
Republicans— 46 or 94%

Against (50)
Democrats— 50 or 100%
Republicans— 0 or 0%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

Union is beginning to exploit. If the talks do lead to the creation of such a debt management plan, which must be self-supporting and would have to be voted on by the Senate, it would improve the U.S. trade balance and competitiveness. It would enhance Third World repayment because the restructuring would be directed toward growth-oriented reforms aimed at getting debtor nations to make the internal changes necessary to attract capital. While the concern has been raised that debt restructuring would make banks less interested in lending to Third World nations, the fact is that many nations obtain most capital through other channels, such as debt equity swaps, stock market investment, and multilateral institutions.

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 200

100th Congress
1st Session

July 16, 1987, 12:12 a.m.
Session of July 15, 1987
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-10044

TRADE AND COMPETITIVENESS ACT

BILL NO.: S. 1420 (H.R. 3) **AMENDMENT NO.: 590**

TITLE: "Omnibus Trade and Competitiveness Act of 1987"

SUBJECT: **Boren-Gramm, et al., amendment to repeal the windfall profit tax.** (See also Vote Nos. 192-195.)

NOTE: Proponents stated that the revival of a vital U.S. oil industry depends upon repeal of the windfall profit tax. Its continuation is a disincentive to investment in domestic production and will lead to increased oil imports. The tax imposes a heavy administrative cost on producers while generating little or no revenue. It discourages production from marginal wells, as well as exploration and development. There is no possible reason, proponents argued, to continue this legacy of the misguided Federal energy policies of the 1970's.

Opponents emphasized that the difficulty facing the oil industry is not a result of the windfall profit tax but the low prices created by OPEC's manipulation of world production. Repeal would be a mistake at a time when the government needs money. The tax was part of a political bargain made in exchange for the lifting of price controls. Once gas prices rise, revenues will increase along with increased profits. Elimination of the windfall profit tax would increase the deficit and put a disproportionate burden on the poor. There are numerous other tax loopholes that could be brought up if tax issues are going to be attached to this trade bill.

S. 1420 (H.R. 3): Vote Nos. 158, 160, 161, 164, 166, 168-175, 177-208.

RESULT: **AMENDMENT AGREED TO**

YEAS (58)

Democrats
(23 or 44%)

Baucus
Bentsen
Bingaman
Boren
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Conrad
Daschle
Dixon
Exon
Gore
Heflin
Hollings
Inouye
Johnston
Matsunaga
Melcher
Nunn
Sanford
Shelby
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans
(35 or 76%)

Armstrong
Bond
Boschwitz
Cochran
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Evans
Garn
Gramm
Hatch
Hatfield
Hecht
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes
Kassebaum
Kasten
Lugar
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Pressler
Quayle
Roth
Simpson
Stevens
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Warner
Wilson

NAYS (40)

Democrats
(29 or 56%)

Adams
Biden
Bradley
Byrd
Chiles
Cranston
DeConcini
Dodd
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Graham
Harkin
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Pell
Proxmire
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sarbanes
Sasser

Republicans
(11 or 24%)

Chafee
Cohen
D'Amato
Durenberger
Grassley
Heinz
Packwood
Rudman
Specter
Stafford
Weicker

NOT VOTING (1)

Democrats (1) **Republicans (0)**

Pryor—4PY

LIVE PAIRS (1)

PRESENT AND GIVING:	RECEIVING:
Simon (PN)	Pryor (PY)

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 56%
Republicans— 76%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (58)
Democrats— 23 or 40%
Republicans— 35 or 60%

Against (40)
Democrats— 29 or 72.5%
Republicans— 11 or 27.5%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 201

100th Congress
1st Session

July 17, 1987, 1:16 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-10161

TRADE AND COMPETITIVENESS ACT

BILL NO.: S. 1420 (H.R. 3) **AMENDMENT NO.:** 596

TITLE: "Omnibus Trade and Competitiveness Act of 1987"

SUBJECT: **Hollings motion to table the Harkin, et al., amendment which requires foreign investors to register their investments of more than five percent in a U.S. property or business enterprise with the Department of Commerce and to disclose, if they own a 25 percent interest, the same kind of information already required of U.S. companies whose stock is traded on the stock exchanges, and establishes penalties of up to $10,000 per week for failure to register within 30 days of acquisition and $10,000 and/or up to one year imprisonment for submitting false or misleading information.**

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment argued that Americans are entitled to know where foreign investors are putting their money, since this investment amounts to nearly $1.3 trillion, and the economic decisions surrounding it can affect U.S. independence and prosperity. Workers and communities cannot negotiate effectively with foreign companies demanding wage cuts and tax breaks because their claims cannot be verified independently. Foreign-controlled companies may be gaining access to sensitive technology. They also may be operated unknowingly by a hostile nation or for an illegal purpose, such as laundering money. National defense concerns are raised since information is unavailable to assess the effects of foreign investment on the U.S. economy, and the information that is collected is performed by a number of Federal agencies with no overall synthesis. The amendment requires disclosure only of significant foreign interests in business and real estate (not Treasury bonds or other debt investment), which is more lenient than the disclosure many foreign countries require from U.S. companies. Hearings on such a disclosure requirement have been held by the House.

Opponents of the amendment agreed that disclosing information on foreign investment is a sound idea, but were concerned that no Senate hearings have been held, particularly since the Federal Reserve Board, Commerce Department, and the business community have expressed their strong opposition and have not had an opportunity to testify. Foreign investment is too vital to the U.S. economy in terms of jobs and tax revenue for the Senate to risk deterring it. Foreign investment could be scared away by this amendment if there is apprehension about revealing proprietary information. Some foreign investors

(OVER)

S. 1420 (H.R. 3): Vote Nos. 158, 160, 161, 164, 166, 168-175, 177-208.

RESULT: **MOTION TO TABLE AGREED TO**

YEAS (83)

Democrats (39 or 78%)

Baucus
Bentsen
Biden
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Byrd
Cranston
Daschle
Dixon
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Graham
Heflin
Hollings
Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Matsunaga
Melcher
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans (44 or 100%)

Armstrong
Bond
Boschwitz
Chafee
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Evans
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hatfield
Hecht
Heinz
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes
Kassebaum
Kasten
Lugar
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Packwood
Pressler
Quayle
Roth
Rudman
Specter
Stafford
Stevens
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Warner
Weicker
Wilson

NAYS (11)

Democrats (11 or 22%)

Bumpers
Burdick
Chiles
Conrad
DeConcini
Glenn
Harkin
Levin
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Shelby

Republicans (0 or 0%)

NOT VOTING (6)

Democrats (4)

Adams—^{2AY}
Dodd—^{2}
Gore—^{2}
Simon—^{2}

Republicans (2)

Durenberger—^{2}
Simpson—^{2}

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 78%
Republicans— 100%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (83)
Democrats— 39 or 47%
Republicans— 44 or 53%

Against (11)
Democrats— 11 or 100%
Republicans— 0 or 0%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

may shift equity out of U.S. companies, where they bear some risk, to U.S. Treasury bills, where there is no risk and no disclosure requirement. If foreign investors pull out of real estate, the resulting fall in prices would impact farmland and home values. There might arise political pressure for the U.S. to pick and choose among foreign investors, which the incident with Fairchild shows is not a productive roll for Congress. The legislation should be reintroduced as a bill, they recommended, and referred to the appropriate committee.

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 202

100th Congress
1st Session

July 17, 1987, 3:25 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-10176

TRADE AND COMPETITIVENESS ACT

BILL NO.: S. 1420 (H.R. 3) **AMENDMENT NO.:** 597

TITLE: "Omnibus Trade and Competitiveness Act of 1987"

SUBJECT: **Johnston motion to table the Chafee amendment to eliminate the cane sugar drawback provision in the bill which would allow import duties paid on raw cane sugar imported between November 1, 1977, and April 1, 1985, to be refunded upon its refinement and export before October 1, 1991.**

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment contended that the sugar drawback provision would remove millions of dollars from the Federal Treasury to benefit only a handful of cane sugar refiners in the United States. Of the estimated $365 million in drawback rights, $264 million would go to only three companies, two of which are Fortune 500 companies. Claims made under this provision could not be verified by the Customs Service because it does not retain records for more than eight years. Searching out the records to prove a company's claim would be a tremendous drain on Customs officials. At a time when the U.S. is attempting to strengthen the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), there is no reason to give a select group special privileges that violate GATT. The sugar drawback provision is not a long-term solution, but a one-time deal which would prop up refiners for awhile and not necessarily result in making the industry more competitive. The best thing to do, proponents argued, is strike the provision and then hold hearings on the issue.

Opponents of the amendment stated that repealing the drawback provision for cane sugar would be a step towards closing down American refineries and exporting American jobs. Eight of 22 sugar refineries in the U.S. have closed down and the remaining refineries would be endangered if the drawback provision were not to become law. The sugar drawback provision has a positive effect on the budget because importers are able to export refined sugar more quickly and therefore lessen their CCC payments. In addition, it aids the Caribbean Basin Initiative countries by enabling them to have their sugar refined at a lower price which makes them more competitive in the world market. The provision was adopted by the Finance Committee by a 12 to 7 vote, and an identical provision is in H.R. 3, which has already passed the House.

S. 1420 (H.R. 3): Vote Nos. 158, 160, 161, 164, 166, 168-175, 177-208.

RESULT: **MOTION TO TABLE AGREED TO**

YEAS (49)			NAYS (44)			NOT VOTING (7)	
Democrats (33 or 67%)		Republicans (16 or 36%)	Democrats (16 or 33%)	Republicans (28 or 64%)		Democrats (5)	Republicans (2)
Baucus	Inouye	Cochran	Bradley	Armstrong	Kassebaum	Adams—2AY	Durenberger—2
Bentsen	Johnston	D'Amato	Chiles	Bond	Lugar	Biden—2	Simpson—2
Bingaman	Lautenberg	Garn	Conrad	Boschwitz	McCain	Dodd—2	
Boren	Matsunaga	Grassley	Fowler	Chafee	McClure	Gore—2	
Breaux	Mikulski	Hatch	Glenn	Cohen	Nickles	Simon—2	
Bumpers	Moynihan	Hecht	Graham	Danforth	Packwood		
Burdick	Nunn	Heinz	Kennedy	Dole	Pressler		
Byrd	Pryor	Kasten	Kerry	Domenici	Quayle		
Cranston	Reid	McConnell	Leahy	Evans	Roth		
Daschle	Riegle	Murkowski	Levin	Gramm	Rudman		
DeConcini	Rockefeller	Specter	Melcher	Hatfield	Stafford		
Dixon	Sarbanes	Stevens	Metzenbaum	Helms	Symms		
Exon	Sasser	Thurmond	Mitchell	Humphrey	Trible		
Ford	Shelby	Wallop	Pell	Karnes	Wilson		
Harkin	Stennis	Warner	Proxmire				
Heflin	Wirth	Weicker	Sanford				
Hollings							

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion	Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on	
	For (49)	*Against* (44)
Democrats—67%	Democrats—33 or 67%	Democrats—16 or 36%
Republicans—64%	Republicans—16 or 33%	Republicans—28 or 64%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 203

100th Congress
1st Session

July 17, 1987, 6:38 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-10198

TRADE AND COMPETITIVENESS ACT

BILL NO.: S. 1420 (H.R. 3) **AMENDMENT NO.:** 616

TITLE: "Omnibus Trade and Competitiveness Act of 1987"

SUBJECT: **Packwood motion to table the Wilson-Hollings amendment to repeal section 151 of the Trade Act of 1974 which provides expedited procedures for passage of any trade agreements implementing legislation within 60 days of its submission to Congress** (but does not repeal the provision which prohibits amendments to such implementing legislation).

NOTE: The vote on this amendment occurred in the final days of the bill's consideration, by which point many Senators had reached an agreement to table all controversial amendments so as to complete action on the bill.

Proponents of the amendment argued that fast track negotiating authority restricts the Senate from adequately debating trade agreements, and guarantees the President immunity from congressional disagreement. Under the fast track, the Administration could include any changes to existing law that it deems necessary, while the Senate is limited to voting up or down within 60 days on the whole package, regardless of how complex it is, and without being permitted to amend it. The Senate should have an adequate period of time to debate trade agreements so that Senators can fully understand what they are voting on. The amendment would not make trade agreements amendable; nor would it limit the President's constitutional right to negotiate. Contrary to fears that foreign governments do not want negotiations hampered by Congress, they would continue to negotiate with the U.S. to gain access to this country's markets, they insisted. Moreover, the lack of fast track authority for other types of international agreements has not prevented successful negotiations in the past.

Opponents of the amendment asserted that fast track negotiating authority is an integral part of the bill, which this amendment would effectively revoke. It would make trade agreements vulnerable to a

(OVER)

S. 1420 (H.R. 3): Vote Nos. 158, 160, 161, 164, 166, 168-175, 177-208.

RESULT: **MOTION TO TABLE AGREED TO**

YEAS (68)

Democrats (39 or 98%)

Baucus
Bentsen
Bingaman
Boren
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Inouye
Johnston
Kerry
Lautenberg
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Moynihan
Nunn
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Stennis

Republicans (29 or 78%)

Bond
Boschwitz
Chafee
Cochran
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Evans
Gramm
Grassley
Hatfield
Hecht
Karnes
Kassebaum
Kasten
Lugar
McCain
McConnell
Murkowski
Packwood
Pressler
Roth
Rudman
Stafford
Stevens
Wallop
Warner
Weicker

NAYS (9)

Democrats (1 or 3%)

Hollings

Republicans (8 or 22%)

Hatch
Helms
Humphrey
McClure
Quayle
Specter
Thurmond
Wilson

NOT VOTING (23)

Democrats (14)

Adams—2AY
Biden—2
Bradley—2
Chiles—2
Dodd—2
Gore—2AY
Kennedy—2
Leahy—2AY
Mikulski—2
Mitchell—2
Pell—2AY
Sanford—2
Simon—2
Wirth—2

Republicans (9)

Armstrong—2
Cohen—2
Durenberger—2
Garn—2
Heinz—2AY
Nickles—2
Simpson—2
Symms—2
Trible—2

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 98%
Republicans— 78%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (68)
Democrats— 39 or 57%
Republicans— 29 or 43%

Against (9)
Democrats— 1 or 11%
Republicans— 8 or 89%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

filibuster by a narrow sectoral interest, and assure that the President would veto the whole trade bill. The bill does not simply reinstate fast track authority, but makes a number of revisions so that future administrations cannot avoid consulting with Congress after receiving fast track authority the way the current Administration has. Fast track authority is made available in the bill only if the President submits a trade policy statement to Congress. The President will not be able to enter into agreements unless they accomplish appropriate negotiating objectives set out in the bill, are mutually beneficial, provide a reasonable likelihood of enforcement, and offer a means to offset any unfair trading practices. The authority will expire in 1991, or prior to that time, if the President can show Congress that negotiations are making progress. With regard to bilateral trade agreements, either the Senate Finance or the House Ways and Means Committee are permitted to disapprove negotiations before they even begin. Finally, fast track authority can be revoked at any time by each House passing a resolution. These revisions would assure that Congress is made a key part of the trade negotiating process. It would lead to better trade agreements because foreign governments, knowing that Congress is active in the negotiations from the beginning, would be prepared to make more substantive agreements since the likelihood of the agreement being rejected by Congress would be diminished.

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 204

100th Congress
1st Session

July 21, 1987, 9:03 a.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-10257

TRADE AND COMPETITIVENESS ACT

BILL NO.: S. 1420 (H.R. 3)

AMENDMENT NO.: 566

TITLE: "Omnibus Trade and Competitiveness Act of 1987"

SUBJECT: **Byrd-Danforth-Dole-Bingaman amendment which states the sense of the Senate that the Secretary of Defense should (1) report to Congress within 30 days of enactment on the results of his recent discussions with Japan about procurement of new fighter aircraft, (2) continue his negotiations with Japan and press for a commitment from them to purchase U.S. planes, and (3) transmit to Congress recommendations for congressional action which might encourage Japan to do so.**

NOTE: Proponents stated that one of the most important current issues facing U.S.-Japan trade relations is whether Japan purchases high technology aircraft from the U.S. or develops its own fighter aircraft. Japan is considering whether to co-produce or develop its own fighter aircraft, despite the availability of the F-16 or F-18 from the U.S. for half of the cost of joint development. The Japanese claim they can do a better job than Americans, yet have never developed a viable commercial aircraft, let alone a sophisticated jet fighter. Purchasing American-made aircraft would be the most cost-effective approach to Japan's security and defense needs, and would demonstrate Japan's commitment to open its markets and rectify the existing trade imbalance.

S. 1420 (H.R. 3): Vote Nos. 158, 160, 161, 164, 166, 168-175, 177-208.

RESULT: **AMENDMENT AGREED TO**

YEAS (96)

Democrats
(51 or 100%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Hollings
Inouye

Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans
(45 or 100%)

Armstrong
Bond
Boschwitz
Chafee
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Evans
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hatfield
Hecht
Heinz
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes
Kasten

Lugar
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Packwood
Pressler
Quayle
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Specter
Stafford
Stevens
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Warner
Weicker
Wilson

NAYS (0)

Democrats
(0 or 0%)

Republicans
(0 or 0%)

NOT VOTING (4)

Democrats (3)

Biden^{-2}
Gore^{-2}
Simon^{-2}

Republicans (1)

Kassebaum^{-2}

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion	Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on	
	For (96)	*Against* (0)
Democrats— 100%	Democrats— 51 or 53%	Democrats— 0 or 0%
Republicans— 100%	Republicans— 45 or 47%	Republicans— 0 or 0%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 205

100th Congress
1st Session

July 21, 1987, 10:47 a.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-10265

TRADE AND COMPETITIVENESS ACT

BILL NO.: S. 1420 (H.R. 3)

AMENDMENT NO.: 618

TITLE: "Omnibus Trade and Competitiveness Act of 1987"

SUBJECT: **Packwood-Bentsen motion to table the Heinz amendment to strike the provisions on noncontroversial tariff suspensions which establish administrative procedures that allow duty suspension under expedited procedures and upon the President's approval.**

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment argued that the President should not be given authority to make suspensions of noncontroversial duties. The provision in the trade bill would transfer a constitutionally granted legislative authority from the Congress to the President. The procedure it proposes does not provide adequate opportunity for the public to oppose a suspension because of the obscure nature of the types of items for which suspensions are provided, the fact that the executive branch is less accessible than the legislative, and the limited time period from petition to final action. It will inevitably lead to the creation of a new tariff bureaucracy, requiring businesses to become heavily involved in noncontroversial tariff matters.

Opponents of the amendment insisted that the provision expediting noncontroversial tariff exemptions would help American industry become more competitive. It would establish an administrative procedure to expedite the removal of tariffs on items not produced in the U.S. so that those industries do not have to pay a tariff. The provision would not replace the congressional system of granting tariff suspensions, but would be more efficient, with a maximum of 150 days passing from the initial petition to the President's final determination. Congress has not granted any duty suspensions since 1984. The procedure would provide adequate opportunity for public comment: the ITC will hold hearings as part of the petition review; its preliminary report will be subject to a 30-day public review; and the Trade Policy Staff Committee will seek public comment and may hold hearings. The authority delegated to the President is restricted to an explicit procedure and set of standards that provide even less discretion than is available under the Generalized System of Preferences, which permits the President to suspend duties on imports from developing countries, and is a clear precedent for this provision.

S. 1420 (H.R. 3): Vote Nos. 158, 160, 161, 164, 166, 168-175, 177-208.

RESULT: **MOTION TO TABLE AGREED TO**

YEAS (88)				NAYS (9)		NOT VOTING (3)	
Democrats (51 or 100%)		Republicans (37 or 80%)		Democrats (0 or 0%)	Republicans (9 or 20%)	Democrats (3)	Republicans (0)
Adams	Johnston	Armstrong	Lugar		D'Amato	Biden—2	
Baucus	Kennedy	Bond	McCain		Danforth	Gore—2	
Bentsen	Kerry	Boschwitz	McConnell		Durenberger	Simon—2	
Bingaman	Lautenberg	Chafee	Nickles		Grassley		
Boren	Leahy	Cochran	Packwood		Heinz		
Bradley	Levin	Cohen	Pressler		McClure		
Breaux	Matsunaga	Dole	Quayle		Murkowski		
Bumpers	Melcher	Domenici	Roth		Specter		
Burdick	Metzenbaum	Evans	Rudman		Stafford		
Byrd	Mikulski	Garn	Simpson				
Chiles	Mitchell	Gramm	Stevens				
Conrad	Moynihan	Hatch	Symms				
Cranston	Nunn	Hatfield	Thurmond				
Daschle	Pell	Hecht	Trible				
DeConcini	Proxmire	Helms	Wallop				
Dixon	Pryor	Humphrey	Warner				
Dodd	Reid	Karnes	Weicker				
Exon	Riegle	Kassebaum	Wilson				
Ford	Rockefeller	Kasten					
Fowler	Sanford						
Glenn	Sarbanes						
Graham	Sasser						
Harkin	Shelby						
Heflin	Stennis						
Hollings	Wirth						
Inouye							

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion	Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on	
	For (88)	*Against* (9)
Democrats— 100%	Democrats— 51 or 58%	Democrats— 0 or 0%
Republicans— 80%	Republicans— 37 or 42%	Republicans— 9 or 100%

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 206

100th Congress
1st Session

July 21, 1987, 4:06 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-10289

TRADE AND COMPETITIVENESS ACT

BILL NO.: S. 1420 (H.R. 3) AMENDMENT NO.: 480

TITLE: "Omnibus Trade and Competitiveness Act of 1987"

SUBJECT: **Packwood motion to table the Specter amendment stating the sense of the Senate that the President should direct the U.S. Trade Representative to (1) place the highest priority in the Uruguay round of multilateral trade negotiations (GATT) on strengthening existing remedies against unfair dumping, subsidization, and customs fraud, and (2) negotiate international rules authorizing a private right of action against unfair dumping practices and customs fraud.** (See also Vote No. 158.)

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment claimed that U.S. companies continue to be injured by unfair foreign trade practices, which the remedies provided by GATT are ineffective in deterring. Providing domestic industries with a private right of action, they argued, would allow U.S. companies to seek compensation and would provide an effective deterrent to foreign producers who contemplate such activity. The Senate has considered such legislation, known as the Unfair Foreign Competition Act, in various forms since the 97th Congress, but a recurring issue has been whether the Act's private right provision was consistent with the GATT agreements, on which legal opinions are still divided. The amendment would attempt to resolve this disagreement by urging the trade representatives to negotiate a private right of action within the framework of GATT. The amendment is in no way binding, but acknowledges that the Uruguay round of talks offers an opportunity to strengthen the GATT rules and remedies against unfair trade.

There were no opposing arguments. (During the final days of debate on the trade bill, there was a growing effort to table most amendments.)

S. 1420 (H.R. 3): Vote Nos. 158, 160, 161, 164, 166, 168-175, 177-208.

RESULT: MOTION TO TABLE AGREED TO

YEAS (65)			NAYS (31)		NOT VOTING (4)	
Democrats (36 or 71%)		**Republicans (29 or 64%)**	**Democrats (15 or 29%)**	**Republicans (16 or 36%)**	**Democrats (3)**	**Republicans (1)**
Adams	Harkin	Armstrong	Baucus	Cohen	Gore—^{2}	Rudman—^{2}
Bentsen	Hollings	Bond	Bingaman	D'Amato	Inouye—^{4}	
Biden	Johnston	Boschwitz	Byrd	Dole	Simon—^{2}	
Boren	Kennedy	Chafee	DeConcini	Garn		
Bradley	Kerry	Cochran	Dixon	Hatch		
Breaux	Lautenberg	Danforth	Heflin	Heinz		
Bumpers	Leahy	Domenici	Levin	Helms		
Burdick	Matsunaga	Durenberger	Melcher	Kasten		
Chiles	Metzenbaum	Evans	Mikulski	McClure		
Conrad	Mitchell	Gramm	Moynihan	McConnell		
Cranston	Nunn	Grassley	Reid	Murkowski		
Daschle	Pell	Hatfield	Riegle	Pressler		
Dodd	Proxmire	Hecht	Rockefeller	Specter		
Exon	Pryor	Humphrey	Sarbanes	Symms		
Ford	Sanford	Karnes	Shelby	Thurmond		
Fowler	Sasser	Kassebaum		Wilson		
Glenn	Stennis	Lugar				
Graham	Wirth	McCain				
		Nickles				
		Packwood				
		Quayle				
		Roth				
		Simpson				
		Stafford				
		Stevens				
		Trible				
		Wallop				
		Warner				
		Weicker				

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:
1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:
AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion	Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on	
	For (65)	*Against* (31)
Democrats— 71%	Democrats— 36 or 55%	Democrats— 15 or 48%
Republicans— 64%	Republicans— 29 or 45%	Republicans— 16 or 52%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 207

100th Congress
1st Session

July 21, 1987, 6:03 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-10311

TRADE AND COMPETITIVENESS ACT

BILL NO.: S. 1420 (H.R. 3)

AMENDMENT NO.: 625

TITLE: "Omnibus Trade and Competitiveness Act of 1987"

SUBJECT: **Packwood motion to table the Daschle-Pryor amendment to exempt newsprint from the Section 218 import fee (which will be used to fund the Trade Adjustment Assistance program).**

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment pointed out that newsprint has been duty free since 1913. The industry depends on foreign sources for two-thirds of the newsprint utilized, and it would be very damaging to impose a duty at this time.

Opponents of the amendment contended that it was a special interest amendment seeking a special exemption for one industry at the expense of others that would consequently have to pay higher fees to make up for the lost revenue. If this exception were made in the Senate bill, many other industries would seek an exception in conference. (During the final days of debate on the trade bill, there was a growing effort to table most amendments.)

S. 1420 (H.R. 3): Vote Nos. 158, 160, 161, 164, 166, 168-175, 177-208.

RESULT: MOTION TO TABLE AGREED TO

YEAS (69)

Democrats (29 or 56%)

Adams
Baucus
Biden
Bingaman
Bradley
Burdick
Byrd
Cranston
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Graham
Harkin
Hollings
Kennedy
Lautenberg
Levin
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Nunn
Proxmire
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Shelby
Wirth

Republicans (40 or 87%)

Armstrong
Bond
Boschwitz
Chafee
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Evans
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hatfield
Hecht
Heinz
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes
Kasten
Lugar
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Packwood
Rudman
Simpson
Stafford
Stevens
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Warner
Weicker
Wilson

NAYS (29)

Democrats (23 or 44%)

Bentsen
Boren
Breaux
Bumpers
Chiles
Conrad
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Heflin
Inouye
Johnston
Kerry
Leahy
Matsunaga
Melcher
Moynihan
Pell
Pryor
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Stennis

Republicans (6 or 13%)

Kassebaum
Nickles
Pressler
Quayle
Roth
Specter

NOT VOTING (2)

Democrats (2)

Gore—2
Simon—2

Republicans (0)

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion	Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on	
	For (69)	*Against* (29)
Democrats— 56%	Democrats— 29 or 42%	Democrats— 23 or 79%
Republicans— 87%	Republicans— 40 or 58%	Republicans— 6 or 21%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 208

100th Congress
1st Session

July 21, 1987, 6:27 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-10372

TRADE AND COMPETITIVENESS ACT

BILL NO.: H.R. 3 (S. 1420)

TITLE: "Omnibus Trade and Competitiveness Act of 1987"

SUBJECT: Passage of the bill which renews the "fast-track" procedure for the President to enter into trade agreements with foreign countries; mandates responses to unfair distortions of international trade; improves the enforcement of U.S. antidumping and countervailing duty laws; establishes a new trade competitiveness assistance program for firms and workers; repeals the windfall profits tax; establishes a special procedure to open foreign markets having a "consistent pattern of trade barriers"; modifies export licensing procedures under the Export Administration Act; modifies Federal Reserve regulations relating to bank-affiliated export trading companies; states U.S. policy regarding international economic policy coordination and currency markets; authorizes withdrawal of privileges for companies from foreign countries which do not accord competitive opportunities to U.S. financial institutions comparable to those of their domestic counterparts; modifies the criminal prosecution provisions of the Foreign Corrupt Practices Act; authorizes the President, after an investigation by the Secretary of Commerce, to take appropriate actions to restrict foreign investment in U.S. businesses which threaten the national security; requires the President to impose sanctions on the importation of the products from companies found to have violated international export control agreements, including the Toshiba Corporation and Kongsberg Vaapenfabrik; directs the President to address the international debt problem of developing countries, including the proposal of an international debt facility; establishes a Trade and Development Program with authority over the mixed credit program; increases appropriations and staff levels for the Foreign Agricultural Service to expand its agricultural export marketing programs and activities; modifies the provisions of several existing agricultural trade programs including increasing funding for the Targeted Export Assistance Program, and establishing a

(OVER)

H.R. 3 (S. 1420): Vote Nos. 158, 160, 161, 164, 166, 168-175, 177-208.

RESULT: **BILL PASSED**

ADMINISTRATION POSITION: NAY

YEAS (71)			NAYS (27)		NOT VOTING (2)	
Democrats (52 or 100%)		**Republicans (19 or 41%)**	**Democrats (0 or 0%)**	**Republicans (27 or 59%)**	**Democrats (2)**	**Republicans (0)**
Adams	Inouye	Bond		Armstrong	Gore—2AY	
Baucus	Johnston	Chafee		Boschwitz	Simon—2AY	
Bentsen	Kennedy	Cohen		Cochran		
Biden	Kerry	D'Amato		Dole		
Bingaman	Lautenberg	Danforth		Domenici		
Boren	Leahy	Grassley		Durenberger		
Bradley	Levin	Heinz		Evans		
Breaux	Matsunaga	Karnes		Garn		
Bumpers	Melcher	Kasten		Gramm		
Burdick	Metzenbaum	Murkowski		Hatch		
Byrd	Mikulski	Nickles		Hatfield		
Chiles	Mitchell	Packwood		Hecht		
Conrad	Moynihan	Pressler		Helms		
Cranston	Nunn	Roth		Humphrey		
Daschle	Pell	Specter		Kassebaum		
DeConcini	Proxmire	Thurmond		Lugar		
Dixon	Pryor	Trible		McCain		
Dodd	Reid	Warner		McClure		
Exon	Riegle	Weicker		McConnell		
Ford	Rockefeller			Quayle		
Fowler	Sanford			Rudman		
Glenn	Sarbanes			Simpson		
Graham	Sasser			Stafford		
Harkin	Shelby			Stevens		
Heflin	Stennis			Symms		
Hollings	Wirth			Wallop		
				Wilson		

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 100%
Republicans— 59%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (71)
Democrats— 52 or 73%
Republicans— 19 or 27%

Against (27)
Democrats— 0 or 0%
Republicans— 27 or 100%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

triggered marketing loan program for the 1990 crop year for certain commodities if a GATT agreement on agricultural trade has not been reached; requires that imported food be labeled to specify the country of origin; requires that annual appropriations to reimburse the CCC for net realized losses be made by means of a current indefinite appropriation; requires advance notification of plant closings and mass layoffs; creates demonstration programs for dislocated workers, self-employment opportunities, public works employment, dislocated farmers, farm employees, and ranchers, and job creation; authorizes funds for education programs to improve American competitiveness; authorizes various grant programs including the Star Schools and foreign language study programs; makes amendments to the patent laws with respect to patented processes, the patent misuse doctrine, licensee challenges to patent validity, and patent term restoration; reorganizes the National Bureau of Standards into the National Institute of Technology with responsibility for developing quality control techniques and generic research to improve U.S. manufacturing and product technologies; establishes a pilot State Technology Extension Program to support innovative State projects to transfer Federal technology to businesses and creates a new Commerce Department Clearinghouse on State and Local Initiatives on Productivity, Technology, and Innovation; amends the International Air Transportation Fair Competitive Practices Act to facilitate DOT review of complaints by U.S. carriers; and strengthens export assistance programs for small businesses.

MAJOR PROVISIONS

Finance Committee: Authorizes the President, for a six-year period, to enter into trade agreements with foreign countries to establish a more open, fair, and equitable market access for U.S. exporters, to reduce or eliminate barriers to trade and other trade-distorting practices, and to obtain an appropriate overall balance between benefits and concessions with the agricultural manufacturing, mining, and services sectors; mandates responses to unfair distortions of international trade and strengthens the enforcement of U.S. antidumping and countervailing duty laws; establishes a three-part program to deal with efforts to circumvent antidumping or countervailing duties through processing operations in the U.S. or third countries, and new procedures to monitor imports within a specific product category when a foreign manufacturer is repeatedly found to be dumping similar products in the U.S.; strengthens U.S. antidumping law, as GATT permits, by explicitly prohibiting the exporter's sale price offset and by including among the deductions from the exporter's sales price "profits from selling" the product; gives the President discretionary authority, under section 301, to retaliate against foreign subsidization of excess capacity to produce nonagricultural, fungible goods such as copper, steel, and other minerals; permits the President, under section 201, to deny tariff and quota relief if he determines that it would disproportionately burden the poor, to take action under section 201 in a manner which avoids injury to U.S. agricultural interests, and to decline to take action under section 201 to promote U.S. employment; requires the USTR to: (1) identify foreign countries that maintain a consistent pattern of import barriers and trade distorting practices, (2) evaluate their effect on U.S. exports and estimate the value in lost trade to the U.S. during the preceding year, and (3) negotiate agreements with each foreign country to eliminate the trade barriers or provide alternative export opportunities equivalent to any barriers remaining, and if no agreement is reached, requires countermeasures against those countries under section 301; allows the Senate Finance and House Ways and Means Committees, by adoption of a Committee resolution, to file a section 301 petition with the USTR for the investigation of a foreign country suspected of maintaining a consistent pattern of import barriers and trade distorting practices; repeals the windfall profits tax; sets forth U.S. negotiating objectives in the upcoming GATT negotiations and declares U.S. policy to reduce agricultural support programs and export subsidies in cooperation with U.S. trading partners; authorizes funds for the International Trade Commission, the U.S. Customs Service, and the USTR in FY 1988; authorizes the President to enter into trade agreements to increase U.S. participation in foreign telecommunications markets during a three-year period; establishes a comprehensive statutory framework for the regulation and operation of duty-free sales enterprises; extends U.S. participation in the International Coffee Agreement through October 1, 1989; prohibits imports of seven categories of goods from the Soviet Union produced by convict or forced labor; imposes new tariffs on pasta imported from the European Community (EC) if the U.S.-EC dispute on EC pasta subsidies is not resolved by July 1, 1987; implements the provisions of the Nairobi Protocol to the Florence Agreement; extends the Caribbean Basin Initiative for 12 years; establishes a new trade competitiveness assistance program to allow more unemployed workers to be eligible for TAA benefits after their unemployment insurance ends if they enter training programs approved by the Secretary of Labor; expands TAA eligibility to firms and workers that supply essential goods or services to firms directly impacted by imports; improves remedies under the Tariff Act of 1930 and access to technology; requires the USTR to initiate a section 301 investigation against barriers to U.S. participation in the Japanese market for construction and other related services for Kansai Airport; requires the Secretary of State to maintain a list of nations that support terrorism and denies trade preferences, including Most-Favored-Nation (MFN) status, to any country on that list; suspends Romania's MFN status for six months until that government recognizes and protects fundamental human rights, allowing the suspension to be lifted only upon a Presidential determination that the situation has improved and Congress does not disapprove by enactment of a joint resolution; authorizes the President to prohibit trade between the U.S. and the USSR-sponsored Afghan regime; and suspends MFN status for Angola for six months, which may be reinstated during any rights review period if the President, within 30 days before the close of the immediately preceding rights review period, submits to the House and Senate his determination with respect to certain specified items including Angolan human rights compliance and the withdrawal of all foreign military forces, and Congress has not disapproved by passage of a joint resolution.

Banking Committee: Extends and expands the Export Enhancement Program; assures timely action to defend the national security when it is threatened by imports; improves U.S. trade strategy and U.S. agricultural competitiveness; modifies export licensing procedures under the Export Administration Act; increases U.S. consular involvement in export promotion and calls for the preparation of a reference manual listing U.S. government information sources relating to exports; modifies Federal Reserve regulations relating to bank-affiliated export trading companies; allows securities dealers and brokers, as well as U.S. bank regulators, to hold up foreign acquisitions of U.S. banks and bank holding companies if U.S. institutions are denied national treatment in foreign markets; directs the Treasury to report to Congress every two years on the treatment of U.S. financial enterprises abroad; instructs the President to enter into international discussions with the governments of countries that are major financial centers to reduce or eliminate trade barriers in financial services; states U.S. policy regarding international economic policy coordination and currency markets; withdraws privileges from foreign countries which do not accord competitive opportunities to U.S. financial institutions comparable to those of their domestic counterparts; modifies the criminal prosecution provisions of the Foreign Corrupt Practices Act; authorizes the President, after an investigation by the Secretary of Commerce, to take appropriate actions to restrict, suspend, or prohibit foreign acquisitions, mergers, and takeovers of U.S. businesses which threaten the national security or essential commerce which affects national security; requires the President to impose sanctions on the importation of the products of the Toshiba Corporation and Kongsberg Vaapenfabrik for not less than two years and not more than five years; authorizes the President to limit these sanctions under certain circumstances or to waive them if he determines that it is in the national security interest or that the firm in question is a sole source supplier of essential defense articles, or for products under current contract which are necessary to satisfy U.S. operational military requirements; exempts from these sanctions imports shipped under contracts signed before May 1, 1987, and spare parts; establishes a process for mandatory and discretionary sanctions against future COCOM violations; and requires compensation of U.S. taxpayers for damages caused by violations of national security export controls.

Banking/Foreign Relations Committees: Directs the President to address the international debt problem of developing countries, including the proposal of an international debt authority; authorizes U.S. participation in the Multilateral Investment Guarantee Agency if the Agency adopts policies to ensure that its activities do not adversely affect the U.S. economy; calls for a report on possible regulatory steps to reduce the indebtedness of heavily indebted international borrowers to supervised banks in order to improve overall bank asset quality and reduce the debt burden on the countries; and requires bank regulators to report annually to Congress on troubled third world debt and loan reserves held by major U.S. commercial banks and the adequacy of the loan loss reserve levels that each bank has set aside against such troubled loans.

Foreign Relations Committee: Establishes a Trade and Development Program, independent of AID but within the authority of the International Development Cooperation Agency, and transfers to it authority over the mixed credit program; permits AID's private enterprise revolving fund to issue loan guarantees; places foreign commercial attachés in the offices of the U.S. representatives to the Multilateral Development Banks (MDB's) to enable U.S. companies to compete in procurement activities associated with these banks; creates an Office of Multilateral Development Bank procurement within the Treasury Department to coordinate and facilitate U.S. participation in their procurement process; instructs the U.S. representatives to MDB's to withhold funds for the subsidization of foreign competition in minerals or agricultural products that are surplus to the world market, effective October 1, 1987; expresses the sense of the Congress that the U.S. should become a party to the Convention on the Control and Marking of Articles of Precious Metals to facilitate U.S. jewelry industry efforts to penetrate foreign markets; and authorizes U.S. participation in the Multilateral Investment Guarantee Agency if the Agency adopts policies to ensure that its activities do not adversely affect the U.S. economy.

Kuwaiti Ships Reflagging: Expresses the sense of the Senate that the President should pursue alternatives to the reflagging of Kuwaiti vessels, including the leasing or chartering to Kuwait of vessels of the U.S. domestic tanker fleet, as a means of accomplishing U.S. objectives in the Persian Gulf.

Sanctions Against Iran/Persian Gulf: Imposes a trade embargo against Iran if Iran launches an attack in the Strait of Hormuz using Silkworm missiles or any military or terrorist attack on U.S. vessels, facilities, or personnel operating in or transiting the Persian Gulf region, or if the President certifies there is evidence that such an attack is planned or imminent; makes this prohibition effective until the President certifies that (1) all Iranian attacks against U.S. vessels, facilities, and personnel have ceased, (2) there is no evidence or reason to believe that there will be further attacks, and (3) it would be in the U.S. national interest to end the prohibition; imposes a trade embargo on products from any Persian Gulf state which launches a military or terrorist attack on U.S. vessels, facilities, or personnel in the region; and expresses the sense of the Congress that the Administration should use all available appropriate leverage to persuade all nations to desist from any further transfers of offensive weaponry to any belligerant nation in the Persian Gulf region.

Agriculture Committee: States that a primary negotiating objective of the U.S. is the elimination of agricultural trade barriers from those nations that have unusually large overall trade surpluses and sets forth U.S. negotiating objectives in the upcoming General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) negotiations; declares U.S. policy to increase the volume of and revenue from agricultural exports and gain a fair share of world agricultural trade based on competitive trade principles and to reduce agricultural support programs and export subsidies in cooperation with U.S. trading partners; extends the Agricultural Export Enhancement Program (EEP) and expands EEP to counter competitors' subsidies which have adversely affected U.S. exports of wheat, feed grains, and other commodities; allows the Secretary of Agriculture to make Commodity Credit Corporation commodities available to cooperator organizations to establish demonstration projects designed to expand U.S. agricultural markets; increases appropriations and staff levels for the Foreign Agricultural Service (FAS) to expand its agricultural export marketing programs and activities and requires the FAS Administrator to take certain actions to develop new markets for value-added beef, pork, and poultry products; modifies the provisions of several existing agricultural trade programs including: increasing funding for the Targeted Export Assistance Program, and establishing a triggered marketing loan program for the 1990 crop year for certain commodities if a GATT agreement on agricultural trade has not been reached; requires the establishment of agricultural aid and trade missions to eligible developing countries; requires that food products which are imported or contain a significant amount of imported ingredients be labeled to specify the country of origin; requires that annual appropriations to reimburse the CCC for net realized losses be made by means of a current indefinite appropriation; allows the Secretary to advance the effective date of a marketing order with respect to imports that are expected to be marketed during the period covered by the order; makes sunflower and cotton seed crops eligible for a price support program for the 1990 crop year if the triggered marketing loan is implemented; prohibits assistance for the development and improvement of agricultural commodity exports which would compete with U.S. products; and grants the Secretary authority to advance the beginning of a marketing order period by up to 30 days to insure that imported foreign produce meets the same quality standards established for domestically grown commodities.

Labor Committee: Authorizes a comprehensive system to provide prompt adjustment and training services to dislocated workers consisting of comprehensive worker adjustment programs to dislocated workers, 60 days advance notification of plant closings and mass layoffs, and five demonstration and discretionary assistance programs; calls for a report on the competitive effects of providing portability of pensions for workers; expresses the sense of the Senate that Senate committees which report legislation requiring employers to provide new employee benefits secure objective analysis of the impact of the legislation on employers, the economy, and employees, before it reports the legislation, and include the analysis in its report.

Authorizes funding for education programs to improve American competitiveness including extending the authorization for Department of Education aid for teacher training programs in mathematics, science, computers, and foreign languages and for the National Science Foundation program for partnerships in education for mathematics, science, and engineering; authorizes various grant programs including the Star Schools Program, foreign language study programs, educational partnerships between public schools and the private sector, secondary school programs for basic skills improvement, and programs which address school dropout problems; establishes the Office of Training Technology in the Education Department and the National Center for Research and Development in the Education of Gifted Children and Youth.

Judiciary Committee: Amends the patent laws with respect to patented processes, the patent misuse doctrine, licensee challenges to patent validity, and patent term restoration.

Governmental Affairs Committee: Establishes, within the Department of Commerce, an Office of Small Business Trade Remedy Assistance to assist small businesses to obtain remedies available under the trade laws, and a Council on Economic Competitiveness, as an independent agency within the Executive branch, to develop and promote specific policies to enhance the productivity and international competitiveness of U.S. industries; creates separate interagency committees to coordinate the collection and dissemination of economic and trade information, oversee and coordinate Federal participation in the Sematech Research Consortium, and study and define symmetrical access to foreign technological research and recommend related negotiating goals for the USTR; and requires the National Critical Materials Council to prepare a national Federal program plan for advanced materials research and development.

Small Business Committee: Increases the authorization for SBA's Office on International Trade and its authority to offer technical expertise and information on export programs and to actively assist small businesses develop and expand their export potential; allows SBA 7(a) loans to be used for export purposes and for preexport financing to small business trading and management companies; creates Small Business Export Assistance Centers to develop and implement export promotion and technology transfer programs; requires development of an SBDC Information Service Delivery Network to provide management and technical assistance to small businesses participating in international markets; and requires SBA to conduct a National Conference on Small Business Exporting.

Commerce Committee: Reorganizes the National Bureau of Standards into the National Institute of Technology (NIT) with responsibility for developing quality control techniques and generic research to improve U.S. manufacturing and product technologies; creates within NIT an Office of Extension Services; establishes up to 12 regional centers for the transfer of manufacturing technology and a three-year Pilot State Technology Extension Program to support innovative State projects to transfer Federal technology to businesses; creates a new Commerce Department Clearinghouse on State and Local Initiatives on Productivity, Technology, and Innovation; establishes a Commerce Department Office of Barter and Countertrade; requires the President to submit a report on his policies and budget proposals regarding semiconductors, fiber optics, superconductors, and advanced manufacturing technology; and amends the International Air Transportation Fair Competitive Practices Act to facilitate DOT review of complaints by U.S. carriers.

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 209

100th Congress
1st Session

July 23, 1987, 5:12 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-10578

PUBLIC DEBT LIMIT
(GRAMM-RUDMAN-HOLLINGS)

BILL NO.: H.J. Res. 324

AMENDMENT NO.: 630

SUBJECT: **Chiles motion to table the Domenici amendment (as a substitute for the Chiles motion to waive the Budget Act to allow consideration of the Chiles amendment No. 626) which waives section 306 of the Budget Act for the not-yet-offered Domenici-Gramm-Rudman amendment No. 631 as well as the pending Chiles amendment, Vote No. 211.**

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment (voting nay) argued that the Budget Act should be waived on both amendments so that the Senate can work its will on the substance of each of these attempts to redress the sequester process of the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings law. The tabling motion is arbitrary, they argued, since the Senate is fully familiar with the contents of the Domenici-Gramm amendment.

Opponents of the amendment (voting yea) countered that they were not prepared to support a budget waiver for the Domenici-Gramm amendment because the amendment was not yet at the desk, and Senators did not know exactly what it contained. With regard to fairness, they felt each amendment should separately stand the test of whether the Senate would support a budget waiver.

H.J. Res. 324: Vote Nos. 209-212, 216-224, 262.

RESULT: **MOTION TO TABLE AGREED TO**

YEAS (50)

Democrats (50 or 98%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans (0 or 0%)

NAYS (47)

Democrats (1 or 2%)

Hollings

Republicans (46 or 100%)

Armstrong
Bond
Boschwitz
Chafee
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Evans
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hatfield
Hecht
Heinz
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes
Kassebaum
Kasten
Lugar
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Packwood
Pressler
Quayle
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Specter
Stafford
Stevens
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Warner
Weicker
Wilson

NOT VOTING (3)

Democrats (3)

Biden—2
Gore—2
Simon—2

Republicans (0)

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 98%
Republicans— 100%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (50)
Democrats— 50 or 100%
Republicans— 0 or 0%

Against (47)
Democrats— 1 or 2%
Republicans— 46 or 98%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 210

100th Congress
1st Session

July 23, 1987, 5:45 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-10579

PUBLIC DEBT LIMIT
(GRAMM-RUDMAN-HOLLINGS)

BILL NO.: H.J. Res. 324

AMENDMENT NO.: 626

SUBJECT: **Chiles motion to waive section 306 of the Budget Act (which prohibits the consideration of legislation dealing with the congressional budget unless it has been reported by the Budget Committee or is an amendment to such a bill or resolution) to allow consideration of the Chiles amendment—Vote No. 211—which establishes new deficit targets and modifies the sequester process of the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings provisions of the Balanced Budget and Emergency Deficit Control Act of 1985.**

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment asserted that it would restore the automatic sequester process of Gramm-Rudman-Hollings, thereby forcing the White House to deal seriously with Congress over reducing the deficit. Even though the amendment is complex, it preserves the power that belongs to Congress under the Constitution rather than surrendering it to the executive branch, as does the Domenici-Gramm amendment (Vote No. 212). This amendment would achieve more honest budgeting by not permitting the use of asset sales or accounting gimmicks to reduce the deficit, and by restricting OMB's ability to manipulate figures to achieve the deficit targets. The amendment avoids a sequester if $36 billion in real cuts is achieved in one year. It avoids the necessity of having to make dramatic cuts if economic growth does not meet expectations, while allowing a smaller sequester if the "excess" deficit is less than $36 billion. As a result, a responsible level of fiscal discipline is enforced because the deficit would have to be reduced by $36 billion each year.

Opponents of the amendment countered that the proposed mechanism to restore an automatic sequester in the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings law will not balance the budget, and the authors have spent insufficient time developing it. The amendment is complex and convoluted because it attempts to exclude OMB from having a coequal role in the budget process, but fails to adequately address the constitutional problems that result from doing so. GAO concluded that both OMB and CBO have attained equal records in making economic predictions. The amendment has significant ambiguities regarding how to measure savings in relation to the various economic forecasts and references. Since it requires only $36 billion in savings each year, a balanced budget might never be reached. The amendment permits some one-year savings, such as the sale of REA loans, which will realize a one-time revenue increase, but a long-term net loss.

H.J. Res. 324: Vote Nos. 209-212, 216-224, 262.

RESULT: **MOTION TO WAIVE BUDGET ACT AGREED TO, 3/5THS HAVING VOTED IN THE AFFIRMATIVE**

YEAS (71)				NAYS (25)		NOT VOTING (4)	
Democrats (35 or 70%)		Republicans (36 or 78%)		Democrats (15 or 30%)	Republicans (10 or 22%)	Democrats (4)	Republicans (0)
Adams	Inouye	Armstrong	Kassebaum	Bingaman	D'Amato	Biden—2	
Baucus	Kennedy	Bond	Kasten	Bradley	Hatfield	Gore—2	
Bentsen	Leahy	Boschwitz	Lugar	Conrad	Hecht	Nunn—2	
Boren	Levin	Chafee	McCain	Dixon	Helms	Simon—2	
Breaux	Matsunaga	Cochran	McConnell	Exon	McClure		
Bumpers	Melcher	Cohen	Murkowski	Glenn	Roth		
Burdick	Mikulski	Danforth	Nickles	Harkin	Symms		
Byrd	Mitchell	Dole	Packwood	Johnston	Wallop		
Chiles	Moynihan	Domenici	Pressler	Kerry	Weicker		
Cranston	Pell	Durenberger	Quayle	Lautenberg	Wilson		
Daschle	Proxmire	Evans	Rudman	Metzenbaum			
DeConcini	Pryor	Garn	Simpson	Reid			
Dodd	Rockefeller	Gramm	Specter	Riegle			
Ford	Sanford	Grassley	Stafford	Sarbanes			
Fowler	Sasser	Hatch	Stevens	Stennis			
Graham	Shelby	Heinz	Thurmond				
Heflin	Wirth	Humphrey	Trible				
Hollings		Karnes	Warner				

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion	Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on	
	For (71)	*Against* (25)
Democrats— 70%	Democrats— 35 or 49%	Democrats— 15 or 60%
Republicans— 78%	Republicans— 36 or 51%	Republicans— 10 or 40%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 211

100th Congress
1st Session

July 23, 1987, 6:12 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-10579

PUBLIC DEBT LIMIT
(GRAMM-RUDMAN-HOLLINGS)

BILL NO.: H.J. Res. 324

AMENDMENT NO.: 626

SUBJECT: **Chiles modified amendment which establishes new deficit targets of $150 billion for FY 1988, $130 billion in 1989, $90 billion in 1990, $45 billion in 1991, and a balanced budget in 1992; provides a process for a maximum sequester order of $36 billion to take effect in October of each year unless Congress and the President act to avoid sequester; permits flexibility in military personnel cuts; maintains the current sequester formula of 50 percent defense/50 percent domestic spending cuts; requires CBO and OMB to monitor deficit savings and GAO to review the reports and certify to Congress the amount of sequester needed; expedites action by Congress on the GAO report as a non-amendable, fast-track joint resolution; prohibits accounting gimmicks and asset sales as a means of saving money; requires one set of economics to be used in the budget resolution; extends to 1992, the Byrd rule prohibiting extraneous matter on reconciliation bills; requires 60 votes to overturn Chair rulings on a 60 vote budget point of order; and provides for a fast-track reconciliation process in order to avoid a sequester.** (See also Vote No. 210.)

NOTE: Proponents asserted that the amendment would restore the automatic sequester process of Gramm-Rudman-Hollings, thereby forcing the White House to deal seriously with Congress over reducing the deficit. Even though the proposal is complex, it preserves the power that belongs to Congress under the Constitution rather than surrendering it to the executive branch, as does the Domenici-Gramm amendment (Vote No. 212). This amendment would achieve more honest budgeting by not permitting the use of asset sales or accounting gimmicks to reduce the deficit, and by restricting OMB's ability to manipulate figures to achieve the deficit targets. It avoids a sequester if $36 billion in real cuts is achieved in one year. It avoids the necessity of having to make dramatic cuts if economic

(OVER)

H.J. Res. 324: Vote Nos. 209-212, 216-224, 262.

RESULT: **AMENDMENT REJECTED**

YEAS (25)

Democrats
(25 or 50%)

Baucus
Bentsen
Boren
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Dixon
Dodd
Ford
Fowler
Graham
Heflin
Inouye
Kennedy
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Mikulski
Pryor
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sasser
Wirth

Republicans
(0 or 0%)

NAYS (71)

Democrats
(25 or 50%)

Adams
Bingaman
Bradley
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Exon
Glenn
Harkin
Hollings
Johnston
Kerry
Lautenberg
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mitchell
Moynihan
Pell
Proxmire
Reid
Riegle
Sarbanes
Shelby
Stennis

Republicans
(46 or 100%)

Armstrong
Bond
Boschwitz
Chafee
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Evans
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hatfield
Hecht
Heinz
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes
Kassebaum
Kasten
Lugar
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Packwood
Pressler
Quayle
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Specter
Stafford
Stevens
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Warner
Weicker
Wilson

NOT VOTING (4)

Democrats (4)

Biden—2
Gore—2
Nunn—2
Simon—2

Republicans (0)

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 50%
Republicans— 100%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (25)
Democrats— 25 or 100%
Republicans— 0 or 0%

Against (71)
Democrats— 25 or 35%
Republicans— 46 or 65%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

growth does not meet expectations, while allowing a smaller sequester if the "excess" deficit is less than $36 billion. As a result, a responsible level of fiscal discipline is enforced because the deficit would have to be reduced by $36 billion each year.

Opponents countered that the proposed mechanism to restore an automatic sequester in the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings law will not balance the budget, and the authors have spent insufficient time developing it. The amendment is complex and convoluted because it attempts to exclude OMB from having a coequal role in the budget process, but fails to adequately address the constitutional problems that result from doing so. GAO concluded that both OMB and CBO have attained equal records in making economic predictions. The amendment has significant ambiguities regarding how to measure savings in relation to the various economic forecasts and references. Since it requires only $36 billion in savings each year, a balanced budget might never be reached. The amendment permits some one-year savings, such as the sale of REA loans, which will realize a one-time revenue increase, but a long-term net loss.

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 212

100th Congress
1st Session

July 23, 1987, 7:21 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-10584

PUBLIC DEBT LIMIT
(GRAMM-RUDMAN-HOLLINGS)

BILL NO.: H.J. Res. 324 **AMENDMENT NO.: 631**

SUBJECT: **Domenici motion to waive section 306 of the Budget Act (which prohibits the consideration of legislation dealing with the Congressional budget unless it has been reported by the Budget Committee or is an amendment to such a bill or resolution) to allow consideration of the Domenici-Gramm-Rudman amendment which modifies the sequester process of the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings provisions of the Balanced Budget and Emergency Deficit Control Act of 1985, and establishes the same deficit targets of $150 billion for FY 1988, $130 billion in 1989, $90 billion in 1990, $45 billion in 1991, and a balanced budget in 1992 as under the Chiles amendment—Vote No. 211—but gives OMB the responsibility for determining the size of the deficit and the sequester order (rather than giving that responsibility to CBO and GAO as well as OMB).**

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment (voting yea) asserted that this is the same amendment the Senate passed by a substantial margin in the last Congress (Vote No. 167, 99th-2nd), and that it has been changed only to reflect more current economic forecasts. It has been debated for nearly a year and is fully understood by both Congress and the public. It seeks a balance between OMB and CBO by requiring both offices to report jointly to GAO, and giving Congress power to revise their parameters if OMB and GAO are widely divergent. Granting CBO more authority would be a mistake, they argued, as this would jeopardize that office's neutrality. The amendment does not have restrictions regarding asset sales: the tax reform bill anticipates a revenue shortfall in its first years, so the Senate should be willing to compensate with asset sales, since revenue levels will return in the later years. The amendment provides no flexibility with regard to defense, because it is assumed the Senate will deal with that issue separately.

Opponents of the amendment (voting nay) countered that this is not the amendment the Senate passed in the last Congress. It does not include the 13 economic variables the Senate specified in the previous amendment. Consequently, OMB is given a greater amount of discretion than in last year's version.

(OVER)

H.J. Res. 324: Vote Nos. 209-212, 216-224, 262.

RESULT: **MOTION TO WAIVE BUDGET ACT REJECTED, 3/5THS NOT HAVING VOTED IN THE AFFIRMATIVE**

YEAS (47)			NAYS (49)			NOT VOTING (4)	
Democrats (5 or 10%)	**Republicans (42 or 91%)**		**Democrats (45 or 90%)**		**Republicans (4 or 9%)**	**Democrats (4)**	**Republicans (0)**
Boren	Armstrong	Kassebaum	Adams	Johnston	Hatfield	Biden—2	
Heflin	Bond	Kasten	Baucus	Kennedy	Roth	Gore—2	
Hollings	Boschwitz	Lugar	Bentsen	Kerry	Stafford	Simon—2	
Proxmire	Chafee	McCain	Bingaman	Lautenberg	Weicker	Stennis—2	
Shelby	Cochran	McClure	Bradley	Leahy			
	Cohen	McConnell	Breaux	Levin			
	D'Amato	Murkowski	Bumpers	Matsunaga			
	Danforth	Nickles	Burdick	Melcher			
	Dole	Packwood	Byrd	Metzenbaum			
	Domenici	Pressler	Chiles	Mikulski			
	Durenberger	Quayle	Conrad	Mitchell			
	Evans	Rudman	Cranston	Moynihan			
	Garn	Simpson	Daschle	Nunn			
	Gramm	Specter	DeConcini	Pell			
	Grassley	Stevens	Dixon	Pryor			
	Hatch	Symms	Dodd	Reid			
	Hecht	Thurmond	Exon	Riegle			
	Heinz	Trible	Ford	Rockefeller			
	Helms	Wallop	Fowler	Sanford			
	Humphrey	Warner	Glenn	Sarbanes			
	Karnes	Wilson	Graham	Sasser			
			Harkin	Wirth			
			Inouye				

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion	**Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on**	
	For (47)	*Against* (49)
Democrats— 90%	Democrats— 5 or 11%	Democrats— 45 or 92%
Republicans— 91%	Republicans— 42 or 89%	Republicans— 4 or 8%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

The objectivity of OMB is questionable. OMB would be free under this amendment to manipulate sequesters, which could shield defense spending and force deeper cuts in domestic programs. Any real deficit reduction is unlikely under this amendment. It would achieve savings by, first, using OMB's revised projections of the deficit, which have been consistently lower than the actual deficit, and second, allowing the use of asset sales and accounting tricks to realize one-time savings that result in no reduction in the structural deficit.

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 213

100th Congress
1st Session

July 28, 1987, 11:28 a.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-10734

MIA NEGOTIATIONS

BILL NO.: S. Res. 255

SUBJECT: **Adoption of the resolution which expresses the full and undivided support of the Senate for General John Vessey, former Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and present Special Presidential Emissary for POW/MIA Affairs, in his forthcoming negotiations to determine the fate of those Americans missing in action in Southeast Asia, to facilitate the return of the recoverable remains of those missing in action, and to discuss the remaining humanitarian issues affecting both nations; and calls on Vietnam to respond positively to the aforementioned concerns of the American people in a humanitarian context.**

S. Res. 255: Vote No. 213.

RESULT: RESOLUTION AGREED TO

YEAS (92)

Democrats (46 or 100%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Biden
Boren
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Hollings
Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans (46 or 100%)

Armstrong
Bond
Boschwitz
Chafee
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Evans
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hatfield
Hecht
Heinz
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes
Kassebaum
Kasten
Lugar
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Packwood
Pressler
Quayle
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Specter
Stafford
Stevens
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Warner
Weicker
Wilson

NAYS (0)

Democrats (0 or 0%)

Republicans (0 or 0%)

NOT VOTING (8)

Democrats (8)

Bingaman—2AY
Bradley—2
Chiles—2
Gore—2AY
Kerry—2AY
Lautenberg—2AY
Shelby—4AY
Simon—2AY

Republicans (0)

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 100%
Republicans— 100%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (92)
Democrats— 46 or 50%
Republicans— 46 or 50%

Against (0)
Democrats— 0 or 0%
Republicans— 0 or 0%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 214

100th Congress
1st Session

July 28, 1987, 5:01 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-10763

POSTAL EMPLOYEE APPEAL RIGHTS

BILL NO.: H.R. 348

AMENDMENT NO.: 637

SUBJECT: **Helms-Thurmond substitute amendment which extends to all postal employees the right to appeal adverse personnel actions by the Merit Systems Protection Board (MSPB) to the Federal Circuit Court of Appeals.** (Subsequently, the bill, which would extend the right of appeal, accorded to veterans and union personnel by current law, to nonveteran postmasters and postal supervisors, was passed by voice vote.)

NOTE: Proponents claimed that the pending bill ignores the needs of approximately 10,000 Postal Service employees, many of whom would be forced to join a labor union in order to enjoy the same rights as other postal employees. Under this amendment, no postal employee would be required to join a union in order to appeal adverse personnel actions to an outside independent agency.

Opponents stated that it was never the intention of the bill to cover every postal employee or Federal employee in the U.S. government—the provisions of the bill are directed at postmasters and postal supervisors only. Other postal employees are covered in a separate bill under consideration by the House of Representatives. It would be difficult to cover nonbargaining unit employees on labor-management agreements between the Postal Service and employee representatives without studying the impact on those contracts and whether or not Congress should change those contracts. Adoption of this amendment would delay this needed legislation by causing the bill to go through a lengthy conference with the House.

H.R. 3498 became Public Law 100-90, approved August 18, 1987.

H.R. 348: Vote No. 214.

RESULT: **AMENDMENT REJECTED**

YEAS (18)

Democrats
(0 or 0%)

Republicans
(18 or 41%)

Armstrong
Cochran
Dole
Garn
Gramm
Hatch
Hecht
Helms
Humphrey
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Nickles
Rudman
Simpson
Symms
Thurmond
Wilson

NAYS (74)

Democrats
(48 or 100%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Graham
Harkin
Heflin

Hollings
Inouye
Johnston
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans
(26 or 59%)

Bond
Boschwitz
Chafee
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Domenici
Durenberger
Evans
Grassley
Hatfield
Heinz
Karnes
Kassebaum
Kasten
Lugar
Murkowski
Pressler
Quayle
Roth
Specter
Stafford
Stevens
Trible
Warner
Weicker

NOT VOTING (8)

Democrats (6)

Biden—^{2}
Gore—^{2AN}
Kennedy—^{2}
Kerry—^{2AN}
Shelby—^{4AN}
Simon—^{2}

Republicans (2)

Packwood—^{2}
Wallop—^{2AY}

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 100%
Republicans— 59%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (18)
Democrats— 0 or 0%
Republicans— 18 or 100%

Against (74)
Democrats— 48 or 65%
Republicans— 26 or 35%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 215

100th Congress
1st Session

July 30, 1987, 3:41 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-10904

HAITIAN HUMAN RIGHTS
(SOVIET EMBASSY)

BILL NO.: S. Res. 248 AMENDMENT NO.: 644

SUBJECT: **Pell motion to table the Symms-D'Amato amendment expressing the sense of the Senate that the President should void the current embassy site and construction agreements between the U.S. and the Soviet Union and enter into negotiations for a new agreement under which the Soviet Union will move its new embassy to a site in the District of Columbia that is no more than 90 feet above mean sea level.** (The amendment was subsequently separated from S. Res. 248 and adopted by voice vote as a freestanding resolution—S. Res. 261. See also Vote No. 72).

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment argued that in light of recent revelations of encroachments in the security of the U.S. Embassy in Moscow, it is time for the Executive and Legislative branches to reassess the strategic value of the Mt. Alto site in Washington, D.C. From that site, the Soviets have the ability to monitor calls from sensitive U.S. government installations, a fact verified by Stanislav Levchenko, a high ranking Soviet KGB electronics expert who defected to the U.S. The U.S. Code specifically allows the Secretary of State to vacate real property if necessary to protect U.S. interests. If the Congress fails to act, they contended, it will be condoning a sustained, unguarded attack on the ability of Americans to act securely within the sovereign U.S. borders. Congress should be on record as willing to stand up and renegotiate the 1969 and 1972 U.S.-Soviet embassy agreements.

Opponents of the amendment stated that it would be wrong to cancel the present embassy agreements. The Soviets did not choose the Mt. Alto site by themselves. They originally wanted to move to Chevy Chase and then midtown Washington, but were turned down on both. It was the U.S. government that persuaded the Soviets to move to the Mt. Alto site. Similarly, the U.S. was originally offered a site in the hills outside Moscow but turned it down in favor of a site closer to Red Square. The present embassy locations, therefore, were more the result of bad judgment rather than some evil plot. The amendment would attempt to force the President to make a decision before he has all the facts now being gathered in three reports by former Defense Secretaries Laird and Schlesinger and the President's Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board.

S. Res. 248: Vote No. 215.

RESULT: **MOTION TO TABLE FAILED**

YEAS (26)		NAYS (71)				NOT VOTING (3)	
Democrats (17 or 33%)	Republicans (9 or 20%)	Democrats (34 or 67%)		Republicans (37 or 80%)		Democrats (3)	Republicans (0)
Adams	Chafee	Baucus	Hollings	Armstrong	McCain	Shelby—^{4AN}	
Biden	Danforth	Bentsen	Johnston	Bond	McClure	Simon—^{2}	
Bumpers	Durenberger	Bingaman	Kerry	Boschwitz	McConnell	Stennis—^{2}	
Chiles	Evans	Boren	Lautenberg	Cochran	Murkowski		
Cranston	Hatfield	Bradley	Levin	Cohen	Nickles		
Daschle	Lugar	Breaux	Melcher	D'Amato	Packwood		
Dodd	Stafford	Burdick	Metzenbaum	Dole	Pressler		
Glenn	Warner	Byrd	Mitchell	Domenici	Quayle		
Gore	Weicker	Conrad	Nunn	Garn	Roth		
Inouye		DeConcini	Proxmire	Gramm	Rudman		
Kennedy		Dixon	Pryor	Grassley	Simpson		
Leahy		Exon	Reid	Hatch	Specter		
Matsunaga		Ford	Riegle	Hecht	Stevens		
Mikulski		Fowler	Rockefeller	Heinz	Symms		
Moynihan		Graham	Sanford	Helms	Thurmond		
Pell		Harkin	Sasser	Humphrey	Trible		
Sarbanes		Heflin	Wirth	Karnes	Wallop		
				Kassebaum	Wilson		
				Kasten			

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion	Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on	
	For (26)	*Against* (71)
Democrats— 67%	Democrats— 17 or 65%	Democrats— 34 or 48%
Republicans— 80%	Republicans— 9 or 35%	Republicans— 37 or 52%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 216

100th Congress
1st Session

July 31, 1987, 12:51 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-10992

PUBLIC DEBT LIMIT
(GRAMM-RUDMAN-HOLLINGS)

BILL NO.: H.J. Res. 324 **AMENDMENT NO.: 647**

SUBJECT: **Johnston amendment to extend the public debt limit increase until May 1, 1989, instead of October 1, 1988, as reported, in the amount of $2.8 trillion instead of $2.111 trillion.**

NOTE: Proponents stated that the rationale in extending the limit is to get it past the next election, so that another debt crisis does not occur concurrently with sequestering next year. It, too, would provide more continuity than going from month to month. Having to deal with a debt limit crisis frequently only confuses and undermines attempts to achieve deficit reduction.
Opponents made no statements.

H.J. Res. 324: Vote Nos. 209-212, 216-224, 262.

RESULT: **AMENDMENT AGREED TO**

YEAS (58)		NAYS (35)		NOT VOTING (7)	
Democrats (29 or 62%)	**Republicans (29 or 63%)**	**Democrats (18 or 38%)**	**Republicans (17 or 37%)**	**Democrats (7)**	**Republicans (0)**
Bentsen	Bond	Baucus	Armstrong	Adams—2	
Bradley	Boschwitz	Boren	Garn	Biden—2	
Breaux	Chafee	Burdick	Grassley	Bingaman—4	
Bumpers	Cochran	Conrad	Hatch	Leahy—2	
Byrd	Cohen	DeConcini	Hecht	Matsunaga—2	
Chiles	D'Amato	Dixon	Helms	Shelby—4AN	
Cranston	Danforth	Exon	Humphrey	Simon—2	
Daschle	Dole	Ford	Kasten		
Dodd	Domenici	Fowler	McCain		
Graham	Durenberger	Glenn	McClure		
Inouye	Evans	Gore	Murkowski		
Johnston	Gramm	Harkin	Nickles		
Kennedy	Hatfield	Heflin	Pressler		
Kerry	Heinz	Hollings	Quayle		
Lautenberg	Karnes	Proxmire	Rudman		
Levin	Kassebaum	Pryor	Symms		
Melcher	Lugar	Riegle	Warner		
Metzenbaum	McConnell	Sasser			
Mikulski	Packwood				
Mitchell	Roth				
Moynihan	Simpson				
Nunn	Specter				
Pell	Stafford				
Reid	Stevens				
Rockefeller	Thurmond				
Sanford	Trible				
Sarbanes	Wallop				
Stennis	Weicker				
Wirth	Wilson				

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion	Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on *For* (58)	*Against* (35)
Democrats— 62%	Democrats— 29 or 50%	Democrats— 18 or 51%
Republicans— 63%	Republicans— 29 or 50%	Republicans— 17 or 49%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 217

100th Congress
1st Session

July 31, 1987, 3:25 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-11006

PUBLIC DEBT LIMIT
(GRAMM-RUDMAN-HOLLINGS)

BILL NO.: H.J. Res. 324

AMENDMENT NO.: 649

SUBJECT: **Johnston, et al., modified perfecting amendment (to the Gramm-Chiles amendment No. 645) which lowers the deficit target for FY 1988 to $140 billion with a $5 billion cushion, instead of $150 billion with a $10 billion cushion, or requires at least a $36 billion reduction in the baseline deficit, whichever lowers the deficit more; and lowers the deficit target for 1989 from $130 billion to $120 billion with a $10 billion cushion.**

NOTE: Proponents noted that the Senate adopted a $38 billion deficit reduction figure on the budget resolution. The Gramm amendment steps away from that tough decision by $10 billion. The complex Gramm-Rudman-Hollings process has made very little reduction in the structural deficit. This amendment, they argued, would get Congress away from the "disease of budget procrastination."

Opponents objected to the amendment, fearing that it would unravel the compromise on the sequester process.

H.J. Res. 324: Vote Nos. 209-212, 216-224, 262.

RESULT: AMENDMENT REJECTED

YEAS (41)

Democrats (41 or 85%)

Baucus
Bentsen
Boren
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Gore
Graham
Harkin
Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sarbanes
Sasser
Wirth

Republicans (0 or 0%)

NAYS (52)

Democrats (7 or 15%)

Bradley
Chiles
Glenn
Heflin
Hollings
Sanford
Stennis

Republicans (45 or 100%)

Armstrong
Bond
Boschwitz
Chafee
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Evans
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hatfield
Hecht
Heinz
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes
Kassebaum
Kasten
Lugar
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Packwood
Pressler
Quayle
Roth
Rudman
Specter
Stafford
Stevens
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Warner
Weicker
Wilson

NOT VOTING (7)

Democrats (6)

Adams—2
Biden—2
Bingaman—4
Leahy—2
Shelby—4AN
Simon—2

Republicans (1)

Simpson—2

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion	Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on	
	For (41)	*Against* (52)
Democrats— 85%	Democrats— 41 or 100%	Democrats— 7 or 13%
Republicans— 100%	Republicans— 0 or 0%	Republicans— 45 or 87%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C Byrd. Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 218

100th Congress
1st Session

July 31, 1987, 3:50 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-11010

PUBLIC DEBT LIMIT
(GRAMM-RUDMAN-HOLLINGS)

BILL NO.: H.J. Res. 324 AMENDMENT NO.: 645

SUBJECT: **Gramm-Chiles amendment which establishes new deficit targets of $150 billion for FY 1988, $130 billion in 1989, $90 billion in 1990, $45 billion in 1991, and a balanced budget in 1992; maintains the current $10 billion cushion in meeting the fixed targets in each fiscal year; establishes a maximum sequester order of $36 billion in FY 1989, which can be avoided only by reducing the deficit $36 billion below the baseline or reaching the $130 billion deficit target; establishes a sequester procedure under which CBO and OMB will estimate in August and October the baseline deficit for the impending fiscal year and issue a joint report that averages the two agencies' deficit estimates to determine the sequester amount, GAO will review the OMB/CBO report and issue its own sequester report, and OMB will issue the final sequester report and explain any differences with GAO; allows Congress five days to change the final OMB sequester report through expedited procedures before it takes effect; requires the President to issue an initial sequester order on September 1, which will take effect in October unless Congress and the President act to avoid sequester; provides for a fast-track reconciliation process in order to avoid a sequester; allows Congress to specify the economic variables that OMB, CBO, and GAO must use in estimating the deficit; requires OMB to use specified budget authority-to-outlay ratios in computing program cuts under a sequester and prohibits the use of accounting gimmicks such as shifting outlays from one year to another; sustains the current sequester formula of 50 percent defense/50 percent domestic spending cuts; permits flexibility in military personnel cuts; and allows flexibility for cuts in other defense programs only if requested by the President and approved by both Houses of Congress as an amendable joint resolution.**

NOTE: Proponents asserted that this language was needed to "fix" the sequester process of the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings law and to make it constitutional. The process is essential in order to make the Congress and the President deal with the enormous deficit. It provides an immediate incentive to make responsible cuts in the deficit, they argued, lest an automatic sequester occur. Without the threat of sequester on the horizon, neither Congress nor the President will act to cut the deficit. While some questioned the need for giving the President flexibility to exempt certain defense spending, others felt he did not have enough flexibility for exempting defense spending from sequester.

(OVER)

H.J. Res. 324: Vote Nos. 209-212, 216-224, 262.

RESULT: **AMENDMENT AGREED TO**

YEAS (71)

Democrats
(29 or 60%)

Baucus
Bentsen
Boren
Breaux
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Ford
Fowler
Graham
Heflin

Hollings
Inouye
Kennedy
Levin
Matsunaga
Mitchell
Nunn
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Sanford
Sasser
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans
(42 or 95%)

Armstrong
Bond
Boschwitz
Chafee
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Evans
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hecht
Heinz
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes

Kassebaum
Kasten
Lugar
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Packwood
Pressler
Quayle
Rudman
Specter
Stafford
Stevens
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Warner
Wilson

NAYS (21)

Democrats
(19 or 40%)

Bradley
Bumpers
Burdick
Cranston
Exon
Glenn
Gore
Harkin
Johnston
Kerry
Lautenberg
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Moynihan
Pell
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sarbanes

Republicans
(2 or 5%)

Hatfield
Roth

NOT VOTING (8)

Democrats (6)

Adams—2
Biden—2
Bingaman—4
Leahy—2
Shelby—4AY
Simon—2

Republicans (2)

Simpson—2AY
Weicker—2

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 60%
Republicans— 95%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (71)
Democrats— 29 or 41%
Republicans— 42 or 59%

Against (21)
Democrats— 19 or 90%
Republicans— 2 or 10%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

Opponents asserted that this extremely complex procedural effort would not effectively deal with what is a substantive problem. It will serve to deepen and accelerate any economic downturn by limiting economic options available to the Congress and the President. It is an effort to paper over with legislative language the deficit problem instead of taking the action really needed. Its procedures are fraught with inequities—imposing greater hardship on some than others. In addition, there are not sufficient guarantees to prevent OMB from manipulating the level of a sequester by using overly optimistic economic assumptions to reduce the estimated deficit.

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 219

100th Congress
1st Session

July 31, 1987, 5:11 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-11016

PUBLIC DEBT LIMIT
(GRAMM-RUDMAN-HOLLINGS)

BILL NO.: H.J. Res. 324

AMENDMENT NO.: 650

SUBJECT: **Stennis motion to table the Evans, et al., amendment (Vote No. 220) which provides for two years that each title of any joint resolution making continuing appropriations, after it is passed by Congress, will be enrolled as a separate joint resolution for presentation to the President; and provides that the separate titles consist of the individual appropriations bills contained in the continuing resolution.**

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment noted that when Congress lumps all 13 regular appropriations bills into one continuing resolution, as it did last year, it eliminates the responsible use of the veto by a President. No chief executive could afford to bring the entire government to a halt by vetoing such a measure. This is a trial proposal which would sunset in two years.

Opponents of the amendment contended that it was a very controversial proposal which did not belong on the debt limit extension and would greatly complicate the work of the Senate and House conferees. Others felt that it would make the bad practice of an omnibus continuing resolution into an accepted practice.

H.J. Res. 324: Vote Nos. 209-212, 216-224, 262.

RESULT: **MOTION TO TABLE FAILED**

YEAS (43)

Democrats (40 or 83%)

Baucus
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
DeConcini
Dodd
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Gore
Graham
Harkin
Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans (3 or 7%)

D'Amato
Hatfield
Stevens

NAYS (49)

Democrats (8 or 17%)

Bentsen
Boren
Daschle
Dixon
Exon
Heflin
Hollings
Proxmire

Republicans (41 or 93%)

Armstrong
Bond
Boschwitz
Chafee
Cochran
Cohen
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Evans
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hecht
Heinz
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes
Kassebaum
Kasten
Lugar
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Packwood
Pressler
Quayle
Roth
Rudman
Specter
Stafford
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Warner
Wilson

NOT VOTING (8)

Democrats (6)

Adams—^{2}
Biden—^{2}
Bingaman—^{4}
Leahy—^{2AY}
Shelby—^{4}
Simon—^{2}

Republicans (2)

Simpson—^{2}
Weicker—^{2}

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 83%
Republicans— 93%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (43)
Democrats— 40 or 93%
Republicans— 3 or 7%

Against (49)
Democrats— 8 or 16%
Republicans— 41 or 84%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 220

100th Congress
1st Session

July 31, 1987, 6:39 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-11023

PUBLIC DEBT LIMIT
(GRAMM-RUDMAN-HOLLINGS)

BILL NO.: H.J. Res. 324

AMENDMENT NO.: 650

SUBJECT: **Evans amendment which provides for two years that each title of any joint resolution making continuing appropriations, after it is passed by Congress, will be enrolled as a separate joint resolution for presentation to the President; and provides that the separate titles consist of the individual appropriations bills contained in the continuing resolution.**

NOTE: Proponents noted that when Congress lumps all 13 regular appropriations bills into one continuing resolution, as it did last year, it eliminates the responsible use of the veto by a President. No chief executive could afford to bring the entire government to a halt by vetoing such a measure. This is a trial proposal which would sunset in two years.

Opponents contended that it was a very controversial proposal which did not belong on the debt limit extension and would greatly complicate the work of the Senate and House conferees. Others felt that it would make the bad practice of an omnibus continuing resolution into an accepted practice.

H.J. Res. 324: Vote Nos. 209-212, 216-224, 262.

RESULT: **AMENDMENT REJECTED**

YEAS (41)

Democrats
(5 or 11%)

Bentsen
Boren
Daschle
Exon
Proxmire

Republicans
(36 or 84%)

Armstrong
Bond
Boschwitz
Cohen
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Evans
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hecht
Heinz
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes

Kassebaum
Kasten
Lugar
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Pressler
Quayle
Roth
Rudman
Specter
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Warner
Wilson

NAYS (48)

Democrats
(41 or 89%)

Baucus
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
DeConcini
Dodd
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Gore
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Hollings
Inouye
Johnston

Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Nunn
Pell
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans
(7 or 16%)

Chafee
Cochran
D'Amato
Hatfield
Packwood
Stafford
Stevens

NOT VOTING (10)

Democrats (7)

Adams—2
Biden—2
Bingaman—4
Leahy—2PN
Moynihan—2
Shelby—4
Simon—2

Republicans (3)

McCain—2AY
Simpson—2
Weicker—2

LIVE PAIRS (1)

PRESENT AND GIVING: **RECEIVING:**

Dixon (PY) .... Leahy (PN)

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—89%
Republicans—84%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (41)
Democrats—5 or 12%
Republicans—36 or 88%

Against (48)
Democrats—41 or 85%
Republicans—7 or 15%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 221

100th Congress
1st Session

July 31, 1987, 7:17 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-11025

PUBLIC DEBT LIMIT
(GRAMM-RUDMAN-HOLLINGS)

BILL NO.: H.J. Res. 324 **AMENDMENT NO.: 651**

SUBJECT: **Conrad motion to waive section 306 of the Budget Act (which prohibits the consideration of legislation dealing with the Congressional budget unless it has been reported by the Budget Committee) to allow the consideration of the Conrad-Boschwitz amendment which provides a two percent across-the-board cut on all spending levels in the budget for FY 1988 except for social security, the payroll tax portion of medicare, and the enforcement functions of the Internal Revenue Service.**

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment asserted that the underlying economic assumptions used in the budget resolution have risen since its adoption, resulting in a projected FY 1988 deficit of $151.1 billion instead of $134 billion. This amendment would compensate to some degree by requiring a two percent across-the-board budget reduction, with some exceptions, which would reduce the projected deficit by $10.4 billion. This is not a draconian cut, they cautioned, noting that education, for example, would still be $900 million above the CBO baseline. The only way the Senate will make any real progress on the deficit is by making this sort of "mindless" across-the-board cut.

Opponents of the amendment pointed out that it violates Section 306 of the Budget Act, and stressed that the appropriate place to make reductions in spending is in the budget resolution, not in budget authority, as this amendment would do. Reducing budget authority after passage of the budget resolution only creates confusion, and effectively negates the budget resolution which the Senate passed only three weeks ago.

H.J. Res. 324: Vote Nos. 209-212, 216-224, 262.

RESULT: **MOTION REJECTED**

YEAS (36)		NAYS (53)		NOT VOTING (11)	
Democrats (19 or 41%)	**Republicans (17 or 40%)**	**Democrats (27 or 59%)**	**Republicans (26 or 60%)**	**Democrats (8)**	**Republicans (3)**
Baucus	Armstrong	Bentsen	Chafee	Adams—^{2}	McCain—^{2}
Boren	Bond	Bradley	Cochran	Biden—^{2}	Simpson—^{2}
Burdick	Boschwitz	Breaux	Cohen	Bingaman—^{4}	Weicker—^{2}
Byrd	Danforth	Cranston	D'Amato	Bumpers—^{2}	
Chiles	Gramm	Dodd	Dole	Leahy—^{2}	
Conrad	Grassley	Ford	Domenici	Moynihan—^{2}	
Daschle	Hatch	Glenn	Durenberger	Shelby—^{4}	
DeConcini	Humphrey	Gore	Evans	Simon—^{2}	
Dixon	Karnes	Graham	Garn		
Exon	Kasten	Hollings	Hatfield		
Fowler	McClure	Inouye	Hecht		
Harkin	McConnell	Johnston	Heinz		
Heflin	Nickles	Kennedy	Helms		
Levin	Pressler	Kerry	Kassebaum		
Melcher	Roth	Lautenberg	Lugar		
Proxmire	Symms	Matsunaga	Murkowski		
Pryor	Wilson	Metzenbaum	Packwood		
Sanford		Mikulski	Quayle		
Wirth		Mitchell	Rudman		
		Nunn	Specter		
		Pell	Stafford		
		Reid	Stevens		
		Riegle	Thurmond		
		Rockefeller	Trible		
		Sarbanes	Wallop		
		Sasser	Warner		
		Stennis			

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

Party Cohesion	*For* (36)	*Against* (53)
Democrats— 59%	Democrats— 19 or 53%	Democrats— 27 or 51%
Republicans— 60%	Republicans— 17 or 47%	Republicans— 26 or 49%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 222

100th Congress
1st Session

July 31, 1987, 7:49 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-11026

PUBLIC DEBT LIMIT
(GRAMM-RUDMAN-HOLLINGS)

BILL NO.: H.J. Res. 324

AMENDMENT NO.: 652

SUBJECT: **Packwood-Byrd, et al., motion to table the Humphrey, et al., amendment which repeals the pay raise for Members of Congress and the executive branch that went into effect on March 1, 1987 (while maintaining the pay raise for the judicial branch) for a reduction in individual congressional pay of $12,100.** (See also Vote Nos. 7-9, 12, 70, and 223.)

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment objected to the earlier actions of the House by which the House claimed to disapprove a pay raise by scheduling the determinative vote to occur one day after the deadline for such a vote so that the $12,100 raise went into effect despite the disapproving vote. This amendment would return the rate of pay for Members of Congress and certain executive branch officials to that which existed prior to April. It would reiterate the Senate's earlier position against the pay raise and force the House to address the issue in a timely manner.

Opponents of the amendment stated that the Senate has made an extraordinary effort to formulate strong budget restraint procedures and that tacking the pay raise issue to the public debt bill would jeopardize its chances of passage.

H.J. Res. 324: Vote Nos. 209-212, 216-224, 262.

RESULT: **MOTION TO TABLE AGREED TO**

YEAS (49)		NAYS (40)		NOT VOTING (11)	
Democrats (28 or 61%)	**Republicans (21 or 49%)**	**Democrats (18 or 39%)**	**Republicans (22 or 51%)**	**Democrats (8)**	**Republicans (3)**
Bentsen	Boschwitz	Baucus	Armstrong	Adams—2	McCain—2
Breaux	Chafee	Boren	Bond	Biden—2	Simpson—2AN
Bumpers	Cochran	Bradley	Cohen	Bingaman—4	Weicker—2
Byrd	D'Amato	Burdick	Danforth	Leahy—2	
Chiles	Dole	Daschle	Gramm	Moynihan—2	
Conrad	Domenici	DeConcini	Grassley	Sarbanes—2	
Cranston	Durenberger	Exon	Hatch	Shelby—4	
Dixon	Evans	Ford	Hecht	Simon—2	
Dodd	Garn	Gore	Heinz		
Fowler	Hatfield	Heflin	Helms		
Glenn	Kassebaum	Hollings	Humphrey		
Graham	Lugar	Lautenberg	Karnes		
Harkin	McClure	Melcher	Kasten		
Inouye	Murkowski	Metzenbaum	McConnell		
Johnston	Packwood	Mitchell	Nickles		
Kennedy	Quayle	Proxmire	Pressler		
Kerry	Stafford	Riegle	Roth		
Levin	Stevens	Sasser	Rudman		
Matsunaga	Symms		Specter		
Mikulski	Wallop		Thurmond		
Nunn	Warner		Trible		
Pell			Wilson		
Pryor					
Reid					
Rockefeller					
Sanford					
Stennis					
Wirth					

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion	Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on: *For* (49)	Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on: *Against* (40)
Democrats— 61%	Democrats— 28 or 57%	Democrats— 18 or 45%
Republicans— 51%	Republicans— 21 or 43%	Republicans— 22 or 55%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 223

100th Congress
1st Session

July 31, 1987, 8:38 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-11028

PUBLIC DEBT LIMIT
(GRAMM-RUDMAN-HOLLINGS)

BILL NO.: H.J. Res. 324

AMENDMENT NO.: 653

SUBJECT: **Grassley, et al., amendment which requires, beginning in 1990, an affirmative vote by Congress to approve the recommendation of the President's Quadrennial Commission for a Congressional Pay Raise. (See also Vote Nos. 7-9, 12, 70, and 222.)**

NOTE: Proponents stated that the amendment would eliminate the current process that allows a pay raise recommended by the Quadrennial Commission to go into effect if both Houses of Congress do not disapprove within 30 days—a procedure which was included without debate in the FY 1986 Continuing Resolution. Because the House voted one day after the deadline for disapproving the pay raise recommended by the Commission earlier this year, a pay increase went into effect despite the Senate's strong disapproval by a vote of 88-6. This amendment would address future raises only and would serve the best interests of Congress by requiring it to approve or disapprove any pay raise by an up or down vote.

Opponents stated that the amendment would change certain procedures followed by the House of Representatives and that the Senate should not tell the House how to conduct its business.

H.J. Res. 324: Vote Nos. 209-212, 216-224, 262.

RESULT: AMENDMENT AGREED TO

YEAS (84)

Democrats (43 or 93%)

Baucus
Bentsen
Boren
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Gore
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Nunn
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans (41 or 98%)

Armstrong
Bond
Boschwitz
Chafee
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Evans
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hatfield
Hecht
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes
Kassebaum
Kasten
Lugar
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Packwood
Pressler
Quayle
Roth
Rudman
Specter
Stafford
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Warner
Wilson

NAYS (4)

Democrats (3 or 7%)

Cranston
Glenn
Hollings

Republicans (1 or 2%)

Stevens

NOT VOTING (12)

Democrats (8)

Adams—2
Biden—2
Bingaman—4
Bradley—2AY
Leahy—2
Moynihan—2
Shelby—4
Simon—2

Republicans (4)

Heinz—2
McCain—2
Simpson—2AY
Weicker—2

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 93%
Republicans— 98%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (84)
Democrats— 43 or 51%
Republicans— 41 or 49%

Against (4)
Democrats— 3 or 75%
Republicans— 1 or 25%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 224

100th Congress
1st Session

July 31, 1987, 8:57 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-11029

PUBLIC DEBT LIMIT
(GRAMM-RUDMAN-HOLLINGS)

BILL NO.: H.J. Res. 324

SUBJECT: **Passage of the joint resolution which increases the public debt limit from $2.111 trillion to $2.8 trillion until May 1, 1989; modifies the deficit targets under the Balanced Budget and Deficit Control Act of 1985 (Gramm-Rudman-Hollings) and its sequester procedures; requires more effective management of social security trust funds and ensures payment of benefits when the government reaches the debt ceiling; and requires, beginning in 1990, an affirmative vote by Congress to approve the recommendations of the President's Quadrennial Commission for a Congressional Pay Raise.**

H.J. Res. 324: Vote Nos. 209-212, 216-224, 262.

RESULT: **JOINT RESOLUTION PASSED**

YEAS (54)

Democrats
(25 or 54%)

Baucus
Bentsen
Boren
Breaux
Byrd
Chiles
Daschle
Dixon
Dodd
Ford
Fowler
Graham
Hollings
Inouye
Kennedy
Levin
Matsunaga
Mitchell
Nunn
Pell
Pryor
Reid
Sanford
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans
(29 or 74%)

Bond
Boschwitz
Chafee
Cochran
Cohen
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Garn
Gramm
Hatch
Hecht
Helms
Karnes
Kassebaum
Lugar
McClure
Packwood
Quayle
Rudman
Specter
Stafford
Stevens
Symms
Thurmond
Wallop
Warner
Wilson

NAYS (31)

Democrats
(21 or 46%)

Bumpers
Burdick
Conrad
Cranston
DeConcini
Exon
Glenn
Gore
Harkin
Heflin
Johnston
Kerry
Lautenberg
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Proxmire
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sarbanes
Sasser

Republicans
(10 or 26%)

Armstrong
Grassley
Hatfield
Humphrey
Kasten
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Roth
Trible

NOT VOTING (15)

Democrats (8)

Adams—^{2}
Biden—^{2}
Bingaman—^{4}
Bradley—^{2}
Leahy—^{2}
Moynihan—^{2}
Shelby—^{4AN}
Simon—^{2}

Republicans (7)

D'Amato—^{2}
Evans—^{2}
Heinz—^{2PY}
McCain—^{2PN}
Pressler—^{2}
Simpson—^{2}
Weicker—^{2}

GENERAL PAIRS

Heinz-McCain

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 54%
Republicans— 74%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (54)
Democrats— 25 or 46%
Republicans— 29 or 54%

Against (31)
Democrats— 21 or 68%
Republicans— 10 or 32%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C Byrd, Chairman

MAJOR PROVISIONS

Public Debt Level: Increases the public debt limit from $2.111 trillion to $2.8 trillion until May 1, 1989.

Gramm-Rudman-Hollings Revision: Amends the Balanced Budget and Emergency Deficit Control Act of 1985 (Gramm-Rudman-Hollings) to transfer from GAO to OMB the authority to implement possible budget sequester orders and revise the deficit targets and sequester procedures set forth in the act.

Deficit Targets: Revises the deficit targets set forth in the act as follows (in billions):

	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992
Original Target	$108	$72	$36	$0	$0
New CBO Baseline	181	198	183	173	160
New Deficit Targets	150	*130	90	45	0

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*or $36 billion in policy reductions

Maintains the current sequester formula—50 percent defense/50 percent nondefense; gives the President flexibility in exempting military personnel accounts from a sequester; allows flexibility for other defense programs (without affecting total amount of defense cut) only if requested by the President and approved by Congress by joint resolution; retains all current exemptions and special rules.

Initiating a Sequester: Requires OMB and CBO, in August and October of each year, to estimate the baseline deficit for the upcoming fiscal year and to issue a joint report containing the average of the two agencies' deficit estimates to determine the amount of excess deficit above the annual target (the sequester amount); specifies that the report will mathematically compute the amounts each program would be cut under a sequester; requires GAO to review the report and issue its own sequester report; directs OMB to issue the final sequester report explaining any differences with GAO.

Requires the President to issue the sequester order on September 1 which will take effect in October unless Congress and the President act to avoid sequester by enacting deficit reductions through "fast-track reconciliation" or regular legislation within six weeks.

Avoiding a Sequester: Specifies that a sequester can be avoided in 1988 if the deficit is reduced below the fixed target of $150 billion, and in 1989 by either achieving $36 billion in deficit reduction below the baseline or reaching the $130 billion target; limits the maximum sequester in 1989 to $36 billion; requires the annual deficit target to be achieved in 1990, 1991, and 1992; and makes the $10 billion cushion in meeting the fixed targets applicable in all years.

Limitation of OMB's Role in 1988: Provides, for 1988, that Congress will specify the economic variables that OMB must use in estimating the deficit and will have the option to set the economic variables in other years; requires OMB to use specified budget authority/outlay ratios in computing program-by-program cuts under a sequester; and gives Congress five days to change the final OMB sequester report through expedited procedures.

Repeal Fazio and Apply Outlay Limits: Repeals the Fazio exception to section 311 and extends section 302 to apply to outlays.

Two-Year Appropriations: Expresses the sense of the Congress that Congress shall adopt legislation as part of reconciliation to experiment with two-year appropriations for selected subfunctional areas of the budget.

Shift of Government Payments from One Year to Another: Provides that where government payments are shifted from one fiscal year to an adjacent fiscal year without reducing total cost over the two fiscal years, that shift would not be treated as causing a reduction in outlays for the fiscal year from which the payments were shifted.

Financial Management Reform: Expresses the sense of the Congress that Congress shall adopt, as part of reconciliation, a plan to ensure improvements in the government's financial management.

State and Local Cost Estimates: Repeals the sunset provision of the State and Local Government Cost Estimate Act of 1981 to extend CBO's authority to conduct these estimates of costs imposed on State and local governments.

Extraneous Provisions: Extends the sunset provision of the Byrd Rule prohibiting extraneous provisions on reconciliation legislation to September 30, 1992; extends the rule to prohibit programs that expand in the outyears to exceed savings in the same title.

Policy Deferrals: Confirms the reporting requirement for deferrals and codifies the New Haven decision prohibiting policy deferrals.

Rescissions: Confirms congressional intent that rescissions cannot be repeatedly resubmitted during one year.

Single Set of Economics: Requires a single set of economics in the budget resolution.

Credit Reform: Reforms the budgetary accounting for credit by scoring the subsidies of loans and guarantees on the basis of cost to the government.

Appeals of Certain Rulings in the Senate: Requires three-fifths vote to appeal the rulings of the Chair in the Senate relative to three-fifths vote points of order under the Budget Act.

Social Security: Requires more effective management of social security trust funds and ensures payment of benefits when the government reaches the debt ceiling by (1) allowing temporary disinvestment of social security trust funds in a debt crisis to pay social security benefits and administrative expenses; (2) providing a permanent appropriation to immediately restore the trust funds of the amount disinvested plus interest lost once the debt ceiling is raised; (3) requiring that social security payroll taxes be invested as soon as room is available under the debt ceiling; (4) increasing the number of trustee reports to Congress on the status of the trust funds; and (5) eliminating the normalized tax transfer in 1990.

Congressional Pay Raises: Prevents automatic increases in the rates of pay for Members of Congress and certain executive branch employees under the Federal Salary Act of 1967 by requiring both Houses of Congress, beginning in 1990, to approve the report of the Quadrennial Commission by passing a joint resolution before any pay raise could take effect.

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 225

100th Congress
1st Session

August 3, 1987, 5:12 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-11165

NOMINATION OF ALAN GREENSPAN TO BE CHAIRMAN OF FED

POSITION: Member and Chairman of the Board of Governors of the Federal System, vice Paul A. Volker, for a term of four years

SUBJECT: **Confirmation of the nomination of Alan Greenspan, of New York, to be a Member and Chairman of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System.**

NOTE: Proponents of Dr. Greenspan's nomination, which was reported out of the Banking Committee by a unanimous vote of 20 yeas, emphasized the nominee's sound grasp of economics, his willingness to take political pressure from both Congress and the White House, and his ability to make hard choices on complex problems. Dr. Greenspan's professional accomplishments include membership on the President's Economic Policy Advisory Board, a senior advisor to the Brookings Institute, and consultant to the Budget Office. He is clearly committed to follow monetary policies that will counteract inflation. Some expressed concern about the nominee's seeming lack of independence, his apparent unwillingness to enforce the Sherman Antitrust Act of 1890, and his support of merging banks and commercial firms.

Opponents pointed out that Dr. Greenspan would inherit the legacy of the Reagan Administration's disastrously misguided policies that have produced staggering budget deficits. They could not support him without assurance that he will use his influence to chart a substantially different course.

Vote No. 225.

RESULT: **NOMINATION CONFIRMED**

ADMINISTRATION POSITION: YEA

YEAS (91)

Democrats
(49 or 96%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Bingaman
Boren
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Gore
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Hollings
Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Proxmire
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans
(42 or 100%)

Armstrong
Bond
Boschwitz
Chafee
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Evans
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hatfield
Hecht
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes
Kassebaum
Kasten
Lugar
McCain
McClure
Murkowski
Nickles
Packwood
Pressler
Quayle
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Specter
Stevens
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Warner
Weicker
Wilson

NAYS (2)

Democrats
(2 or 4%)

Bradley
Conrad

Republicans
(0 or 0%)

NOT VOTING (7)

Democrats (3)

Biden—2
Pryor—2
Simon—2

Republicans (4)

Garn—2
Heinz—2AY
McConnell—2
Stafford—2

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 96%
Republicans— 100%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (91)
Democrats— 49 or 54%
Republicans— 42 or 46%

Against (2)
Democrats— 2 or 100%
Republicans— 0 or 0%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 226

100th Congress
1st Session

August 4, 1987, 3:20 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-11214

FSLIC RECAPITALIZATION ACT

BILL NO.: H.R. 27

TITLE: "Competitive Equality Banking Act of 1987"

SUBJECT: **Adoption of the conference report on the bill which recapitalizes, at $10.825 billion, the Federal Savings and Loan Insurance Corporation (FSLIC); provides for the refund of contributions by thrift institutions to the FSLIC secondary reserve; closes the nonbank bank loophole as of March 5, 1987, and restricts the expansion of grandfathered nonbank banks; imposes a moratorium through March 1, 1988, on certain securities and insurance activities of banks or bank holding companies; requires thrift institutions to use generally accepted accounting principles instead of the regulatory accounting system; allows emergency interstate bank acquisitions; allows regulators to operate failed banks for up to three years while seeking purchasers for those institutions; establishes a new program to facilitate the recovery of troubled, but well-managed thrifts; regulates consumer checkholds; streamlines credit union operations; provides for the seven-year amortization of farm loans in agricultural banks; and reaffirms the sense of the Congress that Federally-insured deposits are backed by the full faith and credit of the U.S. government.**

NOTE: H.R. 27 became Public Law 100-86, approved August 3, 1987.

H.R. 27: Vote Nos. 109, 110, 226.
S. 790: Vote Nos. 41-44.

RESULT: CONFERENCE REPORT AGREED TO

YEAS (96)

Democrats (52 or 100%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Biden
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Gore
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Hollings
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans (44 or 96%)

Bond
Boschwitz
Chafee
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Evans
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hatfield
Hecht
Heinz
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes
Kassebaum
Kasten
Lugar
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Packwood
Pressler
Quayle
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Specter
Stafford
Stevens
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Warner
Weicker
Wilson

NAYS (2)

Democrats (0 or 0%)

Republicans (2 or 4%)

Armstrong
Wallop

NOT VOTING (2)

Democrats (2)

Inouye—2
Simon—2

Republicans (0)

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 100%
Republicans— 96%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (96)
Democrats— 52 or 54%
Republicans— 44 or 46%

Against (2)
Democrats— 0 or 0%
Republicans— 2 or 100%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 227

100th Congress
1st Session

August 5, 1987, 6:12 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-11318

SCHOOL LUNCH/NUTRITION PROGRAMS

BILL NO.: H.R. 1340 (S. 305)

TITLE: "Commodity Distribution Reform Act of 1987"

SUBJECT: **Passage of the bill which requires the USDA to improve the quality, packaging, and delivery of commodities issued under the National School Lunch, Elderly Feeding, Food Distribution on Indian Reservations, Child Care Food, and School Breakfast programs; extends the National Commodity Processing Program until June 30, 1989; extends until June 30, 1989, the Cash or Commodity Letters of Credit pilot projects which allow certain school districts to receive cash or commodity letters of credit in lieu of National School Lunch program commodities and requires that food purchased by the pilot projects be produced and processed in the U.S.; allows State agencies participating in the Women, Infants, and Children (WIC) Program to devise methods to reduce food costs, such as by competitive bidding, and to use up to 20 percent of the savings to administer the program to additional applicants and the remaining 80 percent for additional WIC food purchases; allows States to carry over one percent of the unspent FY 1986 and 1987 WIC funds into the succeeding fiscal years; requires that infant formula bought for the WIC program be registered with FDA and meet the Infant Formula Act requirements; requires that State agencies participating in WIC coordinate the WIC and medicaid programs; requires the USDA to conduct a study of savings in the medicaid and State indigent health care programs for newborn infants during the first 60 days after birth to determine cost savings in medicaid and other health programs that resulted from the mothers' participation in WIC during pregnancy; requires that USDA-issued recipe cards be regularly updated using USDA and HHS dietary guidelines; and extends the deadline for USDA quality control program studies from 12 to 15 months.**

NOTE: The bill was cleared for the President after the Senate agreed to further House amendments on December 19, 1987. H.R. 1340 became Public Law 100-237, approved January 8, 1988.

H.R. 1340 (S. 305): Vote No. 227.

RESULT: **BILL PASSED**

YEAS (97)

Democrats (52 or 100%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Biden
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Hollings

Inouye
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Simon
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans (45 or 100%)

Armstrong
Bond
Boschwitz
Chafee
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Evans
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hatfield
Hecht
Heinz
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes
Kassebaum

Kasten
Lugar
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Nickles
Packwood
Pressler
Quayle
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Specter
Stafford
Stevens
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Warner
Weicker
Wilson

NAYS (0)

Democrats (0 or 0%)

Republicans (0 or 0%)

NOT VOTING (3)

Democrats (2)

Gore—2
Johnston—2

Republicans (1)

Murkowski—2

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion	Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on	
	For (97)	*Against* (0)
Democrats— 100%	Democrats— 52 or 54%	Democrats— 0 or 0%
Republicans— 100%	Republicans— 45 or 46%	Republicans— 0 or 0%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 228

100th Congress
1st Session

August 6, 1987, 2:33 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-11384

NOMINATION OF DAVID S. RUDER TO BE CHAIRMAN OF THE SEC

POSITION: Chairman of the Securities and Exchange Commission

SUBJECT: **Confirmation of the nomination of David S. Ruder, of Illinois, to be Chairman of the Securities and Exchange Commission.**

NOTE: The nomination was reported favorably by the Banking Committee by a vote of 17-3. Mr. Ruder's academic background, extensive writings on regulation of securities trading, and his experience as a dean and professor at Northwestern Law School, Chicago, qualify him, proponents asserted, to be Chairman of the SEC. In addition, he has served on the Securities Law Committees of both the American and Chicago Bar Associations, the Legal Advisory Committee of the New York Stock Exchange, and as a consultant to the American Law Institute's Federal securities law project. Ruder testified that his first responsibility as commissioner would be to protect the shareholder. He expressed opposition to legislating a response to corporate takeovers, feeling that the SEC should fulfill its mandate through vigorous enforcement of the antifraud provisions of the Federal securities laws rather than through new rules and regulations. He also emphasized that he would work closely with the U.S. attorney to expose insider trading scandals.

Opponents agreed that the candidate possesses impeccable academic credentials but questioned his ability to address the SEC's current major problems: insider trading and corporate takeovers. Mr. Ruder has no administrative experience in any government agency or private business and is not committed to the sort of tough enforcement these problems require. Throughout his academic career, he has advocated a narrow definition of insider trading and a hands-off policy toward policing the corporate takeover process, despite the negative impact corporate takeovers have had in terms of debt, investment in research and development, and unemployment. He has criticized the SEC for its efforts to prosecute insider traders and has recommended abandonment of the so-called "misappropriation theory," one of the SEC's most effective tools against insider trading. He opposes stiffening fines and prison terms. His laissez-faire approach, they noted, would work against the legislation Congress is considering to impede hostile corporate takeovers.

Vote No. 228.

RESULT: **NOMINATION CONFIRMED**

ADMINISTRATION POSITION: YEA

YEAS (81)

Democrats (36 or 68%)

Bentsen
Biden
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Glenn
Graham
Heflin
Hollings
Inouye
Johnston
Lautenberg
Leahy
Matsunaga
Melcher
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Sarbanes
Shelby
Simon
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans (45 or 100%)

Armstrong
Bond
Boschwitz
Chafee
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Evans
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hecht
Heinz
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes
Kassebaum
Kasten
Lugar
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Packwood
Pressler
Quayle
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Specter
Stafford
Stevens
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Warner
Weicker
Wilson

NAYS (17)

Democrats (17 or 32%)

Adams
Baucus
Bingaman
Byrd
Chiles
Ford
Fowler
Harkin
Kennedy
Kerry
Levin
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Proxmire
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sasser

Republicans (0 or 0%)

NOT VOTING (2)

Democrats (1)

Gore—2AN

Republicans (1)

Hatfield—2

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 68%
Republicans— 100%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (81)
Democrats— 36 or 44%
Republicans— 45 or 56%

Against (17)
Democrats— 17 or 100%
Republicans— 0 or 0%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 229

100th Congress
1st Session

August 6, 1987, 6:29 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-11430

OLDER AMERICANS

BILL NO.: H.R. 1451

TITLE: "Older Americans Act Amendments of 1987"

SUBJECT: **Passage of the bill which authorizes $1.62 billion in FY 1988, $1.67 billion in 1989, $1.76 billion in 1990, $1.75 billion in 1991, and $1.85 billion in 1992 for Older Americans and Native American Acts programs; creates new authorizations for in-home, health promotion, and ombudsman services for older Americans; requires the Secretary of Labor to develop a consumer price index which reflects the impact of inflation on elderly Americans; makes adult day care centers eligible to participate in food programs under the National School Lunch Act; authorizes a White House Conference on Aging in 1991; and includes $6 million in FY 1988-90 for clinical trials on drugs for the treatment of Alzheimer's disease.**

H.R. 1451: Vote Nos. 229, 373.

RESULT: **BILL PASSED**

YEAS (98)

Democrats (53 or 100%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Biden
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Hollings
Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Simon
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans (45 or 100%)

Armstrong
Bond
Boschwitz
Chafee
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Evans
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hecht
Heinz
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes
Kassebaum
Kasten
Lugar
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Packwood
Pressler
Quayle
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Specter
Stafford
Stevens
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Warner
Weicker
Wilson

NAYS (0)

Democrats (0 or 0%)

Republicans (0 or 0%)

NOT VOTING (2)

Democrats (1)

Gore—2

Republicans (1)

Hatfield—2

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 100%
Republicans— 100%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (98)
Democrats— 53 or 54%
Republicans— 45 or 46%

Against (0)
Democrats— 0 or 0%
Republicans— 0 or 0%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C Byrd. Chairman

MAJOR PROVISIONS

Federal Council and Administration on Aging: Authorizes $210,000 in FY 1988, $221,000 in 1989, $232,000 in 1990, $243,000 in 1991, and $255,000 in 1992 for the continued operation of the Federal Council on Aging and requires that the majority of its members be older Americans; establishes an Associate Commissioner on Native American Aging within the Administration on Aging and sets forth the duties of that position; updates the requirements for publication of timely regulations.

Title III Supportive Services and Other Activities: Authorizes Title III programs as follows: supporting services—$380 million in FY 1988, $399 million in 1989, $418 million in 1990, $439 million in 1991, and $461 million in 1992; nutrition services (congregate nutrition centers and home-delivered nutrition programs)—$494 million in FY 1988, $518 million in 1989, $545 million in 1990, $572 million in 1991, and $600 million in 1992; and surplus commodities programs—$151 million in FY 1988, $166 million in 1989, $183 million in 1990, $201 million in 1991, and $221 million in 1992; increases the percentage of Title III funding that may be used by area agencies on aging for administrative expenses from 8.5 to 10 percent; expands the area plan requirements to include coordination of certain programs with local services for elderly Alzheimer's disease victims.

Authorizes $20 million in FY 1988 for ombudsman programs and strengthens the program requirements at the State level; requires the Commissioner to submit an annual report to Congress on services and problems with the States' long-term care ombudsman and to conduct a study of ombudsman activities on behalf of residents in board and care facilities and on the effectiveness of utilizing volunteer ombudsmen.

Requires that area and State plans document the minority population within service areas and how their needs were met in the previous fiscal year; provides further direction in targeting services to those in greatest need; requires area agencies to consider the number of older Native Americans with low incomes in planning and conducting outreach activities and places increased emphasis on minority elderly, especially Indians, in Title IV research and training programs; establishes an interagency task force to identify ways to facilitate and improve services to older Indians and requires the Commissioner to report on the availability and quality of services to older Indians.

Modifies the provisions for a reduction in a States's allotment by the percentage decline in State expenditures to reflect the average change over the previous three years rather than the decline in the immediately preceding year; authorizes $10 million in FY 1988 for new programs for nonmedical in-home services for frail older individuals and preventive health screening, health education, and promotion services; authorizes $5 million in FY 1988 for programs to prevent abuse of older individuals.

Demonstration Grants: Authorizes $3 million in FY 1988 for grants to State and area agencies on aging to demonstrate and evaluate effective methods to provide outreach and application assistance for SSI, Medicaid, and Food Stamps to elderly individuals who are eligible for, but not receiving this assistance; authorizes $2 million annually in FY 1988-89 for grants to States to demonstrate and evaluate cooperative projects between State long-term care ombudsman programs and State protection and advocacy systems; authorizes grants to demonstrate effective methods for assuring that home care services provided under the Act are of high quality; authorizes $33 million in FY 1988, $35 million in 1989, $36 million in 1990, $38 million in 1991, and $40 million in 1992 for Title IV training, research and discretionary projects; requires the Commissioner to fund the establishment or support of Multidisciplinary Centers of Gerontology and to support the development of comprehensive systems for long-term care.

Community Service Employment: Authorizes $387 million in FY 1988, $406 million in 1989, $426 million in 1990, $448 million in 1991, and $470 million in 1992 for Title V Community Service Employment; freezes the cap on administrative costs for employment projects at 13.5 percent and establishes specific criteria to be used for waiving the cap; excludes Title V wages from consideration as income in determining eligibility for Federally subsidized housing and Food Stamps; requires the Labor Department to provide Title V contractors with information about age discrimination.

Elderly Americans CPI: Requires the Secretary of Labor to develop a consumer price index which reflects the impact of inflation on elderly Americans.

Home Health Care for Low-Income Individuals: Authorizes $100 million annually in FY 1988-90 for home health care for low-income individuals suffering from a catastrophic or chronic illness.

Food Assistance: Extends child care food assistance to adult day care centers.

Native American Programs: Specifies that Indians are eligible for services under both Titles III and VI; creates a new Title VI Part B program for grants to public or non-profit organizations to provide services to Native Hawaiians; and authorizes $13 million in FY 1988, $16 million in 1989, $19 million in 1990, $22 million in 1991, and $27 million in 1992 for the Title VI Native American programs.

White House Conference on Aging: Authorizes the President to call a White House Conference on Aging in 1991.

Alzheimer's Research: Authorizes $2 million annually in FY 1988-89 for the Director of the National Institute on Aging to conduct clinical trials on the use of tetrahydroaminoacridine in treating Alzheimer's Disease.

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 230

100th Congress
1st Session

August 6, 1987, 6:56 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-11447

NOMINATION OF M. PETER McPHERSON TO BE DEPUTY SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY

POSITION: Deputy Secretary of the Treasury

SUBJECT: **Confirmation of the nomination of M. Peter McPherson, of Virginia, to be Deputy Secretary of the Treasury.**

NOTE: Proponents noted that the Finance Committee approved the nomination by voice vote and stated that Mr. McPherson has a long history of valuable public service. They pointed out that the position of Deputy Secretary of the Treasury has been vacant since the resignation of Richard Darman on April 10, 1987.

Opponents made no statements.

Vote No. 230.

RESULT: **NOMINATION CONFIRMED**

ADMINISTRATION POSITION: YEA

YEAS (95)

Democrats (51 or 98%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Biden
Bingaman
Boren
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Hollings
Inouye

Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans (44 or 98%)

Armstrong
Bond
Boschwitz
Chafee
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Evans
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hecht
Heinz
Humphrey
Karnes
Kassebaum
Kasten

Lugar
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Packwood
Pressler
Quayle
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Specter
Stafford
Stevens
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Warner
Weicker
Wilson

NAYS (2)

Democrats (1 or 2%)

Bradley

Republicans (1 or 2%)

Helms

NOT VOTING (3)

Democrats (2)

Gore—2
Simon—2

Republicans (1)

Hatfield—2

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 98%
Republicans— 98%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (95)
Democrats— 51 or 54%
Republicans— 44 or 46%

Against (2)
Democrats— 1 or 50%
Republicans— 1 or 50%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 231

100th Congress
1st Session

August 7, 1987, 1:29 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-11594

IRAN-IRAQ CEASEFIRE

BILL NO.: H.J. Res. 216

SUBJECT: **Passage of the joint resolution which states congressional findings that continuation of the Iran-Iraq war would produce unacceptable levels of death and destruction incompatible with the humanitarian concerns and values of the American people and could result in an Iranian breakthrough which would threaten the stability of the entire region and would not be in the U.S. strategic interest; states U.S. policy in support of a ceasefire and negotiated solution to the conflict, including a withdrawal to the internationally recognized border, and the establishment of an international tribunal to investigate the origins of the conflict; and expresses the sense of the Congress that if either party to the conflict rejects peace negotiations and an internationally sanctioned ceasefire, including a withdrawal to the internationally recognized border, the U.S. should support internationally approved political and economic measures against that country and maintain existing limitations on trade.**

NOTE: H.J. Res. 216 became Public Law 100-96, approved August 18, 1987.

H.J. Res. 216: Vote No. 231.

RESULT: **JOINT RESOLUTION PASSED**

YEAS (96)

Democrats (52 or 100%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Hollings
Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Simon
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans (44 or 100%)

Armstrong
Bond
Boschwitz
Chafee
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Evans
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hecht
Heinz
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes
Kassebaum
Kasten
Lugar
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Packwood
Pressler
Quayle
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Specter
Stafford
Stevens
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Warner
Weicker
Wilson

NAYS (0)

Democrats (0 or 0%)

Republicans (0 or 0%)

NOT VOTING (4)

Democrats (2)

Biden—2
Gore—2AY

Republicans (2)

Durenberger—2
Hatfield—2AY

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 100%
Republicans— 100%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (96)
Democrats— 52 or 54%
Republicans— 44 or 46%

Against (0)
Democrats— 0 or 0%
Republicans— 0 or 0%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 232

100th Congress
1st Session

August 7, 1987, 2:52 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-11601

NOMINATION OF NICHOLAS PLATT TO BE AMBASSADOR TO THE PHILIPPINES

POSITION: Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States to the Republic of the Philippines

SUBJECT: **Confirmation of the nomination of Nicholas Platt, of the District of Columbia, to be Ambassador to the Republic of the Philippines.**

NOTE: Proponents noted that the nomination was favorably reported from the Foreign Relations Committee by a vote of 18 to 1. The Committee thoroughly reviewed the memorandum sent by Mr. Platt to the Secretary of State regarding withholding funds from U.N. agencies, and concluded that Mr. Platt, as Assistant Secretary of State for International Affairs, was responsible to the Secretary of State—not the United Nations Ambassador. Regardless of whether the State Department position was good or bad policy, it was not improper for Mr. Platt to make his recommendation to Secretary Haig. Throughout his Foreign Service career, Nicholas Platt has conducted himself in a professional manner and is well qualified to be Ambassador to the Philippines.

Opponents of the nomination asserted that Mr. Platt attempted to undercut U.N. Ambassador Kirkpatrick's recommendation that the Administration's policy against the PLO and other terrorist groups be upheld. His lack of professional integrity resulted in a major policy error which has a direct impact on the post to which he has been nominated. The Communist terrorists in the Philippines are aided by a radical Muslim group which is supported by the PLO. It would be sheer folly to have a person representing the United States in the Philippines who had previously foiled the President's anti-terrorist policy at a critical moment.

Vote No. 232.

RESULT: **NOMINATION CONFIRMED**

ADMINISTRATION POSITION: YEA

YEAS (88)

Democrats (50 or 100%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Hollings
Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Simon
Wirth

Republicans (38 or 88%)

Armstrong
Bond
Chafee
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Evans
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hecht
Heinz
Karnes
Kassebaum
Lugar
McCain
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Packwood
Pressler
Quayle
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Specter
Stafford
Stevens
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Warner
Weicker
Wilson

NAYS (5)

Democrats (0 or 0%)

Republicans (5 or 12%)

Helms
Humphrey
Kasten
McClure
Symms

NOT VOTING (7)

Democrats (4)

Biden—2
Gore—2
Sanford—2
Stennis—2

Republicans (3)

Boschwitz—2
Durenberger—2
Hatfield—2AY

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 100%
Republicans— 88%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (88)
Democrats— 50 or 57%
Republicans— 38 or 43%

Against (5)
Democrats— 0 or 0%
Republicans— 5 or 100%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 233

100th Congress
1st Session

August 7, 1987, 7:08 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-11623

PUBLIC DEBT LIMIT TEMPORARY INCREASE

BILL NO.: H.R. 3190

SUBJECT: **Passage of the bill which increases and extends the current temporary debt limit of $2.32 trillion (which expired on August 6, 1987) to $2.352 trillion until September 23, 1987, after which it will revert to the $2.111 trillion permanent level unless extended or increased.**

NOTE: H.R. 3190 became Public Law 100-84, approved August 10, 1987.

H.R. 3190: Vote No. 233.

RESULT: BILL PASSED

YEAS (51)

Democrats (33 or 70%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Byrd
Chiles
Cranston
Daschle
Dixon
Dodd
Ford
Fowler
Graham
Inouye
Johnston
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sarbanes
Stennis

Republicans (18 or 42%)

Bond
Boschwitz
Chafee
Cochran
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Heinz
Kassebaum
Lugar
Packwood
Quayle
Roth
Stafford
Stevens
Thurmond
Weicker

NAYS (39)

Democrats (14 or 30%)

Bingaman
Burdick
Conrad
DeConcini
Exon
Glenn
Harkin
Heflin
Hollings
Levin
Proxmire
Sasser
Shelby
Wirth

Republicans (25 or 58%)

Armstrong
Cohen
Evans
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hecht
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes
Kasten
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Pressler
Rudman
Simpson
Specter
Symms
Trible
Wallop
Warner
Wilson

NOT VOTING (10)

Democrats (7)

Biden—2
Gore—2
Kennedy—2
Matsunaga—2
Melcher—2
Sanford—2
Simon—2

Republicans (3)

Durenberger—2
Garn—2
Hatfield—2

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 70%
Republicans— 58%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (51)
Democrats— 33 or 65%
Republicans— 18 or 35%

Against (39)
Democrats— 14 or 36%
Republicans— 25 or 64%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 234

100th Congress
1st Session

September 9, 1987, 2:02 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-11856

NOMINATION OF MELISSA F. WELLS TO BE AMBASSADOR TO MOZAMBIQUE
(CLOTURE)

POSITION: Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States to the People's Republic of Mozambique

SUBJECT: **Fowler, et al., motion to close further debate on the nomination of Melissa F. Wells, of New York, to be the Ambassador to Mozambique.**

NOTE: The cloture petition, presented on August 6, 1987, was signed by Senators Fowler, Daschle, DeConcini, Boren, Lautenberg, Bingaman, Metzenbaum, Wirth, Ford, Dodd, Matsunaga, Sasser, Exon, Kerry, Conrad, and Pell.

Proponents of the nomination asserted that it was being held up to force the Reagan Administration to recognize and deal with the terrorist resistance movement in Mozambique known as RENAMO. RENAMO is not the pro-Western indigenous political movement its defenders claim it is, but a South African-backed terrorist group with little popular support. Continuing to delay this appointment jeopardizes not only U.S. relations with Mozambique, but the future of U.S. relations with other nations in southern Africa, as well as U.S. efforts to counter terrorism. Moreover, if the Senate treats qualified nominees in this way, it will become more difficult to retain highly qualified Foreign Service officers. Nominees should not have to profess support for an extreme view in order to get through the nomination process, a view which easily could be used against them by a succeeding Administration.

Opponents of the nomination were critical of the State Department's policy in southern Africa and its tendency to exclude non-Marxist or anti-Communist political forces. RENAMO should receive the same degree of recognition by the State Department that is extended to the Marxist FRELIMO government, or the Communist-dominated ANC. RENAMO is a strong and effective indigenous organization, they claimed, that is committed to the values of the western world.

Vote Nos. 86, 234, 235, 237.

RESULT: **CLOTURE MOTION AGREED TO, 3/5THS HAVING VOTED IN THE AFFIRMATIVE**

ADMINISTRATION POSITION: YEA

YEAS (65)			**NAYS (24)**		**NOT VOTING (11)**	
Democrats (51 or 98%)		**Republicans (14 or 38%)**	**Democrats (1 or 2%)**	**Republicans (23 or 62%)**	**Democrats (2)**	**Republicans (9)**
Adams	Kennedy	Boschwitz	Heflin	Armstrong	Ford^{-2}	Cochran^{-2}
Baucus	Kerry	Chafee		Bond	Harkin^{-2}	D'Amato^{-2}
Bentsen	Lautenberg	Cohen		Dole		Kassebaum^{-2}
Biden	Leahy	Danforth		Garn		McClure^{-2}
Bingaman	Levin	Domenici		Gramm		Murkowski^{-2}
Boren	Matsunaga	Durenberger		Grassley		Nickles^{-2}
Bradley	Melcher	Evans		Hatch		Rudman^{-2}
Breaux	Metzenbaum	Hatfield		Hecht		Stevens^{-2}
Bumpers	Mikulski	Heinz		Helms		Warner^{-2}
Burdick	Mitchell	Lugar		Humphrey		
Byrd	Moynihan	Packwood		Karnes		
Chiles	Nunn	Specter		Kasten		
Conrad	Pell	Stafford		McCain		
Cranston	Proxmire	Weicker		McConnell		
Daschle	Pryor			Pressler		
DeConcini	Reid			Quayle		
Dixon	Riegle			Roth		
Dodd	Rockefeller			Simpson		
Exon	Sanford			Symms		
Fowler	Sarbanes			Thurmond		
Glenn	Sasser			Trible		
Gore	Shelby			Wallop		
Graham	Simon			Wilson		
Hollings	Stennis					
Inouye	Wirth					
Johnston						

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 98%
Republicans— 62%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (65)
Democrats— 51 or 78%
Republicans— 14 or 22%

Against (24)
Democrats— 1 or 4%
Republicans— 23 or 96%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 235

100th Congress
1st Session

September 9, 1987, 3:07 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-11860

NOMINATION OF MELISSA F. WELLS TO BE AMBASSADOR TO MOZAMBIQUE

POSITION: Ambasssador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States to the People's Republic of Mozambique

SUBJECT: **Helms appeal of the ruling of the Chair that the Helms amendment (stating the sense of the Senate that the Secretary of State should seek a meeting with the representatives of opposing Mozambican armed forces to seek a negotiated settlement of the civil war and that humanitarian aid to Mozambique will be of marginal use until all foreign troops have left the country and the civil war has ended) to the Executive Journal is not in order.**

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment asserted that it is unacceptable for the State Department to continue its policy of "cozying up" to Communist regimes and ignoring anti-Communist, pro-Western groups when resolving conflicts in other parts of the world. The State Department should be prepared to deal with the RENAMO group in Mozambique, instead of the FRELIMO government. The decision of the Chair should not stand because there is a precedent allowing the Senate to consider an amendment to the Journal when the Journal is not pending which occurred on January 22, 1861, concerning the seceding of Florida, Alabama, and Mississippi from the U.S. Furthermore, a correction to the Journal is highly privileged, they insisted, and is virtually always in order. Rather than allow this matter to pivot on a technical point, the Senate should be prepared to address this objectionable State Department policy.

Opponents of the amendment pointed out that it is inappropriate for the Senate to promote a high level meeting with a group that is widely regarded as indulging in terrorist attacks against civilians, while trying to encourage the government of Mozambique to distance itself from the Soviet Union. Moreover, the amendment raises a number of issues concerning the situation in Mozambique that deserve full debate. The Chair's ruling is correct, since the cited 1861 precedent is not applicable in this situation. No point of order had been made against that motion; nor had there been a challenge. The appropriate time to make an amendment to the Journal is at the beginning of a new calendar day in which the Senate goes into executive session to consider executive business. The Senate cannot have two matters before it at the same time, and when the amendment was introduced, the Senate was considering the nomination of Melissa Wells.

Vote Nos. 86, 234, 235, 237.

RESULT: **DECISION OF CHAIR SUSTAINED**

YEAS (59)			NAYS (28)			NOT VOTING (13)	
Democrats (50 or 100%)		**Republicans (9 or 24%)**	**Democrats (0 or 0%)**	**Republicans (28 or 76%)**		**Democrats (4)**	**Republicans (9)**
Adams	Johnston	Chafee		Armstrong	Karnes	Ford—2	Cochran—2
Baucus	Kennedy	Cohen		Bond	Kasten	Gore—2	D'Amato—2
Bentsen	Kerry	Danforth		Boschwitz	McCain	Harkin—2	Kassebaum—2
Biden	Lautenberg	Evans		Dole	McConnell	Simon—2	McClure—2
Bingaman	Leahy	Hatfield		Domenici	Pressler		Murkowski—2
Boren	Levin	Lugar		Durenberger	Quayle		Nickles—2
Bradley	Matsunaga	Packwood		Garn	Roth		Rudman—2
Breaux	Melcher	Stafford		Gramm	Simpson		Stevens—2
Bumpers	Metzenbaum	Weicker		Grassley	Specter		Warner—2
Burdick	Mikulski			Hatch	Symms		
Byrd	Mitchell			Hecht	Thurmond		
Chiles	Moynihan			Heinz	Trible		
Conrad	Nunn			Helms	Wallop		
Cranston	Pell			Humphrey	Wilson		
Daschle	Proxmire						
DeConcini	Pryor						
Dixon	Reid						
Dodd	Riegle						
Exon	Rockefeller						
Fowler	Sanford						
Glenn	Sarbanes						
Graham	Sasser						
Heflin	Shelby						
Hollings	Stennis						
Inouye	Wirth						

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 100%
Republicans— 76%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (59)
Democrats— 50 or 85%
Republicans— 9 or 15%

Against (28)
Democrats— 0 or 0%
Republicans— 28 or 100%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 236

100th Congress
1st Session

September 9, 1987, 4:05 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-11864

ETHICAL CONDUCT OF SENATE POLITICAL COMMITTEES

BILL NO.: S. Res. 279

SUBJECT: **Adoption of the resolution stating the sense of the Senate that: the Senate and its agent political committees must be diligent in adhering to a code of conduct of the highest standard, avoiding even the appearance of improper, unethical, or illegal activity; candidates and their party committees should engage in positive and constructive campaigns, avoiding negative attacks calculated to impugn the character, integrity, or patriotism of a candidate; and the Senate, and the political committees of both parties, must renew their commitment and dedication to winning not only the votes of the citizenry, but their trust and confidence as well.**

NOTE: The resolution was proposed in response to reports in the press of a lengthy paper prepared in April, 1987, by Donald W. Walker, Jr. of the Research Department of the National Republican Senatorial Campaign Committee, impugning the reputation of Senator Howard Metzenbaum. It set forth ways to portray Senator Metzenbaum as a Communist and to otherwise discredit his candidacy for re-election in 1988.

S. Res. 279: Vote No. 236.

RESULT: **RESOLUTION AGREED TO**

YEAS (87)

Democrats (51 or 100%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Biden
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Fowler
Glenn
Gore
Graham
Heflin
Hollings
Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans (36 or 100%)

Armstrong
Bond
Boschwitz
Chafee
Cohen
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Evans
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hecht
Heinz
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes
Kasten
Lugar
McCain
McConnell
Packwood
Pressler
Quayle
Roth
Simpson
Specter
Stafford
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Weicker
Wilson

NAYS (0)

Democrats (0 or 0%)

Republicans (0 or 0%)

NOT VOTING (13)

Democrats (3)

Ford—2
Harkin—2
Simon—2

Republicans (10)

Cochran—2
D'Amato—2
Hatfield—2
Kassebaum—2
McClure—2
Murkowski—2
Nickles—2
Rudman—2
Stevens—2
Warner—2

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 100%
Republicans— 100%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (87)
Democrats— 51 or 59%
Republicans— 36 or 41%

Against (0)
Democrats— 0 or 0%
Republicans— 0 or 0%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 237

100th Congress
1st Session

September 9, 1987, 4:32 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-11867

NOMINATION OF MELISSA F. WELLS TO BE AMBASSADOR TO MOZAMBIQUE

POSITION: Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States to the People's Republic of Mozambique

SUBJECT: **Confirmation of the nomination of Melissa F. Wells, of New York, to be the Ambassador to Mozambique.**

NOTE: The Foreign Relations Committee approved the nomination by a 16-3 vote. Proponents pointed out that as a career Foreign Service Officer, the nominee has demonstrated her capacity to work in difficult environments. She has served as U.S. Ambassador to Cape Verde and Guinea-Bissau, which are also in southern Africa, as well as the U.N. Development Program's permanent representative in Uganda. In addition to speaking fluent Portuguese, her record indicates that she is well qualified to deal with the issues facing a nation confronted with internal and external conflict. Rather than use a qualified nomination as a "scapegoat," it was suggested that those who did not agree with the Administration's policy in Mozambique devote their efforts to changing it.

Opponents insisted that Melissa Wells' confirmation would severely compromise the U.S. effort to achieve a democratic solution to the civil war in Mozambique. Wells is a "parrot" of the State Department's policy in that region, they argued, and has emphasized her unwillingness to deal with the anti-Communist RENAMO group. The Senate should oppose this nomination to signal that this policy is unacceptable.

Vote Nos. 86, 234, 235, 237.

RESULT: **NOMINATION CONFIRMED**

ADMINISTRATION POSITION: YEA

YEAS (64)

Democrats (49 or 94%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Biden
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Gore
Graham
Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans (15 or 42%)

Boschwitz
Chafee
Cohen
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Evans
Heinz
Lugar
Packwood
Simpson
Specter
Stafford
Weicker

NAYS (24)

Democrats (3 or 6%)

Heflin
Hollings
Shelby

Republicans (21 or 58%)

Armstrong
Bond
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hecht
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes
Kasten
McCain
McConnell
Pressler
Quayle
Roth
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Wilson

NOT VOTING (12)

Democrats (2)

Harkin—2
Simon—2

Republicans (10)

Cochran—2
D'Amato—2
Hatfield—2
Kassebaum—2
McClure—2
Murkowski—2
Nickles—2
Rudman—2
Stevens—2
Warner—2

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 94%
Republicans— 58%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (64)
Democrats— 49 or 77%
Republicans— 15 or 23%

Against (24)
Democrats— 3 or 12.5%
Republicans— 21 or 87.5%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 238

100th Congress
1st Session

September 9, 1987, 5:00 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-11869

NOMINATION OF DAVID SENTELLE TO BE U.S. DISTRICT JUDGE FOR THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

POSITION: U.S. District Judge for the District of Columbia

SUBJECT: **Confirmation of the nomination of David B. Sentelle, of North Carolina, to be U.S. District Judge for the District of Columbia.**

NOTE: Proponents of the nomination, which was favorably reported by the Judiciary Committee, stated that Judge Sentelle has proven to be a capable and skilled jurist who possesses the highest professional standards. Judge Sentelle graduated with honors from the University of North Carolina and the North Carolina School of Law. He has served as assistant U.S. attorney, State court judge, and Federal judge. The nominee was unanimously confirmed by the Senate in 1985 to be a U.S. district court judge and has served with distinction since then. His reputation for intelligence, honesty, fairness, and dedication to equal justice for all has not been matched, some asserted, by any other nominee to the Federal bench. It is ludicrous to attempt to delay consideration of this nomination based on the issue of his membership in the international secret fraternity of Free and Accepted Masons. This issue has been fully resolved following a review of the statutes of the Supreme Council of Freemasonry which indicates that the organization has no restrictions to membership based on race, color, or creed.

Vote No. 238.

RESULT: **NOMINATION CONFIRMED**

ADMINISTRATION POSITION: YEA

YEAS (87)

Democrats (51 or 100%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Biden
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Gore
Graham
Heflin
Hollings
Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sasser
Shelby
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans (36 or 100%)

Armstrong
Bond
Boschwitz
Chafee
Cohen
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Evans
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hecht
Heinz
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes
Kasten
Lugar
McCain
McConnell
Packwood
Pressler
Quayle
Roth
Simpson
Specter
Stafford
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Weicker
Wilson

NAYS (0)

Democrats (0 or 0%)

Republicans (0 or 0%)

NOT VOTING (13)

Democrats (3)

Harkin—2
Sarbanes—2
Simon—2AY

Republicans (10)

Cochran—2
D'Amato—2
Hatfield—2
Kassebaum—2
McClure—2
Murkowski—2
Nickles—2
Rudman—2
Stevens—2
Warner—2

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 100%
Republicans— 100%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (87)
Democrats— 51 or 59%
Republicans— 36 or 41%

Against (0)
Democrats— 0 or 0%
Republicans— 0 or 0%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 239

100th Congress
1st Session

September 10, 1987, 11:32 a.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-11935

CAMPAIGN FINANCING REFORM
(CLOTURE)

BILL NO.: S. 2

TITLE: "Senatorial Election Campaign Act of 1987"

SUBJECT: **Boren, et al., sixth motion to close further debate on the committee substitute, as modified, for the bill.**

NOTE: The cloture petition, presented on August 7, 1987, was signed by Senators Boren, Kerry, Adams, Bingaman, Exon, Stennis, Reid, Cranston, Mikulski, Sanford, Byrd, DeConcini, Fowler, Ford, Melcher, Graham, and Inouye.

S. 2: Vote Nos. 148-153, 239, 242.

RESULT: CLOTURE MOTION REJECTED, 3/5THS NOT HAVING VOTED IN THE AFFIRMATIVE

YEAS (53)

Democrats (50 or 96%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Biden
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Graham
Harkin
Hollings

Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Simon
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans (3 or 7%)

Chafee
Kassebaum
Stafford

NAYS (42)

Democrats (2 or 4%)

Heflin
Shelby

Republicans (40 or 93%)

Armstrong
Bond
Boschwitz
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Evans
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hatfield
Hecht
Heinz
Helms
Humphrey

Karnes
Kasten
Lugar
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Nickles
Packwood
Pressler
Quayle
Roth
Simpson
Specter
Stevens
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Weicker
Wilson

NOT VOTING (5)

Democrats (2)

Gore—2AY
Rockefeller—2

Republicans (3)

Murkowski—2
Rudman—2
Warner—2AN

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 96%
Republicans— 93%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (53)
Democrats— 50 or 94%
Republicans— 3 or 6%

Against (42)
Democrats— 2 or 5%
Republicans— 40 or 95%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 240

100th Congress
1st Session

September 11, 1987, 12:05 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-11992

DOD AUTHORIZATION

BILL NO.: S. 1174 (H.R. 1748)

TITLE: "National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Years 1988 and 1989"

SUBJECT: **Byrd motion to proceed to consideration of the bill.**

S. 1174 (H.R. 1748): Vote Nos. 112-114, 116, 240, 243-257, 259, 260, 263-271, 273, 275-278, 280-287, 292, 294-300, 384.

RESULT: **MOTION TO PROCEED AGREED TO**

YEAS (79)

Democrats (49 or 100%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans (30 or 88%)

Chafee
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Evans
Garn
Grassley
Hatch
Hecht
Heinz
Karnes
Kassebaum
Kasten
Lugar
McConnell
Nickles
Packwood
Pressler
Quayle
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Stafford
Stevens
Symms
Trible
Warner
Weicker

NAYS (4)

Democrats (0 or 0%)

Republicans (4 or 12%)

Gramm
Helms
Humphrey
Specter

NOT VOTING (17)

Democrats (5)

Biden—2
Bingaman—2AY
Gore—2
Hollings—2
Simon—2

Republicans (12)

Armstrong—2
Bond—2
Boschwitz—2
Domenici—2
Durenberger—2AY
Hatfield—2AY
McCain—2
McClure—2
Murkowski—2
Thurmond—2
Wallop—2
Wilson—2

GENERAL PAIRS

Wallop-Thurmond

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 100%
Republicans— 88%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (79)
Democrats— 49 or 62%
Republicans— 30 or 38%

Against (4)
Democrats— 0 or 0%
Republicans— 4 or 100%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 241

100th Congress
1st Session

September 11, 1987, 2:07 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-12005

PHILIPPINES RESOLUTION

BILL NO.: S. Res. 282

SUBJECT: **Adoption of the resolution which sends the Senate's congratulations to the Philippine people and the loyal Philippine military for their commitment to democracy; renews the Senate's full support for the efforts of President Aquino in the development of Philippine democratic institutions; recognizes the overriding importance of defeating the communist insurgency and that economic recovery based on free enterprise is crucial to the attainment of a stable democracy; notes that U.S. law requires the suspension of aid if an elected head of state is overthrown; and urges the Philippine government to address the problems of corruption within the government.**

S. Res. 282: Vote No. 241.

RESULT: RESOLUTION AGREED TO

YEAS (73)

Democrats (41 or 100%)

Baucus
Bentsen
Boren
Bradley
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
Dixon
Dodd
Fowler
Glenn
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Inouye
Kennedy
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans (32 or 100%)

Chafee
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Evans
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hecht
Heinz
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes
Kassebaum
Kasten
Lugar
McConnell
Nickles
Packwood
Pressler
Quayle
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Specter
Stafford
Stevens
Symms
Trible
Warner
Weicker

NAYS (0)

Democrats (0 or 0%)

Republicans (0 or 0%)

NOT VOTING (27)

Democrats (13)

Adams—2AY
Biden—2
Bingaman—2AY
Breaux—2
DeConcini—2
Exon—2
Ford—2
Gore—2
Hollings—2
Johnston—2
Kerry—2AY
Sanford—2
Simon—2

Republicans (14)

Armstrong—2
Bond—2
Boschwitz—2
Cochran—2
Domenici—2
Durenberger—2AY
Hatch—2AY
Hatfield—2
McCain—2
McClure—2
Murkowski—2AY
Thurmond—2AY
Wallop—2
Wilson—2

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 100%
Republicans— 100%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (73)
Democrats— 41 or 56%
Republicans— 32 or 44%

Against (0)
Democrats— 0 or 0%
Republicans— 0 or 0%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 242

100th Congress
1st Session

September 15, 1987, 11:09 a.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-12063

CAMPAIGN FINANCING REFORM
(CLOTURE)

BILL NO.: S. 2

TITLE: "Senatorial Election Campaign Act of 1987"

SUBJECT: **Adams, et al., seventh motion to close further debate on the committee substitute, as modified, for the bill.**

NOTE: The cloture petition, presented on September 10, 1987, was signed by Senators Adams, Glenn, Boren, Sasser, Daschle, Kerry, Fowler, Dodd, Ford, Sanford, Kennedy, Byrd, DeConcini, Graham, Melcher, Pell and Stennis.

S. 2: Vote Nos. 148-153, 239, 242.

RESULT: CLOTURE MOTION REJECTED, 3/5THS NOT HAVING VOTED IN THE AFFIRMATIVE

YEAS (51)

Democrats (48 or 96%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Biden
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Graham
Harkin
Hollings
Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Simon
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans (3 or 7%)

Chafee
Kassebaum
Stafford

NAYS (44)

Democrats (2 or 4%)

Heflin
Shelby

Republicans (42 or 93%)

Armstrong
Bond
Boschwitz
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Evans
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hatfield
Hecht
Heinz
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes
Kasten
Lugar
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Packwood
Pressler
Quayle
Roth
Simpson
Specter
Stevens
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Warner
Weicker
Wilson

NOT VOTING (4)

Democrats (4)

Chiles—^{2}
Conrad—^{3}
Exon—^{2PY}
Gore—^{2}

Republicans (0)

LIVE PAIRS (1)

PRESENT AND GIVING:	**RECEIVING:**
Rudman (PN)	Exon (PY)

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 96%
Republicans— 93%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (51)
Democrats— 48 or 94%
Republicans— 3 or 6%

Against (44)
Democrats— 2 or 5%
Republicans— 42 or 95%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 243

100th Congress
1st Session

September 15, 1987, 7:33 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-12101

DOD AUTHORIZATION

BILL NO.: S. 1174 (H.R. 1748)

TITLE: "National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Years 1988 and 1989"

SUBJECT: **Byrd motion to instruct the Sergeant at Arms to request the attendance of absent Senators.**

S. 1174 (H.R. 1748): Vote Nos. 112-114, 116, 240, 243-257, 259, 260, 263-271, 273, 275-278, 280-287, 292, 294-300, 384.

RESULT: **MOTION FOR ATTENDANCE AGREED TO**

YEAS (67)

Democrats (46 or 100%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Biden
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Conrad
Daschle
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Hollings

Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Leahy
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Simon
Wirth

Republicans (21 or 60%)

Cochran
Cohen
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Grassley
Hatch
Hatfield
Hecht
Heinz
Helms
Humphrey
Lugar
McCain
McClure
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Thurmond
Trible
Warner

NAYS (14)

Democrats (0 or 0%)

Republicans (14 or 40%)

Armstrong
Bond
Boschwitz
D'Amato
Kasten
McConnell
Murkowski
Packwood
Quayle
Specter
Stevens
Symms
Wallop
Wilson

NOT VOTING (19)

Democrats (8)

Chiles—2
Cranston—2
DeConcini—2
Gore—2
Lautenberg—4
Levin—2
Shelby—2
Stennis—2

Republicans (11)

Chafee—2
Durenberger—2
Evans—2
Garn—2
Gramm—2
Karnes—2
Kassebaum—2
Nickles—2
Pressler—2
Stafford—2
Weicker—2

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 100%
Republicans— 60%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (67)
Democrats— 46 or 69%
Republicans— 21 or 31%

Against (14)
Democrats— 0 or 0%
Republicans— 14 or 100%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 244

100th Congress
1st Session

September 15, 1987, 10:17 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-12106

DOD AUTHORIZATION

BILL NO.: S. 1174 (H.R. 1748) **AMENDMENT NO.:** 681

TITLE: "National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Years 1988 and 1989"

SUBJECT: **Byrd-Nunn perfecting amendment which states that the Senate: fully supports the efforts of the President to negotiate stabilizing, equitable, and verifiable arms reduction treaties with the USSR; endorses the principle of mutuality and reciprocity in U.S. arms control negotiations with the USSR and cautions that neither Congress nor the President should take actions which are unilateral concessions to the USSR; and urges the President to take care that no provisions are agreed to which would be harmful to the security of the U.S. or its allies and friends.**

NOTE: Proponents emphasized that the President is not the sole voice in matters concerning treaty negotiations, but that the Senate also has a voice. In addition to confirming the appointments of ambassadors and ratifying treaties, the Senate affects the President's flexibility in dealing with foreign nations every time it exercises its control over national security spending. On numerous occasions, the Senate has sent groups of members to advise presidents during the negotiation of treaties. While affirming the responsibilities of the Senate in the area of foreign relations, the amendment strongly states congressional support for negotiations with the Soviet Union—more strongly than does the Dole-Warner amendment (Vote No. 245). Furthermore, it is consistent with the Armed Services Committee's inclusion of the Levin-Nunn provision in the bill, which provides that if the President decides to use the broad interpretation of the ABM treaty, which the Senate did not consider when it ratified the treaty, he must get the support of Congress. The amendment does not restrict the rights of the President, or say anything regarding the Geneva negotiations.

Some supported the amendment on the grounds that it contains nothing to "kindle passionate disagreement." However, they made it clear that the amendment is not a substitute for the Dole-Warner amendment because it does not establish proper limits on congressional involvement in negotiations that are in progress—limits they feel are critical to keeping Congress from undermining the efforts of the President.

S. 1174 (H.R. 1748): Vote Nos. 112-114, 116, 240, 243-257, 259, 260, 263-271, 273, 275-278, 280-287, 292, 294-300, 384.

RESULT: **AMENDMENT AGREED TO**

YEAS (92)

Democrats (52 or 100%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Biden
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Hollings
Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Simon
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans (40 or 98%)

Armstrong
Bond
Boschwitz
Chafee
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Evans
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hatfield
Hecht
Heinz
Humphrey
Karnes
Kasten
Lugar
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Packwood
Pressler
Quayle
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Specter
Stevens
Symms
Thurmond
Wallop
Warner
Wilson

NAYS (1)

Democrats (0 or 0%)

Republicans (1 or 2%)

Helms

NOT VOTING (7)

Democrats (2)

Gore^{-2}
Lautenberg^{-4}

Republicans (5)

Durenberger^{-2AY}
Kassebaum^{-2}
Stafford^{-2}
Trible^{-2}
Weicker^{-2}

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 100%
Republicans— 98%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (92)
Democrats— 52 or 57%
Republicans— 40 or 43%

Against (1)
Democrats— 0 or 0%
Republicans— 1 or 100%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 245

100th Congress
1st Session

September 15, 1987, 10:48 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-12107

DOD AUTHORIZATION

BILL NO.: S. 1174 (H.R. 1748)

AMENDMENT NO.: 679

TITLE: "National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Years 1988 and 1989"

SUBJECT: **Warner-Dole, et al., perfecting amendment (to the Glenn amendment No. 678) which states that the Senate declares that Congress fully supports the President in his negotiations with the Soviet Union and recognizes the President's constitutional role as the sole voice of the U.S. in treaty negotiations; and that Congress must not: (1) intrude in this process by acting to constrain a President's flexibility in reaching agreements with foreign nations, (2) take actions equivalent to unilateral concessions to the Soviet Union on arms control and specifically on issues that the Soviets cannot achieve at the negotiating table, (3) act to further the interests of the Soviet Union by unilaterally adopting Soviet negotiating positions that have been rejected by the U.S. government, and (4) seek to establish, in U.S. domestic law, positions on matters such as ASAT, nuclear testing, SALT II compliance, ABM Treaty interpretation, and the role of chemical weapons, at a time when such sensitive arms control subjects are being negotiated.**

NOTE: Proponents asserted that the Soviets currently are negotiating an arms control agreement because they fear the ability of the U.S. to implement a defensive system that could lessen the effectiveness of their offensive weapons. The Levin-Nunn provision in the bill as reported would give the Soviets the very objective they are seeking in Geneva, and it would narrow the range of negotiations, according to Ambassadors Nitze and Cooper. The Senate should not construe its responsibility to advise and consent to mean the right to negotiate and should acknowledge that the President is the sole negotiator in foreign policy.

Opponents countered that the Senate cannot be excluded from taking positions on foreign policy matters in domestic law. Even passage of the DOD authorization bill itself represents a position of some sort.

(OVER)

S. 1174 (H.R. 1748): Vote Nos. 112-114, 116, 240, 243-257, 259, 260, 263-271, 273, 275-278, 280-287, 292, 294-300, 384.

RESULT: **AMENDMENT REJECTED**

YEAS (35)

Democrats (0 or 0%)

Republicans (35 or 83%)

Armstrong
Bond
Boschwitz
Cochran
D'Amato
Dole
Domenici
Evans
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hecht
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes
Kasten
Lugar
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Packwood
Pressler
Quayle
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Stevens
Symms
Thurmond
Wallop
Warner
Wilson

NAYS (59)

Democrats (52 or 100%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Biden
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Hollings
Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Simon
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans (7 or 17%)

Chafee
Cohen
Danforth
Hatfield
Heinz
Kassebaum
Specter

NOT VOTING (6)

Democrats (2)

Gore—2
Lautenberg—4

Republicans (4)

Durenberger—2
Stafford—2
Trible—2
Weicker—2

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 100%
Republicans— 83%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (35)
Democrats— 0 or 0%
Republicans— 35 or 100%

Against (59)
Democrats— 52 or 88%
Republicans— 7 or 12%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

The Senate does have a legitimate role in foreign affairs, they pointed out, noting the Senate's responsibility in ratifying treaties, confirming the appointments of ambassadors, and advising the Administration by the participation of designated members during treaty negotiations. This amendment, unlike the Byrd-Nunn amendment (Vote No. 244), makes no reference to the constitutional role of the Senate in providing advice and consent in treaty negotiations.

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 246

100th Congress
1st Session

September 16, 1987, 9:04 a.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-12134

DOD AUTHORIZATION

BILL NO.: S. 1174 (H.R. 1748)

TITLE: "National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Years 1988 and 1989"

SUBJECT: **Byrd motion to instruct the Sergeant at Arms to request the attendance of absent Senators.** (See also Vote Nos. 113, 243, 255, and 294.)

S. 1174 (H.R. 1748): Vote Nos. 112-114, 116, 240, 243-257, 259, 260, 263-271, 273, 275-278, 280-287, 292, 294-300, 384.

RESULT: **MOTION FOR ATTENDANCE AGREED TO**

YEAS (83)				NAYS (10)		NOT VOTING (7)	
Democrats (49 or 100%)		Republicans (34 or 77%)		Democrats (0 or 0%)	Republicans (10 or 23%)	Democrats (5)	Republicans (2)
Adams	Inouye	Chafee	Kassebaum		Armstrong	Dodd—2	Stevens—2
Baucus	Johnston	Cochran	Lugar		Bond	Gore—2	Weicker—2
Bentsen	Kennedy	Cohen	McCain		Boschwitz	Lautenberg—4	
Biden	Kerry	D'Amato	McClure		Evans	Levin—2	
Bingaman	Leahy	Danforth	McConnell		Hatch	Pell—2	
Boren	Matsunaga	Dole	Murkowski		Kasten		
Bradley	Melcher	Domenici	Nickles		Packwood		
Breaux	Metzenbaum	Durenberger	Pressler		Quayle		
Bumpers	Mikulski	Garn	Roth		Wallop		
Burdick	Mitchell	Gramm	Rudman		Wilson		
Byrd	Moynihan	Grassley	Simpson				
Chiles	Nunn	Hatfield	Specter				
Conrad	Proxmire	Hecht	Stafford				
Cranston	Pryor	Heinz	Symms				
Daschle	Reid	Helms	Thurmond				
DeConcini	Riegle	Humphrey	Trible				
Dixon	Rockefeller	Karnes	Warner				
Exon	Sanford						
Ford	Sarbanes						
Fowler	Sasser						
Glenn	Shelby						
Graham	Simon						
Harkin	Stennis						
Heflin	Wirth						
Hollings							

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:
1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:
AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion	Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on: *For* (83)	*Against* (10)
Democrats— 100%	Democrats— 49 or 59%	Democrats— 0 or 0%
Republicans— 77%	Republicans— 34 or 41%	Republicans— 10 or 100%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 247

100th Congress
1st Session

September 16, 1987, 8:08 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-12194

DOD AUTHORIZATION

BILL NO.: S. 1174 (H.R. 1748)

AMENDMENT NO.: 683

TITLE: "National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Years 1988 and 1989"

SUBJECT: **Quayle amendment which states congressional findings that: (1) the 1972 ABM treaty prohibits deploying both early warning radars (except at locations along the periphery of either nation's territory) and an ABM system to defend either country's national territory, (2) large phased-array radars were recognized during negotiation of the Treaty as the critical, long lead-time element against ballistic missiles, (3) the Krasnoyarsk radar is more than 700 kilometers from the Soviet border and is identical to other Soviet ballistic early warning radars and is situated to fill the gap in a nationwide Soviet ballistic missile early warning radar network, and (4) the President has certified that the Krasnoyarsk radar is an unequivocal violation of the Treaty; and states the sense of the Congress that the Soviet Union is in violation of its legal obligation under the 1972 ABM Treaty.**

NOTE: Proponents asserted that the Soviet Union currently is in violation of the ABM Treaty. The Krasnoyarsk phased-array radar violates the Treaty in terms of location and orientation, as clearly set forth in the Treaty, and represents a significant addition to the list of instances of the Soviets cheating on arms control agreements. This sort of violation makes negotiations very difficult because the Soviets are clearly engaging in a double standard in which they blatantly violate the Treaty, and yet urge the U.S. to continue to observe the narrow interpretation of the Treaty.

S. 1174 (H.R. 1748): Vote Nos. 112-114, 116, 240, 243-257, 259, 260, 263-271, 273, 275-278, 280-287, 292, 294-300, 384.

RESULT: AMENDMENT AGREED TO

YEAS (89)

Democrats (49 or 100%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Biden
Bingaman
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Hollings
Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Stennis

Republicans (40 or 100%)

Armstrong
Bond
Boschwitz
Chafee
Cochran
Danforth
Domenici
Durenberger
Evans
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hatfield
Hecht
Heinz
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes
Kassebaum
Kasten
Lugar
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Packwood
Quayle
Roth
Simpson
Specter
Stevens
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Warner
Weicker
Wilson

NAYS (0)

Democrats (0 or 0%)

Republicans (0 or 0%)

NOT VOTING (11)

Democrats (5)

Boren—^{2}
Gore—^{2}
Lautenberg—^{4}
Simon—^{2}
Wirth—^{2}

Republicans (6)

Cohen—^{2}
D'Amato—^{2}
Dole—^{2}
Pressler—^{2}
Rudman—^{2}
Stafford—^{1}

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 100%
Republicans— 100%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (89)
Democrats— 49 or 55%
Republicans— 40 or 45%

Against (0)
Democrats— 0 or 0%
Republicans— 0 or 0%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 248

100th Congress
1st Session

September 17, 1987, 9:31 a.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-12243

DOD AUTHORIZATION

BILL NO.: S. 1174 (H.R. 1748)

AMENDMENT NO.: 682

TITLE: "National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Years 1988 and 1989"

SUBJECT: **Nunn motion to table the Warner, et al., amendment which strikes section 233 (the Levin-Nunn provision) that prohibits for two years the expenditure of funds for testing or developing mobile or space-based ABM's unless the President submits a report to Congress setting forth the specific tests proposed to be undertaken, mission and funding information, details about consultations with U.S. allies, and a legal analysis of the proposed actions, and Congress passes a joint resolution approving the proposal.**

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment to strike the Levin-Nunn provision contended that it intrudes on the President's exclusive powers of negotiation. It renders what amounts to a legal interpretation of the ABM Treaty while negotiations on arms control are in progress, thereby undermining the President and exceeding the authority of the Senate, which does not include the right to negotiate treaties. The provision, which is a slap in the face to the negotiators in Geneva, will result in a Presidential veto. By conditioning defense spending to an interpretation of the ABM Treaty, the provision would hold SDI hostage, since testing and development are essential before proceeding with the program. It, too, would weaken the ability of the President to act by giving the House the means to overule the will of the Senate by a simple majority vote. They noted that when the ABM Treaty was negotiated, the Soviet Union refused to agree to clear language prohibiting the development of ABM systems "based on other physical principles," and there is some reason to believe that U.S. and Soviet views on what was agreed to in the Treaty have never coincided. The issue of assuming a new interpretation of the Treaty is not critical, some felt, since the Soviet Union has violated it continuously.

Opponents of the amendment striking Levin-Nunn countered that the President should not be permitted to unilaterally implement a reinterpretation of the ABM Treaty when it is contrary to that ratified by the

(OVER)

S. 1174 (H.R. 1748): Vote Nos. 112-114, 116, 240, 243-257, 259, 260, 263-271, 273, 275-278, 280-287, 292, 294-300, 384.

RESULT: **MOTION TO TABLE AGREED TO**

ADMINISTRATION POSITION: NAY

YEAS (58)

Democrats (50 or 98%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Biden
Bingaman
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Gore
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans (8 or 18%)

Chafee
Cohen
Evans
Hatfield
Heinz
Kassebaum
Packwood
Weicker

NAYS (38)

Democrats (1 or 2%)

Hollings

Republicans (37 or 82%)

Armstrong
Bond
Boschwitz
Cochran
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hecht
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes
Kasten
Lugar
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Pressler
Quayle
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Specter
Stevens
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Warner
Wilson

NOT VOTING (4)

Democrats (3)

Boren—2
Lautenberg—4
Simon—2

Republicans (1)

Stafford—1AY

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 98%
Republicans— 82%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (58)
Democrats— 50 or 86%
Republicans— 8 or 14%

Against (38)
Democrats— 1 or 3%
Republicans— 37 or 97%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd Chairman

Senate—a position which State Department Legal Advisor Judge Abraham Sofaer agreed with in testimony before the Armed Services Committee. The Levin-Nunn provision protects Congress' legitimate role in national security and helps retain U.S. credibility in foreign policy, which has been shaken by recent executive branch actions, including the Iran-Contra affair. Despite arguments claiming that the President should be the sole voice in foreign policy, the Senate has repeatedly taken positions on matters while they were under discussion with the Soviet Union. Moreover, once a treaty is law, both Houses of Congress have a right to address it. The assertion that Congress should not establish a position in U.S. domestic law on SDI ignores the fact that by appropriating funds, the Senate is adopting a position. Furthermore, the Senate's responsibility to advise and consent requires that the advice be timely. The provision does not confront the issue of funding levels for SDI, or suggest which interpretation of the ABM treaty is correct. Nor will it affect current SDI research and development activities, since there are no plans to test ABM systems or components during FY 1988-89.

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 249

100th Congress
1st Session

September 17, 1987, 11:35 a.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-12256

DOD AUTHORIZATION

BILL NO.: S. 1174 (H.R. 1748)

AMENDMENT NO.: 687

TITLE: "National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Years 1988 and 1989"

SUBJECT: **Dixon-Simon amendment to permit the Department of Defense to procure manual typewriters from Warsaw Pact countries that have a Most-Favored-Nation trading status with the U.S.**

NOTE: Proponents noted that current law prohibits Warsaw Pact nations from competing for the $1.5 million contract to supply manual typewriters to the Department of Defense. DOD is presently forced to buy higher priced manual typewriters of lower quality from Brazil, rather than better quality lower-priced Polish machines. There is no reason to continue to subsidize a Brazilian company. No American company makes manual typewriters, and therefore no industry or jobs are affected. But tax dollars would be saved by deleting the restriction and allowing the purchase of the superior product at a lower price. Some noted that the Senate had voted to withdraw Most-Favored-Nation status for Romania, making it ineligible to compete in this matter.

Opponents made no statements.

S. 1174 (H.R. 1748): Vote Nos. 112-114, 116, 240, 243-257, 259, 260, 263-271, 273, 275-278, 280-287, 292, 294-300, 384.

RESULT: AMENDMENT AGREED TO

YEAS (53)

Democrats (36 or 71%)

- Adams
- Baucus
- Bentsen
- Biden
- Bradley
- Bumpers
- Burdick
- Cranston
- Daschle
- Dixon
- Dodd
- Exon
- Fowler
- Glenn
- Gore
- Graham
- Harkin
- Inouye
- Johnston
- Kennedy
- Kerry
- Leahy
- Matsunaga
- Melcher
- Mikulski
- Moynihan
- Nunn
- Pell
- Pryor
- Reid
- Riegle
- Rockefeller
- Sanford
- Simon
- Stennis
- Wirth

Republicans (17 or 40%)

- Armstrong
- Bond
- Chafee
- Danforth
- Dole
- Durenberger
- Evans
- Hatch
- Hatfield
- Kassebaum
- Lugar
- McCain
- McConnell
- Murkowski
- Packwood
- Roth
- Warner

NAYS (41)

Democrats (15 or 29%)

- Bingaman
- Breaux
- Byrd
- Chiles
- Conrad
- DeConcini
- Ford
- Heflin
- Hollings
- Metzenbaum
- Mitchell
- Proxmire
- Sarbanes
- Sasser
- Shelby

Republicans (26 or 60%)

- Boschwitz
- Cochran
- Cohen
- D'Amato
- Domenici
- Garn
- Gramm
- Grassley
- Hecht
- Helms
- Humphrey
- Karnes
- Kasten
- McClure
- Nickles
- Pressler
- Quayle
- Rudman
- Simpson
- Stevens
- Symms
- Thurmond
- Trible
- Wallop
- Weicker
- Wilson

NOT VOTING (6)

Democrats (3)

- Boren—2
- Lautenberg—4
- Levin—3

Republicans (3)

- Heinz—2
- Specter—2
- Stafford—1

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 71%
Republicans— 60%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (53)
Democrats— 36 or 68%
Republicans— 17 or 32%

Against (41)
Democrats— 15 or 37%
Republicans— 26 or 63%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 250

100th Congress
1st Session

September 17, 1987, 2:28 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-12266

DOD AUTHORIZATION

BILL NO.: S. 1174 (H.R. 1748)

AMENDMENT NO.: 690

TITLE: "National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Years 1988 and 1989"

SUBJECT: **Glenn motion to table the Warner modified perfecting amendment (to the Glenn amendment No. 680) which loosens the standard by which the Secretary of Defense may award an SDI contract to a foreign firm.** (Subsequently, the Glenn amendment was agreed to by voice vote. See also Vote No. 251.)

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment claimed that the Senate had adopted a similar provision almost unanimously in 1982 when it agreed to pool the enormous technological and economic resources of NATO countries in order to lower costs and improve security. It is of primary importance that American soldiers have the best weapons available anywhere in the world. A special exception should not be made for SDI. The cost of defense weapons is so high that, without cooperation between the U.S. and its allies, each nation could bankrupt itself. In addition, NATO countries have bought six times as much military hardware from the U.S. as the U.S. has purchased from NATO in the last five years. The Glenn amendment would undo at least four agreements with valued allies and damage important U.S. economic interests by inviting similar action by foreign nations.

Opponents of the amendment felt that the language would make little difference in eliminating unnecessary foreign contracts. DOD already has exercised poor judgment. The Administration, they asserted, has just entered into an agreement with Japan regarding SDI research. The infamous Toshiba sale of illegal propeller technology to the Soviet Union indicates the problems inherent with such contracts. The U.S. should not take the chance of SDI technology getting into the hands of U.S. adversaries. Nor should American taxpayers be funding the research of U.S. allies which translates into lost jobs at businesses and universities in the U.S.

S. 1174 (H.R. 1748): Vote Nos. 112-114, 116, 240, 243-257, 259, 260, 263-271, 273, 275-278, 280-287, 292, 294-300, 384.

RESULT: MOTION TO TABLE AGREED TO

YEAS (50)

Democrats
(44 or 85%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Biden
Bingaman
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Glenn
Gore
Harkin
Hollings
Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Simon

Republicans
(6 or 14%)

Cohen
Grassley
Hatfield
Kasten
Rudman
Weicker

NAYS (45)

Democrats
(8 or 15%)

Bradley
Fowler
Graham
Heflin
Nunn
Reid
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans
(37 or 86%)

Armstrong
Bond
Boschwitz
Chafee
Cochran
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Evans
Garn
Gramm
Hatch
Hecht
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes
Kassebaum
Lugar
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Packwood
Pressler
Quayle
Roth
Simpson
Stevens
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Warner
Wilson

NOT VOTING (5)

Democrats (2)

Boren—2
Lautenberg—4

Republicans (3)

Heinz—2AY
Specter—2
Stafford—1

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 85%
Republicans— 86%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (50)
Democrats— 44 or 88%
Republicans— 6 or 12%

Against (45)
Democrats— 8 or 18%
Republicans— 37 or 82%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 251

100th Congress
1st Session

September 17, 1987, 3:41 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-11272

DOD AUTHORIZATION

BILL NO.: S. 1174 (H.R. 1748)

AMENDMENT NO.: 691

TITLE: "National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Years 1988 and 1989"

SUBJECT: **Nunn-Quayle-Warner amendment which provides that the prohibition on the awarding of SDI organization research contracts shall not apply to any contract awarded to a foreign government or firm which agrees to fund a substantial portion of the total contract cost.** (See also Vote No. 250)

NOTE: Proponents noted that the U.S. has attempted to get European nations involved in cooperative defense projects for several years. While agreeing that some of the SDI contracts had been awarded on a political basis for support around the globe rather than strictly on a basis of merit, they opined that a provision requiring them to put up a portion of their own money would improve the situation.

Opponents insisted that the Administration wants to locate these research contracts in foreign countries in order to buy support for SDI. "Substantial" funding will be whatever the SDI office says it is and will be de minimis. Considering the record high trade deficit, the U.S. cannot afford to export these jobs and further increase the trade deficit. The SDI program involves revolutionary technology which will have significant spinoffs for both conventional military and civilian applications, and American firms should benefit from these research dollars.

S. 1174 (H.R. 1748): Vote Nos. 112-114, 116, 240, 243-257, 259, 260, 263-271, 273, 275-278, 280-287, 292, 294-300, 384.

RESULT: AMENDMENT AGREED TO

YEAS (61)

Democrats (19 or 39%)

Baucus
Bentsen
Biden
Bradley
Breaux
Daschle
Dixon
Dodd
Ford
Fowler
Graham
Heflin
Hollings
Mitchell
Nunn
Reid
Sanford
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans (42 or 95%)

Armstrong
Bond
Boschwitz
Chafee
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Evans
Garn
Gramm
Hatch
Hecht
Heinz
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes
Kassebaum
Kasten
Lugar
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Pressler
Quayle
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Specter
Stevens
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Warner
Weicker
Wilson

NAYS (32)

Democrats (30 or 61%)

Adams
Bingaman
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
DeConcini
Exon
Glenn
Harkin
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Leahy
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Moynihan
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Simon

Republicans (2 or 5%)

Grassley
Hatfield

NOT VOTING (7)

Democrats (5)

Boren—^{2}
Gore—^{2}
Inouye—^{2}
Lautenberg—^{4}
Levin—^{3}

Republicans (2)

Packwood—^{2}
Stafford—^{1}

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 61%
Republicans— 95%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (61)
Democrats— 19 or 31%
Republicans— 42 or 69%

Against (32)
Democrats— 30 or 94%
Republicans— 2 or 6%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 252

100th Congress
1st Session

September 17, 1987, 5:07 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-12280

DOD AUTHORIZATION

BILL NO.: S. 1174 (H.R. 1748) **AMENDMENT NO.:** 692

TITLE: "National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Years 1988 and 1989"

SUBJECT: **Exon motion to table the Stevens-Heflin, et al., amendment which strikes section 505 (the Exon amendment) that allows State governors to withhold consent unconditionally for active duty for Federal training of units or members of the Army or Air National Guard unless the President certifies to the governor that U.S. national security requires such action by the President.** (Subsequently, the amendment was agreed to by voice vote.)

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment noted that section 505 would repeal the Montgomery-Wilson amendment that was included in the 1987 Defense Authorization bill. That current law puts the burden of proof on a State governor to demonstrate that Guard units should not be deployed overseas because of a State-related activity of a higher priority. The Exon amendment would allow a State governor to withhold consent for that State's Guard training overseas any time he/she disagreed with the President on foreign policy. The present law has withheld a court test, is working well, and does not need to be changed. Some argued that they favored an increased role for the National Guard in the utilization of U.S. military forces because of the Guard's ability, willingness, and cost-effectiveness. They objected that, under the Exon language, the President would have to certify that the call to active duty is in the interest of national security whether in the U.S. or overseas. Present law only refers to training overseas.

Opponents of the amendment (favoring the Exon provision) noted that it, in fact, strengthens the Montgomery-Wilson amendment by providing a remedy to determine the validity of a governor's objections to training. It permits the President, as Commander-in-Chief, to be the final authority to decide if the National Guard needs the training in question in the interest of national security. The key issue, they maintained, is who controls the training of the National Guard in Honduras, and the right of a governor to state his/her view in consideration of the governor's responsibility for the lives of the men and women from his/her State who are in the National Guard.

S. 1174 (H.R. 1748): Vote Nos. 112-114, 116, 240, 243-257, 259, 260, 263-271, 273, 275-278, 280-287, 292, 294-300, 384.

RESULT: **MOTION TO TABLE FAILED**

YEAS (29)		NAYS (66)			NOT VOTING (5)	
Democrats (26 or 52%)	**Republicans (3 or 7%)**	**Democrats (24 or 48%)**	**Republicans (42 or 93%)**		**Democrats (4)**	**Republicans (1)**
Adams	Grassley	Baucus	Armstrong	Kassebaum	Boren—^{2}	Stafford—^{1}
Bentsen	Quayle	Bradley	Bond	Kasten	Gore—^{2}	
Biden	Thurmond	Breaux	Boschwitz	Lugar	Inouye—^{2}	
Bingaman		Burdick	Chafee	McCain	Lautenberg—^{4}	
Bumpers		Byrd	Cochran	McClure		
Cranston		Chiles	Cohen	McConnell		
DeConcini		Conrad	D'Amato	Murkowski		
Exon		Daschle	Danforth	Nickles		
Fowler		Dixon	Dole	Packwood		
Glenn		Dodd	Domenici	Pressler		
Graham		Ford	Durenberger	Roth		
Harkin		Heflin	Evans	Rudman		
Kennedy		Hollings	Garn	Simpson		
Kerry		Johnston	Gramm	Specter		
Leahy		Levin	Hatch	Stevens		
Matsunaga		Melcher	Hatfield	Symms		
Metzenbaum		Moynihan	Hecht	Trible		
Mikulski		Proxmire	Heinz	Wallop		
Mitchell		Reid	Helms	Warner		
Nunn		Riegle	Humphrey	Weicker		
Pell		Sanford	Karnes	Wilson		
Pryor		Sasser				
Rockefeller		Simon				
Sarbanes		Stennis				
Shelby						
Wirth						

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:
1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:
AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion	**Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on**	
	For (29)	*Against* (66)
Democrats— 52%	Democrats— 26 or 90%	Democrats— 24 or 36%
Republicans— 93%	Republicans— 3 or 10%	Republicans— 42 or 64%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 253

100th Congress
1st Session

September 17, 1987, 7:44 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-12291

DOD AUTHORIZATION

BILL NO.: S. 1174 (H.R. 1748)

AMENDMENT NO.: 695

TITLE: "National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Years 1988 and 1989"

SUBJECT: **Helms-Symms, et al., perfecting amendment (to the Helms, et al., amendment—Vote No. 254) stating the sense of the Senate that the U.S. policy toward Central America should be based on the principles of the Monroe Doctrine, to wit: "the American continents, by the free and independent condition which they have assumed and maintain, are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European Power . . . we could not view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing them, or controlling, in any other matter, their destiny, by any European Power in any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition towards the United States."**

NOTE: Proponents noted that the Monroe Doctrine has been reaffirmed overwhelmingly by Congress in 1982 and 1984. Only its implementation in order to destroy the Soviet-Cuban-Sandinistas can restore peace in the Western Hemisphere.

Opponents objected, feeling that it states once again a proposition not supported by U.S. allies in the hemisphere. It will be seen as a ruse for the U.S. to interpose itself in the internal affairs of its neighbors at a time when these Central American countries are asking for support for their peace proposal.

S. 1174 (H.R. 1748): Vote Nos. 112-114, 116, 240, 243-257, 259, 260, 263-271, 273, 275-278, 280-287, 292, 294-300, 384.

RESULT: **AMENDMENT AGREED TO**

YEAS (90)

Democrats (46 or 96%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Bingaman
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Hollings
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Simon
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans (44 or 100%)

Armstrong
Bond
Boschwitz
Chafee
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Evans
Garn
Grassley
Hatch
Hatfield
Hecht
Heinz
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes
Kassebaum
Kasten
Lugar
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Packwood
Pressler
Quayle
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Specter
Stevens
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Warner
Weicker
Wilson

NAYS (2)

Democrats (2 or 4%)

Dodd
Proxmire

Republicans (0 or 0%)

NOT VOTING (8)

Democrats (6)

Biden—2
Boren—2
Gore—2
Inouye—2
Lautenberg—4
Shelby—2

Republicans (2)

Gramm—2
Stafford—1

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 96%
Republicans— 100%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (90)
Democrats— 46 or 51%
Republicans— 44 or 49%

Against (2)
Democrats— 2 or 100%
Republicans— 0 or 0%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 254

100th Congress
1st Session

September 17, 1987, 8:31 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-12295

DOD AUTHORIZATION

BILL NO.: S. 1174 (H.R. 1748)

AMENDMENT NO.: 694

TITLE: "National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Years 1988 and 1989"

SUBJECT: **Nunn motion to table the modified Helms-Armstrong, et al., amendment which authorizes $310 million for military assistance to the Contras for the period ending March 31, 1989, unless the President certifies to the Congress before September 30, 1987, that (1) there are no Soviet, Cuban, or Communist bloc bases established in Nicaragua that pose a threat to the U.S. and the other Democratic governments in the hemisphere; (2) Nicaragua poses no military threat to its neighbors; and (3) the Nicaraguan government respects the basic human rights of its people including political rights guaranteed in the Nicaraguan constitution and pledges made to the OAS with respect to free speech, free press, religious liberty, and free orderly elections.**

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment noted that many prominent citizens of Central America expressed concern that the U.S. may be planning to abandon the Contra "freedom fighters." No one believes, many maintained, that the Sandinistas will comply with the peace plan. The Congress should authorize aid to the Contras as soon as possible so that they can pressure the Communist Sandinistas. The Contras, they argued, are fighting for liberty and our freedom by helping thwart the Soviet goal of taking over Central America.

Opponents of the amendment called it ill-timed in light of the encouraging development of a peace plan which should be given the opportunity to work. The President has made no formal request for Contra aid and no hearings have been held. It is a mistake, some concluded, to require that Nicaragua or any other nation have a government just like ours—a standard of individual rights that the U.S. holds only a few countries to on occasion when it serves a transitory interest. It is a short-term tactic with no philosophical foundation, and the American public will not support it in the long term.

S. 1174 (H.R. 1748): Vote Nos. 112-114, 116, 240, 243-257, 259, 260, 263-271, 273, 275-278, 280-287, 292, 294-300, 384.

RESULT: **MOTION TO TABLE AGREED TO**

YEAS (61)

Democrats (46 or 96%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Bingaman
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Graham
Harkin
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Simon
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans (15 or 34%)

Boschwitz
Chafee
Cohen
Domenici
Durenberger
Evans
Grassley
Hatfield
Heinz
Kassebaum
Murkowski
Packwood
Roth
Specter
Weicker

NAYS (31)

Democrats (2 or 4%)

Heflin
Hollings

Republicans (29 or 66%)

Armstrong
Bond
Cochran
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Garn
Hatch
Hecht
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes
Kasten
Lugar
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Nickles
Pressler
Quayle
Rudman
Simpson
Stevens
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Warner
Wilson

NOT VOTING (8)

Democrats (6)

Biden—2
Boren—2
Gore—2
Inouye—2
Lautenberg—4
Shelby—2

Republicans (2)

Gramm—2
Stafford—1

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 96%
Republicans— 66%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (61)
Democrats— 46 or 75%
Republicans— 15 or 25%

Against (31)
Democrats— 2 or 6%
Republicans— 29 or 94%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 255

100th Congress
1st Session

September 18, 1987, 8:39 a.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-12334

DOD AUTHORIZATION

BILL NO.: S. 1174 (H.R. 1748)

TITLE: "National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Years 1988 and 1989"

SUBJECT: **Byrd motion to instruct the Sergeant at Arms to request the attendance of absent Senators.** (See also Vote Nos. 113, 243, and 294.)

S. 1174 (H.R. 1748): Vote Nos. 112-114, 116, 240, 243-257, 259, 260, 263-271, 273, 275-278, 280-287, 292, 294-300, 384.

RESULT: **MOTION FOR ATTENDANCE AGREED TO**

YEAS (73)

Democrats (43 or 100%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Bingaman
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Gore
Graham
Heflin
Hollings
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Metzenbaum
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sarbanes
Sasser
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans (30 or 79%)

Armstrong
Boschwitz
Chafee
Danforth
Dole
Durenberger
Garn
Grassley
Hatch
Hatfield
Hecht
Heinz
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes
Kasten
Lugar
McConnell
Nickles
Packwood
Pressler
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Specter
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Warner
Wilson

NAYS (8)

Democrats (0 or 0%)

Republicans (8 or 21%)

Bond
D'Amato
Evans
Murkowski
Quayle
Stevens
Wallop
Weicker

NOT VOTING (19)

Democrats (11)

Biden—2
Boren—2
Dodd—1
Harkin—2
Inouye—2
Lautenberg—4
Melcher—2
Mikulski—2
Sanford—1
Shelby—2
Simon—2

Republicans (8)

Cochran—2
Cohen—2
Domenici—2
Gramm—2
Kassebaum—2
McCain—1
McClure—2
Stafford—1

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 100%
Republicans— 79%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (73)
Democrats— 43 or 59%
Republicans— 30 or 41%

Against (8)
Democrats— 0 or 0%
Republicans— 8 or 100%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 256

100th Congress
1st Session

September 18, 1987, 1:29 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-12358

DOD AUTHORIZATION

BILL NO.: S. 1174 (H.R. 1748) **AMENDMENT NO.:** 697

TITLE: "National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Years 1988 and 1989"

SUBJECT: **Warner motion to table the Hatfield-Bumpers-Adams-Murkowski amendment (taking with it the Adams perfecting amendment No. 698) which provides that, notwithstanding any other provision of law, the War Powers Resolution shall be deemed to apply beginning 48 hours after the designation of the imminent danger zone on August 25, 1987, and the use of U.S. Armed Forces in such zone, as if the report pursuant to section 4(a) of that resolution has been transmitted within such period.**

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment asserted that the conflict in the Persian Gulf meets the requirements for invoking the War Powers Act and that doing so would strengthen the President by establishing a working relationship between the executive branch and Congress. The Gulf has been an active war region since 1980, with shipping under almost constant attack. The U.S. Navy currently is under orders to defend itself, and 40 American soldiers have been killed. The Defense Secretary has designated the Persian Gulf and part of the Gulf of Oman as an "imminent danger area," entitling troops to imminent danger pay. The amendment is not an attempt to micromanage U.S. tactics on the floor of the Senate; they assured, but only to advocate the congressional involvement required by the Constitution. Congress passed the War Powers Act over a Presidential veto to prevent the President from unilaterally placing the country into hostilities, and the events now taking place in the Gulf region closely parallel those that preceded the Vietnam War. They further noted that there are significant questions regarding U.S. policy in the Gulf: the U.S. naval presence has not stemmed attacks on shipping; the reflagging of the Kuwaiti oil tankers does not appear to be part of a coherent policy; and it is not clear what the U.S. reaction would be if attacked, since this country does not want to be dragged into a shooting war. With so many variables, the U.S. should proceed carefully and with the full commitment and consensus of the American people.

Opponents of the amendment countered that there is no "imminent" danger in the Gulf at this moment, but expressed concern as to how Congress should proceed if the Act were invoked. During the 60 days the Senate would have for debate after invoking the War Powers Act, the U.S. commitment in the Gulf would be in question. At the end of 60 days, it is not certain what actions Congress would have to take to keep the situation from getting worse. At the very least, the current U.N. negotiations aimed at

(OVER)

S. 1174 (H.R. 1748): Vote Nos. 112-114, 116, 240, 243-257, 259, 260, 263-271, 273, 275-278, 280-287, 292, 294-300, 384.

RESULT: **MOTION TO TABLE AGREED TO**

YEAS (50) Democrats (15 or 31%)	YEAS (50) Republicans (35 or 83%)		NAYS (41) Democrats (34 or 69%)		NAYS (41) Republicans (7 or 17%)
Bentsen	Armstrong	Karnes	Adams	Johnston	Cohen
Byrd	Bond	Kasten	Baucus	Kennedy	Hatfield
Chiles	Boschwitz	Lugar	Biden	Kerry	Murkowski
DeConcini	Chafee	McClure	Bingaman	Lautenberg	Packwood
Dixon	Cochran	McConnell	Breaux	Leahy	Roth
Fowler	D'Amato	Nickles	Bumpers	Levin	Specter
Graham	Danforth	Pressler	Burdick	Matsunaga	Weicker
Heflin	Dole	Quayle	Conrad	Melcher	
Mitchell	Domenici	Rudman	Cranston	Metzenbaum	
Moynihan	Durenberger	Simpson	Daschle	Mikulski	
Nunn	Evans	Stevens	Exon	Pell	
Reid	Garn	Symms	Ford	Proxmire	
Rockefeller	Grassley	Thurmond	Glenn	Pryor	
Shelby	Hatch	Trible	Gore	Riegle	
Stennis	Hecht	Wallop	Harkin	Sarbanes	
	Heinz	Warner	Hollings	Sasser	
	Helms	Wilson	Inouye	Wirth	
	Humphrey				

NOT VOTING (9)

Democrats (5)	Republicans (4)
Boren—2	Gramm—2
Bradley—2	Kassebaum—2
Dodd—1	McCain—1PY
Sanford—1PN	Stafford—1
Simon—2	

GENERAL PAIRS

McCain-Sanford

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent

SYMBOLS:

PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 69%
Republicans— 83%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (50)
Democrats— 15 or 30%
Republicans— 35 or 70%

Against (41)
Democrats— 34 or 83%
Republicans— 7 or 17%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

bringing about a cessation of hostilities in the Iran-Iraq War would be undercut, and instability in the area would likely increase. Furthermore, there is some question regarding the constitutionality of the Act. Some claimed the intent of the amendment is to terminate the U.S. commitment to the Persian Gulf and would invite a Presidential veto. Others feared that removing U.S. presence in the Gulf could be extended under the Act to include the presence the U.S. has maintained there for the last 40 years, as well as the presence in the Indian Ocean. Troops in the region qualify for hazard pay because the legal standards for determining special pay differ from those regarding the implementation of the War Powers Act. If Congress has misgivings concerning the President's policy, which many acknowledged was weak, it can vote to cut off funds for the deployment of ships in the Persian Gulf.

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 257

100th Congress
1st Session

September 18, 1987, 5:24 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-12378

DOD AUTHORIZATION

BILL NO.: S. 1174 (H.R. 1748)

AMENDMENT NO.: 708

TITLE: "National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Years 1988 and 1989"

SUBJECT: **Dixon motion to table the Helms amendment which requires the Air Force to replace 50 existing single-warhead Minuteman II missiles with MIRVed Minuteman III missiles, to be paid for from Air Force operations and maintenance funds, and which would put the U.S. in the position of breaching another SALT II sublimit. (See also Vote No. 135.)**

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment asserted that some of the 180 stockpiled Minuteman III's should be put to use. The amendment would resume the process of retrofit that was suspended during consideration of SALT II and add at least 50 MIRVed Minuteman III ICBM's to the Nation's retaliatory forces. This would increase ICBM warhead survivability and kill capability at a cost of only $42.5 million, to be paid for from the Air Force operations and maintenance funds. It also would free up Minuteman II missiles to permit resuming Minuteman II reliability test launchings, which were suspended in 1984. It is a modest but necessary response to the Soviet Union's numerous violations of SALT II, and would help compensate for Soviet force modernization in the near term. The amendment was offered on a previous occasion and defeated, it was argued, because the opposition claimed that the Air Force opposed the amendment, when in fact it supports it, as does the Defense Secretary.

Opponents of the amendment stated that the Air Force operations and maintenance fund already has been reduced substantially and should not be reduced further, regardless of how well intentioned the amendment is. While the Secretary of Defense expressed support for the amendment, he also indicated that the MX has higher priority.

S. 1174 (H.R. 1748): Vote Nos. 112-114, 116, 240, 243-257, 259, 260, 263-271, 273, 275-278, 280-287, 292, 294-300, 384.

RESULT: **MOTION TO TABLE AGREED TO**

YEAS (51)

Democrats (40 or 93%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Biden
Bingaman
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Ford
Glenn
Gore
Graham
Harkin
Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Matsunaga
Melcher
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Rockefeller
Sarbanes
Sasser
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans (11 or 27%)

Chafee
Cohen
Danforth
Durenberger
Evans
Hatfield
Heinz
Lugar
Packwood
Specter
Weicker

NAYS (33)

Democrats (3 or 7%)

Heflin
Hollings
Shelby

Republicans (30 or 73%)

Armstrong
Bond
Boschwitz
Cochran
D'Amato
Dole
Domenici
Garn
Grassley
Hatch
Hecht
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes
Kasten
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Pressler
Quayle
Rudman
Simpson
Stevens
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Warner
Wilson

NOT VOTING (16)

Democrats (11)

Boren—^{2}
Cranston—^{2}
Dodd—^{1}
Exon—^{2}
Fowler—^{2}
Levin—^{2AY}
Metzenbaum—^{2}
Mikulski—^{2AY}
Riegle—^{2}
Sanford—^{1PY}
Simon—^{2}

Republicans (5)

Gramm—^{2}
Kassebaum—^{2}
McCain—^{1PN}
Roth—^{2}
Stafford—^{1}

GENERAL PAIR

Sanford-McCain

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 93%
Republicans-- 73%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (51)
Democrats— 40 or 78%
Republicans— 11 or 22%

Against (33)
Democrats— 3 or 9%
Republicans— 30 or 91%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 258

100th Congress
1st Session

September 22, 1987, 8:27 a.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-12430

SENATE PROCEDURE
(ATTENDANCE)

SUBJECT: **Byrd motion to instruct the Sergeant at Arms to request the attendance of absent Senators.**

Vote Nos. 22, 23, 32, 50, 258, 261, 306, 316, 319, 322, 334, 381, 388, 391, 394.

RESULT: **MOTION AGREED TO**

YEAS (79)

Democrats (44 or 100%)

- Bentsen
- Bingaman
- Bradley
- Breaux
- Burdick
- Byrd
- Chiles
- Conrad
- Cranston
- Daschle
- DeConcini
- Dixon
- Dodd
- Exon
- Ford
- Fowler
- Gore
- Graham
- Harkin
- Heflin
- Hollings
- Johnston
- Kennedy
- Kerry
- Lautenberg
- Leahy
- Levin
- Melcher
- Metzenbaum
- Mikulski
- Mitchell
- Moynihan
- Nunn
- Proxmire
- Pryor
- Reid
- Riegle
- Rockefeller
- Sanford
- Sarbanes
- Sasser
- Shelby
- Stennis
- Wirth

Republicans (35 or 83%)

- Armstrong
- Boschwitz
- Chafee
- Cochran
- Cohen
- D'Amato
- Danforth
- Dole
- Domenici
- Durenberger
- Garn
- Gramm
- Grassley
- Hatch
- Hatfield
- Hecht
- Heinz
- Humphrey
- Karnes
- Kassebaum
- Kasten
- Lugar
- McCain
- McConnell
- Nickles
- Packwood
- Pressler
- Roth
- Rudman
- Simpson
- Specter
- Symms
- Thurmond
- Warner
- Wilson

NAYS (7)

Democrats (0 or 0%)

Republicans (7 or 17%)

- Bond
- Evans
- Murkowski
- Quayle
- Stevens
- Wallop
- Weicker

NOT VOTING (14)

Democrats (10)

- Adams—^{2}
- Baucus—^{2}
- Biden—^{2}
- Boren—^{2}
- Bumpers—^{2}
- Glenn—^{2}
- Inouye—^{2}
- Matsunaga—^{2}
- Pell—^{2}
- Simon—^{2}

Republicans (4)

- Helms—^{2}
- McClure—^{2}
- Stafford—^{2}
- Trible—^{2}

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 100%
Republicans— 83%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (79)
Democrats— 44 or 56%
Republicans— 35 or 44%

Against (7)
Democrats— 0 or 0%
Republicans— 7 or 100%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 259

100th Congress
1st Session

September 22, 1987, 2:34 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-12470

DOD AUTHORIZATION

BILL NO.: S. 1174 (H.R. 1748)

AMENDMENT NO.: 710

TITLE: "National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Years 1988 and 1989"

SUBJECT: **Exon motion to table the Johnston-Proxmire-Evans, et al., amendment which authorizes $3.7 billion for the Strategic Defense Initiative, a $200 million increase over last year's spending in order to cover inflation, rather than a $1 billion increase as provided for in the bill.**

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment asserted that an increase of $1 billion in the SDI budget is unjustified when other defense programs are being kept to essentially no real growth, and the bill as reported is $7 billion over in BA and $3.6 billion over in outlays. While the budget for SDI has quadrupled since its inception in 1983, its goals have been degraded from an exotic weapons based system that would make nuclear weapons "impotent and obsolete" to a space based kinetic kill vehicle system (SBKKV), that would intercept at best one in five incoming Soviet missiles. SBKKV was rejected 25 years ago because of its vulnerability to Soviet fast-burn boosters, which the Soviets could deploy quickly and inexpensively. That the Administration is pushing ahead with this rejected technology is an indication, they argued, that the President is trying to build enough hardware to establish a political constituency for SDI, and that the program is being driven by ideology rather than sound research objectives. The amendment would allow SDI to grow at the same rate as the rest of the defense budget, and the $800 million it saves would be available for more pressing defense concerns, such as combating terrorism or supporting U.S. troops in Europe.

Opponents of the amendment defended the authorized level of funding as necessary to proceed with an adequate level of research. Not only does SDI offer the hope of rendering nuclear weapons obsolete, they argued, but the program is important to advancing U.S. technology in general. Some readily acknowledged that the Administration made a "grievous error" when it decided to pursue deploying portions of SDI using SBKKV instead of waiting until research was complete on other major components. They felt, however, that research money should not be curtailed. SDI is one of the main reasons the Soviets resumed arms negotiations, they argued, and reducing SDI funding now would undercut the efforts of the negotiators.

S. 1174 (H.R. 1748): Vote Nos. 112-114, 116, 240, 243-257, 259, 260, 263-271, 273, 275-278, 280-287, 292, 294-300, 384.

RESULT: **MOTION TO TABLE AGREED TO, WITH VICE PRESIDENT VOTING YEA TO BREAK TIE**

ADMINISTRATION POSITION: YEA

YEAS (50)			NAYS (50)			NOT VOTING (0)	
Democrats (13 or 24%)	Republicans (37 or 80%)		Democrats (41 or 76%)		Republicans (9 or 20%)	Democrats (0)	Republicans (0)
Bentsen	Armstrong	McCain	Adams	Kerry	Chafee		
Bingaman	Bond	McClure	Baucus	Lautenberg	Durenberger		
Boren	Boschwitz	McConnell	Biden	Leahy	Evans		
Byrd	Cochran	Murkowski	Bradley	Levin	Grassley		
Exon	Cohen	Nickles	Breaux	Matsunaga	Hatfield		
Glenn	D'Amato	Packwood	Bumpers	Melcher	Heinz		
Graham	Danforth	Pressler	Burdick	Metzenbaum	Specter		
Heflin	Dole	Quayle	Chiles	Mikulski	Stafford		
Hollings	Domenici	Roth	Conrad	Mitchell	Weicker		
Nunn	Garn	Rudman	Cranston	Moynihan			
Reid	Gramm	Simpson	Daschle	Pell			
Shelby	Hatch	Stevens	DeConcini	Proxmire			
Stennis	Hecht	Symms	Dixon	Pryor			
	Helms	Thurmond	Dodd	Riegle			
	Humphrey	Trible	Ford	Rockefeller			
	Karnes	Wallop	Fowler	Sanford			
	Kassebaum	Warner	Gore	Sarbanes			
	Kasten	Wilson	Harkin	Sasser			
	Lugar		Inouye	Simon			
			Johnston	Wirth			
			Kennedy				

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 76%
Republicans— 80%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (50)
Democrats— 13 or 26%
Republicans— 37 or 74%

Against (50)
Democrats-- 41 or 82%
Republicans-- 9 or 18%

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 260

100th Congress
1st Session

September 22, 1987, 4:38 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-12482

DOD AUTHORIZATION

BILL NO.: S. 1174 (H.R. 1748)

AMENDMENT NO.: 711

TITLE: "National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Years 1988 and 1989"

SUBJECT: **Quayle motion to table the Kerry-Chafee-Simon, et al., amendment to continue the existing two-year moratorium on the testing of the Space Defense System (anti-satellite weapon) against an object in space until October 1, 1988, or until the President certifies to Congress that the Soviet Union has conducted, after the date of this Act's enactment, a test against an object in space of a dedicated anti-satellite weapon.**

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment asserted that the current moratorium on ASAT tesing has served to protect U.S. satellites and allow the arms control negotiations to continue. The development of an ASAT capability would present a greater risk to the U.S. than to the Soviet Union, since this Nation relies more heavily on its satellites, particularly for verification. Moreover, since a U.S. ASAT would be launched from the wing of an F-15 fighter, the Soviets would view every such fighter as a potential ASAT platform and consequently would develop their own ASAT capability, leading to no long-term gain. The moratorium would continue only as long as the Soviet Union does not conduct any tests, which it has not done since 1982. Some supported the concept of ASAT but argued that there is no value in pursuing its development when far more capable systems are being developed under SDI. It also was noted that the Soviet's so-called ASAT system deserves little serious attention. It is so cumbersome that according to a former manager of Navstar and Satellite Communications for the Air Force, the U.S. would "literally have to let them get us in order for it to work." This system threatens at most 20 U.S. satellites in the lowest orbits, and eliminating the risk to these satellites would cost much less than developing an anti-satellite system. In addition, testing and development would create more debris in orbit, which would increase the threat of collisions with satellites and rockets.

Opponents of the amendment argued in favor of developing a U.S. ASAT system which would deter Soviet attacks on critical U.S. space systems and offer a means to destroy Soviet space-based capabilities in a time of confrontation that could threaten terrestrial forces. Some noted that the Soviet Union has possessed an operating ASAT capability for more than a decade and argued that failing to develop a U.S. capability would perpetuate the existing destabilizing situation.

S. 1174 (H.R. 1748): Vote Nos. 112-114, 116, 240, 243-257, 259, 260, 263-271, 273, 275-278, 280-287, 292, 294-300, 384.

RESULT: MOTION TO TABLE AGREED TO

YEAS (51)

Democrats (13 or 25%)

Boren
Byrd
Chiles
DeConcini
Dixon
Exon
Fowler
Glenn
Graham
Heflin
Hollings
Nunn
Shelby

Republicans (38 or 83%)

Armstrong
Bond
Boschwitz
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hecht
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes
Kassebaum
Kasten
Lugar
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Packwood
Pressler
Quayle
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Stevens
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Warner
Wilson

NAYS (47)

Democrats (39 or 75%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Biden
Bingaman
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
Dodd
Ford
Gore
Harkin
Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Wirth

Republicans (8 or 17%)

Chafee
Durenberger
Evans
Hatfield
Heinz
Specter
Stafford
Weicker

NOT VOTING (2)

Democrats (2)

Simon—[2AN]
Stennis—[2]

Republicans (0)

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—75%
Republicans—83%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (51)
Democrats—13 or 25%
Republicans—38 or 75%

Against (47)
Democrats—39 or 83%
Republicans—8 or 17%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 261

100th Congress
1st Session

September 23, 1987, 8:35 a.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-12534

SENATE PROCEDURE
(ATTENDANCE)

SUBJECT: **Byrd motion to instruct the Sergeant at Arms to request the attendance of absent Senators.**

Vote Nos. 22, 23, 32, 50, 258, 261, 306, 316, 319, 322, 334, 381, 388, 391, 394.

RESULT: **MOTION AGREED TO**

YEAS (80)

Democrats (44 or 100%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Bingaman
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
Dixon
Dodd
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Hollings
Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans (36 or 82%)

Armstrong
Boschwitz
Chafee
Cochran
Cohen
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hatfield
Hecht
Heinz
Helms
Karnes
Kassebaum
Kasten
Lugar
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Nickles
Packwood
Pressler
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Specter
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Warner
Wilson

NAYS (8)

Democrats (0 or 0%)

Republicans (8 or 18%)

Bond
D'Amato
Evans
Murkowski
Quayle
Stevens
Wallop
Weicker

NOT VOTING (12)

Democrats (10)

Biden—2
Boren—2
DeConcini—2
Exon—2
Gore—2
Matsunaga—2
Melcher—2
Nunn—2
Pell—2
Simon—2

Republicans (2)

Humphrey—2
Stafford—2

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 100%
Republicans— 82%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (80)
Democrats— 44 or 55%
Republicans— 36 or 45%

Against (8)
Democrats— 0 or 0%
Republicans— 8 or 100%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 262

100th Congress
1st Session

September 23, 1987, 3:41 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-12577

PUBLIC DEBT LIMIT
(GRAMM-RUDMAN-HOLLINGS)

BILL NO.: H.J. Res. 324

SUBJECT: **Adoption of the conference report on the bill which increases the permanent debt limit to $2.8 trillion, and reinstates and revises the automatic sequestration process of the original Gramm-Rudman-Hollings law.**

NOTE: H.J. Res. 324 became Public Law 100-119, approved September 29, 1987.

H.J. Res. 324: Vote Nos. 209-212, 216-224, 262.

RESULT: **CONFERENCE REPORT AGREED TO**

YEAS (64)

Democrats (31 or 60%)

Baucus
Bentsen
Biden
Boren
Breaux
Bumpers
Byrd
Chiles
Cranston
Daschle
Dixon
Dodd
Fowler
Graham
Hollings
Inouye
Kennedy
Kerry
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Mitchell
Moynihan
Pell
Pryor
Reid
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sasser
Stennis

Republicans (33 or 72%)

Armstrong
Bond
Chafee
Cochran
Cohen
Danforth
Dole
Durenberger
Evans
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Heinz
Helms
Karnes
Kasten
Lugar
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Packwood
Quayle
Rudman
Simpson
Stafford
Stevens
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Wilson

NAYS (34)

Democrats (21 or 40%)

Adams
Bingaman
Bradley
Burdick
Conrad
DeConcini
Exon
Ford
Glenn
Harkin
Heflin
Johnston
Lautenberg
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Nunn
Proxmire
Riegle
Sarbanes
Shelby
Wirth

Republicans (13 or 28%)

Boschwitz
D'Amato
Domenici
Garn
Hatfield
Hecht
Humphrey
Kassebaum
Pressler
Roth
Specter
Warner
Weicker

NOT VOTING (2)

Democrats (2)

Gore—2
Simon—2

Republicans (0)

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 60%
Republicans— 72%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (64)
Democrats— 31 or 48%
Republicans— 33 or 52%

Against (34)
Democrats— 21 or 62%
Republicans— 13 or 38%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

MAJOR PROVISIONS

Revision of Deficit Targets (in billions):

	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993
Original Target	$108	$72	$36	$0	--	--
New Deficit Targets	144	136	100	64	28	0
Cushion	10	10	10	10	10	0

Timetable:

1988	1989 and after	
	July 15	President submits mid-session review and deficit estimate
Oct. 10	Aug. 15	Presidential notification regarding military personnel
Oct. 10	Aug. 15	Initial CBO/OMB snapshot
Oct. 15	Aug. 20	CBO issues initial report
Oct. 20	Aug. 25	OMB issues initial report
Nov. 15	Oct. 10	CBO issues final report
Nov. 20	Oct. 15	OMB issues final report; President issues final order
Dec. 15	Nov. 15	GAO compliance report

Defense Flexibility: Allows the President to exempt military personnel from sequester if he notifies Congress by a date certain.

Specifies that the total amount sequestered from defense cannot be changed; permits the President to submit a single proposal to Congress to redistribute defense reductions within and across defense accounts; prohibits any increase in a program, project, or activity above the appropriated level; requires the report, in order to become effective, to be affirmed by an amendable joint resolution of Congress considered under expedited procedures.

Deficit Reduction Amounts: Sets the maximum sequester in 1988 at $23 billion, the maximum sequester in 1989 at $36 billion, and in the years thereafter, at an amount equal to the amount necessary to reach the fixed deficit targets regardless of size. A sequester is avoided if a deficit reduction equal to those amounts is enacted prior to the deadlines above.

Prorates the sequester amount for the period covered by a continuing resolution if a sequester order is issued before full year appropriations are in effect; makes the amount of funds withheld applicable to the full sequester amount when the full-year appropriation measure has been enacted.

Limits the amount that a sequester can cut an account; credits the amount of savings below baseline in an account resulting from full year appropriations towards the sequester amount; reduces the size of the sequester accordingly; and specifies that an account's final available funding level as a result of a sequester cannot be lower than the baseline level minus the sequester amount as specified in the final order.

Constraints on OMB: Contains legislative language constraining OMB with respect to economic and technical assumptions in its baseline estimate, including aggregate defense or nondefense outlay spending rates, medicare outlays, pay increases, advanced farm deficiency and paid land diversion payments, and appropriated entitlements; requires OMB, in 1988, to use the ecoromics and technical assumptions it released in its August 20, 1987, sequester report.

Includes within the baseline inflation (4.2 percent in FY 1988 and OMB January estimate of the increase in the GNP deflator for later years) and adjustments for pay raises, FERS, and related personnel costs, rather than assuming no increase in discretionary appropriations, for the purpose of measuring the deficit and deficit reduction.

Specifies that asset sales (including REA) would not be counted towards required deficit reductions in any year.

Sets forth an expedited procedure for congressional modification of the final sequester order if Congress disagrees with OMB's determinations.

Budget Process Provisions: Contains provisions regarding a two-year appropriations experiment (sense of the Congress) and financial management reform (sense of the Congress); prohibits counting savings from year to year transfers; extends State and local cost estimates; extends Senate reconciliation restrictions (Byrd rule); prohibits policy deferrals; prohibits resubmission of rescission requests; requires one set of economic assumptions in the Senate; requires a CBO study of credit reform; and clarifies time limits for budget resolutions, appeals of certain rulings in the Senate, and waivers of section 302(c) of the Budget Act.

Debt Limit: Increases the permanent limit on the public debt to $2.8 trillion, estimated to carry government borrowing through May, 1989.

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 263

100th Congress
1st Session

September 23, 1987, 5:44 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-12586

DOD AUTHORIZATION
(NIH)

BILL NO.: S. 1174 (H.R. 1748)

AMENDMENT NO.: 714

TITLE: "National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Years 1988 and 1989"

SUBJECT: **Bingaman motion to table the Weicker amendment to transfer $200 million in FY 1988 and 1989 each from DOD research, development, test, and evaluation funding to the National Institutes of Health to support medical research conducted in the interest of the health of Armed Forces personnel.**

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment noted that $200 million is almost nothing with regard to the defense budget. It could, however, provide a great push for NIH toward conquering not only AIDS but malaria and other diseases, the economic cost of which is enormous to the military services. Over the years, DOD has benefited greatly and directly from the work done by NIH. Two hundred million dollars to the NIH is a good investment for the defense of American lives.

Opponents of the amendment agreed that it was a very worthy project but questioned whether it was even supported by NIH. They noted that there is a great deal of research going forward at NIH which is funded by DOD—$324 million in 1988 and $352 million in 1989.

S. 1174 (H.R. 1748): Vote Nos. 112-114, 116, 240, 243-257, 259, 260, 263-271, 273, 275-278, 280-287, 292, 294-300, 384.

RESULT: MOTION TO TABLE AGREED TO

YEAS (64)

Democrats (26 or 50%)

Baucus
Bentsen
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Chiles
DeConcini
Dixon
Exon
Ford
Glenn
Graham
Heflin
Hollings
Johnston
Kerry
Levin
Melcher
Moynihan
Nunn
Pryor
Rockefeller
Sasser
Shelby
Wirth

Republicans (38 or 83%)

Armstrong
Bond
Boschwitz
Cochran
Cohen
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Evans
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hecht
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes
Kassebaum
Kasten
Lugar
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Packwood
Pressler
Quayle
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Stevens
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Warner
Wilson

NAYS (34)

Democrats (26 or 50%)

Adams
Biden
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
Dodd
Fowler
Harkin
Inouye
Kennedy
Lautenberg
Leahy
Matsunaga
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Pell
Proxmire
Reid
Riegle
Sanford
Sarbanes
Stennis

Republicans (8 or 17%)

Chafee
D'Amato
Durenberger
Hatfield
Heinz
Specter
Stafford
Weicker

NOT VOTING (2)

Democrats (2)

Gore—2
Simon—2

Republicans (0)

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 50%
Republicans— 83%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (64)
Democrats— 26 or 41%
Republicans— 38 or 59%

Against (34)
Democrats— 26 or 76%
Republicans— 8 or 24%

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 264

100th Congress
1st Session

September 24, 1987, 6:13 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-12685

DOD AUTHORIZATION
(JAPAN)

BILL NO.: S. 1174 (H.R. 1748) AMENDMENT NO.: 686

TITLE: "National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Years 1988 and 1989"

SUBJECT: **McCain-Warner-Dole amendment stating the sense of the Congress that the U.S. would welcome an initiative by Japan to assume a politically acceptable and significant global security role consistent with its economic status by: increasing its Official Development Assistance program funding to three percent of its GNP by 1992; devoting increased Official Development Assistance expenditures outside of east Asia, particularly Oceania, Latin America, the Caribbean, and Mediterranean nations; devoting an increased portion of the fund to concessional untied grants and multilateral financial institutions of which Japan is a member; consulting with its security partners as to which nations should receive such assistance; and expanding its Official Development Assistance program without regard to its expenditures on defense. (See also Vote No. 280.)**

NOTE: Proponents asserted that the amendment was a call to the Japanese to assert their rightful position in the community of nations—without rearming—to help maintain freedom throughout the world. Japan has the second largest gross national product in the free world. The U.S., however, is carrying too heavy a burden in protecting Japanese security interests. Congress is requesting Japan to increase its spending for global security and stability from 1.29 percent to four percent. The contributions being sought from the Japanese should not be used to gain economic advantage in a market but should be channeled through multilateral organizations.
The opponent of the amendment made no statement.

S. 1174 (H.R. 1748): Vote Nos. 112-114, 116, 240, 243-257, 259, 260, 263-271, 273, 275-278, 280-287, 292, 294-300, 384.

RESULT: AMENDMENT AGREED TO

YEAS (96)

Democrats (51 or 100%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Hollings
Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans (45 or 98%)

Armstrong
Bond
Boschwitz
Chafee
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Evans
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hatfield
Hecht
Heinz
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes
Kassebaum
Kasten
Lugar
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Packwood
Pressler
Quayle
Roth
Rudman
Specter
Stafford
Stevens
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Warner
Weicker
Wilson

NAYS (1)

Democrats (0 or 0%)

Republicans (1 or 2%)

Simpson

NOT VOTING (3)

Democrats (3)

Biden—2
Gore—2
Simon—2

Republicans (0)

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion	**Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on**	
	For (96)	*Against* (1)
Democrats— 100%	Democrats— 51 or 53%	Democrats— 0 or 0%
Republicans— 98%	Republicans— 45 or 47%	Republicans— 1 or 100%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 265

100th Congress
1st Session

September 24, 1987, 6:38 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-12685

DOD AUTHORIZATION
(SOVIET EMBASSY)

BILL NO.: S. 1174 (H.R. 1748)

AMENDMENT NO.: 722

TITLE: "National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Years 1988 and 1989"

SUBJECT: **Symms amendment which requires the President to void the current embassy site and construction agreements between the U.S. and the Soviet Union and enter into negotiations for a new agreement under which the Soviet Union will move its new embassy to a site in the District of Columbia that is no more than 90 feet above mean sea level.** (See also Vote Nos. 72 and 215.)

NOTE: Proponents insisted that Soviet espionage agents intend to use the new Soviet Embassy here in Washington as a platform to conduct highly sophisticated surveillance. Its location was offered to the Soviets at a time when electronic spying techniques were not as refined as they are now. The new American Embassy in Moscow, in which Soviet agents installed listening devices during its construction, should be razed. The new Soviet Embassy here could be made available to the Salvation Army for the homeless.

Opponents requested that the amendment be withdrawn and resubmitted during consideration of the State Department authorization. A closed hearing on the matter is scheduled for next Tuesday. The Administration currently is engaged in consultations on the future of the new U.S. Embassy in Moscow. Any Senate action taken with regard to Mt. Alto is certain to invite a Soviet response against U.S. facilities, and if the U.S. were ousted from the new facility in Moscow, this country's national security interests would be substantially damaged.

S. 1174 (H.R. 1748): Vote Nos. 112-114, 116, 240, 243-257, 259, 260, 263-271, 273, 275-278, 280-287, 292, 294-300, 384.

RESULT: AMENDMENT AGREED TO

YEAS (70)

Democrats (33 or 65%)

Adams
Baucus
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
DeConcini
Dixon
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Hollings
Johnston
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Melcher
Mikulski
Mitchell
Nunn
Pryor
Reid
Rockefeller
Sasser
Shelby

Republicans (37 or 80%)

Armstrong
Bond
Boschwitz
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Dole
Domenici
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hecht
Heinz
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes
Kasten
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Packwood
Pressler
Quayle
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Specter
Stevens
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Warner
Wilson

NAYS (27)

Democrats (18 or 35%)

Bentsen
Bumpers
Cranston
Daschle
Dodd
Glenn
Inouye
Kennedy
Matsunaga
Metzenbaum
Moynihan
Pell
Proxmire
Riegle
Sanford
Sarbanes
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans (9 or 20%)

Chafee
Danforth
Durenberger
Evans
Hatfield
Kassebaum
Lugar
Stafford
Weicker

NOT VOTING (3)

Democrats (3)

Biden—[2]
Gore—[2]
Simon—[2]

Republicans (0)

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 65%
Republicans— 80%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (70)
Democrats— 33 or 47%
Republicans— 37 or 53%

Against (27)
Democrats— 18 or 67%
Republicans— 9 or 33%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 266

100th Congress
1st Session

September 24, 1987, 6:52 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-12686

DOD AUTHORIZATION
(PANAMA)

BILL NO.: S. 1174 (H.R. 1748)

AMENDMENT NO.: 723

TITLE: "National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Years 1988 and 1989"

SUBJECT: **Dodd, et al., amendment stating the sense of the Congress that the U.S. should: cease all economic and military assistance to Panama, except to meet immediate humanitarian concerns; suspend all shipments of military equipment and spare parts to Panama; and prohibit the importation into the U.S. of Panamanian sugars, syrups, or molasses, and reallocate its sugar import quota among other foreign countries; unless, no later than 45 days after enactment, (1) the Panamanian government has demonstrated substantial progress in the effort to assure civilian control of the Armed Forces and the Panama Defense Forces and its leaders have been removed from nonmilitary activities and institutions, (2) it has established an independent investigation into allegations of illegal actions by members of the Panama Defense Forces, (3) a nonmilitary transitional government is in power, and (4) freedom of the press and all other constitutional guarantees to the Panamanian people are restored.**

NOTE: Proponents felt that the amendment would put Congress on record concerning the ongoing unrest and political instability in Panama. Specifically, it puts General Noriega on notice that unless there is evidence of renewed commitment to democratic processes, the U.S. Congress will have to take the most serious legislative actions. While some have opposed such restrictions in the past, they indicated that conditions had further deteriorated and that the Panamanian government must be apprised of the seriousness of the U.S. call for improvements in Panama.

S. 1174 (H.R. 1748): Vote Nos. 112-114, 116, 240, 243-257, 259, 260, 263-271, 273, 275-278, 280-287, 292, 294-300, 384.

RESULT: AMENDMENT AGREED TO

YEAS (97)

Democrats (51 or 100%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Hollings
Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans (46 or 100%)

Armstrong
Bond
Boschwitz
Chafee
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Evans
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hatfield
Hecht
Heinz
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes
Kassebaum
Kasten
Lugar
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Packwood
Pressler
Quayle
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Specter
Stafford
Stevens
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Warner
Weicker
Wilson

NAYS (0)

Democrats (0 or 0%)

Republicans (0 or 0%)

NOT VOTING (3)

Democrats (3)

Biden—2
Gore—2
Simon—2

Republicans (0)

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 100%
Republicans— 100%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (97)
Democrats— 51 or 53%
Republicans— 46 or 47%

Against (0)
Democrats— 0 or 0%
Republicans— 0 or 0%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 267

100th Congress
1st Session

September 24, 1987, 7:04 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-12686

DOD AUTHORIZATION
(NUCLEAR TESTING)

BILL NO.: S. 1174 (H.R. 1748)

AMENDMENT NO.: 729

TITLE: "National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Years 1988 and 1989"

SUBJECT: **Reid motion to table the Hatfield-Kennedy, et al., amendment which, beginning 270 days after enactment, imposes a two-year moratorium on spending to conduct underground nuclear explosions (1) with a yield greater than one kiloton each, except for two designated test explosions, each with a yield not exceeding 15 kilotons, (2) in a weak-coupling geologic media, (3) at a location not part of a "designated test area," and (4) unless a public announcement of the test has been made at least 30 days prior to the explosion; provides that the testing moratorium shall cease if the President certifies to Congress that the USSR has violated any of the first three conditions listed above or has refused to implement reciprocal, in-country monitoring arrangements, and Congress has passed a joint resolution approving the certification; and that the moratorium also shall cease to apply if supplanted by an agreement, accord, or treaty between the U.S. and the USSR which reduces the number or yield of underground nuclear explosions further than permitted by any treaties signed before January 1, 1987.**

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment noted that the House has voted three times this year for a limited moratorium on underground testing. Gone is the need for reliability testing—only one test in 1986 was conducted for that purpose. Included in the amendment, however, is an exception for two reliability tests under 15 kilotons by each side over the two-year period. Gone is the debate over verification—the amendment includes the Administration's own steadfast requirements. The USSR must accept mutual onsite inspection, the installation of an in-country seismic monitoring network, and the calibration of its designated test site using the yield estimation device known as CORRTEX or a similar method.

Opponents of the amendment contended that it is the development of delivery vehicles, such as cruise missiles, not the development of new warheads, that has fueled the arms race. No amount of calculation or simulation of testing effects in laboratories, they insisted, has been able to replace nuclear

(OVER)

S. 1174 (H.R. 1748): Vote Nos. 112-114, 116, 240, 243-257, 259, 260, 263-271, 273, 275-278, 280-287, 292, 294-300, 384.

RESULT: **MOTION TO TABLE AGREED TO**

YEAS (61)

Democrats (21 or 41%)

Bentsen
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Byrd
Chiles
Dixon
Exon
Ford
Glenn
Graham
Heflin
Hollings
Johnston
Nunn
Pryor
Reid
Sasser
Shelby
Stennis

Republicans (40 or 87%)

Armstrong
Bond
Boschwitz
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Evans
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hecht
Heinz
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes
Kassebaum
Kasten
Lugar
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Packwood
Pressler
Quayle
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Stevens
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Warner
Wilson

NAYS (36)

Democrats (30 or 59%)

Adams
Baucus
Bumpers
Burdick
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dodd
Fowler
Harkin
Inouye
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Pell
Proxmire
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Wirth

Republicans (6 or 13%)

Chafee
Danforth
Hatfield
Specter
Stafford
Weicker

NOT VOTING (3)

Democrats (3)

Biden—2
Gore—2AN
Simon—2AN

Republicans (0)

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 59%
Republicans— 87%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (61)
Democrats— 21 or 34%
Republicans— 40 or 66%

Against (36)
Democrats— 30 or 83%
Republicans— 6 or 17%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

testing as a means of discovering serious problems or verifying their correction. The one kiloton limit would eliminate the ability of U.S. laboratories to ensure the reliability, safety, and survivability of the U.S.' nuclear stockpile. Mutual testing limitations would produce stockpile deterioration, with the U.S.' lighter, more complex weapons deteriorating sooner than the heavier, more simple Soviet weapons. These imbalances would create greater instability. With regard to verification, even these provisions are not sufficient to guarantee verification. Nuclear testing, they maintained, is not responsible for the nuclear arms race. Testing, they argued, has made it possible to reduce the U.S. nuclear stockpile by a third in the last 20 years.

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 268

100th Congress
1st Session

September 24, 1987, 7:15 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-12686

DOD AUTHORIZATION
(NERVE GAS)

BILL NO.: S. 1174 (H.R. 1748)

AMENDMENT NO.: 730

TITLE: "National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Years 1988 and 1989"

SUBJECT: **Nunn motion to table the Hatfield-Pryor, et al., amendment which prohibits the expenditure of funds for the final assembly of lethal binary chemical weapons before October 1, 1988.**

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment pointed out that the U.S. had just returned to the nerve gas business for the first time in 18 years. After nearly 20 close votes in the past six years, Congress last year appropriated funds for the production of a new generation of these ghastly weapons. But it delayed final assembly until October 1 of this year. This amendment would not stop production, but it would continue the delay of assembly for one more year to give peace a chance. The current stockpile is certainly adequate for another year. The destruction schedule for the existing unitary shells has fallen behind, and no Western European ally has agreed to accept these new weapons. The arguments of safety and leaking canisters were disproved by the President's own blue ribbon commission. Chemical weapons have devastating, morally indefensible results. Defenseless civilians—not soldiers who would have protection—would suffer violent and painful deaths. A delay would show the commitment of the U.S. to rid the world of these deadly weapons. This amendment would give negotiations a chance to succeed.

Opponents of the amendment maintained that binaries would redress the dangerous imbalance in Europe created by the Soviet's considerable superiority in chemical weapons. A treaty eliminating all chemical weapons is still a long way off, and a binary program would add incentive for the Soviets to negotiate in earnest. Unitaries must be replaced by binaries for the safety of American troops. Binary munitions are far safer to handle and store than the existing munitions. Congress should send the USSR a strong message that it is willing to take the next step with chemical weapons.

S. 1174 (H.R. 1748): Vote Nos. 112-114, 116, 240, 243-257, 259, 260, 263-271, 273, 275-278, 280-287, 292, 294-300, 384.

RESULT: **MOTION TO TABLE AGREED TO**

YEAS (53)

Democrats (19 or 37%)

Bentsen
Bingaman
Boren
Breaux
Bumpers
Chiles
DeConcini
Dixon
Exon
Glenn
Graham
Heflin
Hollings
Johnston
Melcher
Nunn
Rockefeller
Shelby
Stennis

Republicans (34 or 74%)

Armstrong
Bond
Boschwitz
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Dole
Domenici
Garn
Gramm
Hatch
Hecht
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes
Kasten
Lugar
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Pressler
Quayle
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Stevens
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Warner
Wilson

NAYS (44)

Democrats (32 or 63%)

Adams
Baucus
Bradley
Burdick
Byrd
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
Dodd
Ford
Fowler
Harkin
Inouye
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Wirth

Republicans (12 or 26%)

Chafee
Danforth
Durenberger
Evans
Grassley
Hatfield
Heinz
Kassebaum
Packwood
Specter
Stafford
Weicker

NOT VOTING (3)

Democrats (3)

Biden—2
Gore—2AN
Simon—2

Republicans (0)

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 63%
Republicans— 74%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (53)
Democrats— 19 or 36%
Republicans— 34 or 64%

Against (44)
Democrats— 32 or 73%
Republicans— 12 or 27%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 269

100th Congress
1st Session

September 24, 1987, 8:21 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-12704

DOD AUTHORIZATION
(NERVE GAS)

BILL NO.: S. 1174 (H.R. 1748)

AMENDMENT NO.: 731

TITLE: "National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Years 1988 and 1989"

SUBJECT: **Shelby motion to table the Pryor-Hatfield, et al., amendment which prohibits the use of funds for the procurement or assembly of the BIGEYE binary chemical bomb until specific legislation authorizing procurement has been enacted.** (The prohibition does not apply to funds obligated solely for research, development, testing, and evaluation in connection with the BIGEYE program.)

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment noted that the BIGEYE has been flunking its tests. Specifically, the amendment would: eliminate $5 million for 1988 BIGEYE production; prohibit spending $35 million for BIGEYE production; and redirect the $5 million savings into R&D of a better deep strike chemical weapon. According to a recent GAO report, the tests on the BIGEYE bomb have been unreliable and "fixed" so that even the 60 percent success rate underestimates how poorly it performs. The U.S. should not embark on a $2 billion program to manufacture a weapon that does not work.

Opponents of the amendment contended that judgment should be withheld until all tests have been completed and data analyzed. The 1987 DOD authorization fenced all 1987 and 1988 funds for BIGEYE production until the President certifies that its production is in the security interests of the U.S. A serious imbalance in chemical warfare capability exists between the Warsaw Pact and NATO nations. Recent events necessitate the need for continuing the binary modernization program.

S. 1174 (H.R. 1748): Vote Nos. 112-114, 116, 240, 243-257, 259, 260, 263-271, 273, 275-278, 280-287, 292, 294-300, 384.

RESULT: **MOTION TO TABLE AGREED TO**

YEAS (49)

Democrats (15 or 29%)

Bingaman
Boren
Breaux
Chiles
Dixon
Exon
Glenn
Graham
Heflin
Hollings
Johnston
Nunn
Rockefeller
Shelby
Stennis

Republicans (34 or 74%)

Armstrong
Bond
Boschwitz
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Dole
Domenici
Garn
Gramm
Hatch
Hecht
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes
Kasten
Lugar

McCain
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Pressler
Quayle
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Stevens
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Warner
Wilson

NAYS (48)

Democrats (36 or 71%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Bradley
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dodd
Ford
Fowler
Harkin
Inouye
Kennedy
Kerry

Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Wirth

Republicans (12 or 26%)

Chafee
Danforth
Durenberger
Evans
Grassley
Hatfield
Heinz
Kassebaum
Packwood
Specter
Stafford
Weicker

NOT VOTING (3)

Democrats (3)

Biden—2
Gore—2AN
Simon—2

Republicans (0)

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 71%
Republicans— 74%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (49)
Democrats— 15 or 31%
Republicans— 34 or 69%

Against (48)
Democrats— 36 or 75%
Republicans— 12 or 25%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 270

100th Congress
1st Session

September 24, 1987, 9:04 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-12708

DOD AUTHORIZATION
(PERSIAN GULF)

BILL NO.: S. 1174 (H.R. 1748)

AMENDMENT NO.: 735

TITLE: "National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Years 1988 and 1989"

SUBJECT: **Helms amendment stating the sense of the Senate that the U.S. Navy is fully justified in sinking any Iranian vessel which threatens the safe passage of any American warship or any other vessel known to have any U.S. citizen on board and that this provision shall not in itself be construed as legislative authority for any specific military operation.** (See also Vote Nos. 281 and 341.)

NOTE: Proponents stated that laying mines in the Persian Gulf is a threat to neutral shipping and, therefore, violates international law. The United States has every right to defend its flag vessels and American citizens sailing on them in international waters. The Americans who performed so decisively and effectively against the Iranians caught laying mines should be commended. The amendment clarifies any ambivalence, they contended, regarding American resolve.
Opponents made no statements.

S. 1174 (H.R. 1748): Vote Nos. 112-114, 116, 240, 243-257, 259, 260, 263-271, 273, 275-278, 280-287, 292, 294-300, 384.

RESULT: **AMENDMENT AGREED TO**

YEAS (91)

Democrats
(49 or 96%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Graham
Heflin
Hollings
Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans
(42 or 95%)

Armstrong
Bond
Boschwitz
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hecht
Heinz
Helms
Karnes
Kassebaum
Kasten
Lugar
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Packwood
Pressler
Quayle
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Specter
Stafford
Stevens
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Warner
Weicker
Wilson

NAYS (4)

Democrats
(2 or 4%)

Harkin
Pell

Republicans
(2 or 5%)

Chafee
Hatfield

NOT VOTING (5)

Democrats (3)

Biden—[2]
Gore—[2]
Simon—[2]

Republicans (2)

Evans—[2]
Humphrey—[2]

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 96%
Republicans— 95%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (91)
Democrats— 49 or 54%
Republicans— 42 or 46%

Against (4)
Democrats— 2 or 50%
Republicans— 2 or 50%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 271

100th Congress
1st Session

September 24, 1987, 11:26 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-12725

DOD AUTHORIZATION
(INF TREATY)

BILL NO.: S. 1174 (H.R. 1748)

AMENDMENT NO.: 737

TITLE: "National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Years 1988 and 1989"

SUBJECT: **Dixon motion to table the Helms amendment stating the sense of the Senate that the Senate should not consent to the ratification of any treaty with the USSR to limit intermediate nuclear forces unless the treaty is unquestionably verifiable; nor should any such treaty be signed unless and until the President has certified to Congress that the USSR is no longer violating the ABM Treaty.** (See also Vote Nos. 247, 302, and 303.)

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment pointed out that it simply reiterates what the Senate has already put on record this year: that the Krasnoyarsk radar is a violation of the ABM Treaty and is an obstacle to the achievement of acceptable arms control agreements with the Soviet Union. Adoption of the amendment would denote that the United States will not condone Soviet violations of existing arms control agreements by signing a new arms control agreement in the face of these violations.

Opponents of the amendment stated that an intermediate nuclear force (INF) treaty should not be held hostage by the U.S. while it tries to convince the Soviet Union to correct its violations of the ABM Treaty. The best time to consider the Soviet's record of noncompliance would be next spring when the President sends the INF Treaty to the Senate for consideration. If adopted, this amendment would kill the new Treaty by telling the President, in effect, not to bother sending it to the Senate. Some commented that they were confident that the President would not send a treaty to the Senate unless he felt sure that it would be unquestionably verifiable.

S. 1174 (H.R. 1748): Vote Nos. 112-114, 116, 240, 243-257, 259, 260, 263-271, 273, 275-278, 280-287, 292, 294-300, 384.

RESULT: **MOTION TO TABLE AGREED TO**

YEAS (62)			NAYS (28)		NOT VOTING (10)	
Democrats (45 or 94%)		**Republicans (17 or 40%)**	**Democrats (3 or 6%)**	**Republicans (25 or 60%)**	**Democrats (6)**	**Republicans (4)**
Baucus	Johnston	Chafee	Conrad	Armstrong	Adams—^{2}	McConnell—^{2}
Bentsen	Kennedy	Cohen	DeConcini	Bond	Biden—^{2}	Stafford—^{2}
Bingaman	Kerry	D'Amato	Shelby	Boschwitz	Gore—^{2}	Stevens—^{2}
Boren	Lautenberg	Danforth		Cochran	Mikulski—^{2}	Trible—^{2}
Bradley	Leahy	Domenici		Dole	Simon—^{2}	
Breaux	Levin	Durenberger		Garn	Stennis—^{2}	
Bumpers	Matsunaga	Evans		Gramm		
Burdick	Melcher	Hatfield		Grassley		
Byrd	Metzenbaum	Heinz		Hatch		
Chiles	Mitchell	Kassebaum		Hecht		
Cranston	Moynihan	Lugar		Helms		
Daschle	Nunn	Murkowski		Humphrey		
Dixon	Pell	Packwood		Karnes		
Dodd	Proxmire	Roth		Kasten		
Exon	Pryor	Rudman		McCain		
Ford	Reid	Specter		McClure		
Fowler	Riegle	Warner		Nickles		
Glenn	Rockefeller			Pressler		
Graham	Sanford			Quayle		
Harkin	Sarbanes			Simpson		
Heflin	Sasser			Symms		
Hollings	Wirth			Thurmond		
Inouye				Wallop		
				Weicker		
				Wilson		

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 94%
Republicans— 60%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (62)
Democrats— 45 or 73%
Republicans— 17 or 27%

Against (28)
Democrats— 3 or 11%
Republicans— 25 or 89%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 272

100th Congress
1st Session

September 25, 1987, 8:57 a.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-12773

TREASURY-POSTAL SERVICE APPROPRIATIONS, 1988

BILL NO.: H.R. 2907

TITLE: "Treasury, Postal Service and General Government Appropriations Act, 1988"

SUBJECT: **Passage of the bill which appropriates a total of $15,067,250,000 in new budget authority for the Treasury Department, the U.S. Postal Service, the Executive Office of the President, and certain Independent Agencies for FY 1988, including $11 million in reappropriations resulting from the enactment of the Supplemental Appropriations Act of 1987 (P.L. 100-71).**

NOTE: Compromise provisions of the bill were contained in H.J. Res. 395, the Continuing Resolution, which became Public Law 100-202, approved December 22, 1987.

H.R. 2907: Vote No. 272.

RESULT: **BILL PASSED**

YEAS (84)

Democrats (49 or 98%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Hollings
Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans (35 or 85%)

Armstrong
Bond
Chafee
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Evans
Garn
Grassley
Hatch
Hatfield
Hecht
Heinz
Karnes
Kassebaum
Kasten
Lugar
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Packwood
Pressler
Quayle
Rudman
Simpson
Specter
Stafford
Thurmond
Warner
Wilson

NAYS (7)

Democrats (1 or 2%)

Proxmire

Republicans (6 or 15%)

Gramm
Helms
Nickles
Roth
Symms
Wallop

NOT VOTING (9)

Democrats (4)

Biden—2
Dodd—2
Gore—2AY
Simon—2

Republicans (5)

Boschwitz—2
Humphrey—2
Stevens—2
Trible—2
Weicker—3

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 98%
Republicans— 85%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (84)
Democrats— 49 or 58%
Republicans— 35 or 42%

Against (7)
Democrats— 1 or 14%
Republicans— 6 or 86%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

MAJOR PROVISIONS

Appropriates a total of $15,067,250,000 in new budget authority for the Treasury Department, the U.S. Postal Service, the Executive Office of the President, and certain independent agencies for FY 1988 which includes $11 million in reappropriations resulting from the Supplemental Appropriations Act of 1987 (P.L. 100-71).

Includes funding for the following agencies:

Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms (BATF)	$225,000,000
U.S. Customs Service	1,147,295,000
Bureau of the Mint	44,000,000
Bureau of the Public Debt	217,000,000
IRS	4,989,059,000
U.S. Secret Service	373,000,000
Payment to U.S. Postal Service Fund	517,000,000
Executive Office of the President	107,300,000
OMB	38,000,000
FEC	14,174,000
General Services Administration (GSA)	301,649,000
National Archives & Records	117,000,000
Federal Personnel Activities	6,655,346,000
Office of Personnel Management	6,611,844,000
Merit Systems Protection Board	25,701,000
Federal Labor Relations Authority	17,801,000

Requires that BATF use at least $15 million for the enforcement of the Federal Alcohol Administration Act; and prohibits the use of funds to implement or enforce BATF's rule TD ATF-66 issued June 13, 1980, on the labeling and advertising of wine, distilled spirits, and malt beverages.

Requires the Customs Service, before making any decision to close a Customs office, to notify the Committee and affected Members of Congress, coordinate and discuss the proposal with those Members, and obtain final approval from the Committee; precludes the Customs Service from reducing the number of Customs regions below the current level of seven during FY 1988; and prohibits the use of funds to apportion Customs user fees used to pay for inspectional overtime services to the commercial businesses that pay the fees.

Limits to $3 billion the overall expenditures from the GSA Federal Buildings Fund; includes $83.5 million for major capital improvements to U.S.-Mexico border facilities and $14 million for the design of new headquarters for the Environmental Protection Agency.

Requires prior approval of the Appropriations Committees for any reprogramming in excess of $500,000, or ten percent, whichever is greater, if that would result in a major change contrary to the program or item presented to and approved by the Committee or Congress, or if the cumulative effect of past reprogramming actions plus the new action would exceed the reprogramming dollar threshold established by the Committee.

Requires that any proposed interagency agreement for the transfer of appropriated funds of $500,000 or more be reported to the Appropriations Committees and that any proposed transfer of $1 million or more must be approved in advance by the Committees; and prohibits any transfer of funds to another Federal agency that would change the original purpose or intent of any congressional directive mandated by law or contained in an accompanying committee report.

Allows the Secretary of the Treasury and the Administrator of GSA to transfer up to three percent of funds between appropriations accounts in emergency situations with the approval of the Appropriations Committees.

Restates the current prohibition on the use of Federal funds for abortions or administrative expenses in connection with any health plan under the Federal Health Benefit Program except where the life of the mother would be endangered if the fetus were carried to term.

Directs GSA and OPM to respond expeditiously to priority requests related to Federal efforts to combat Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome (AIDS) from the Directors of the Centers for Disease Control or the National Institute of Allergy and Infectious Diseases.

Prohibits the Postal Service from imposing fees for furnishing postal addresses in connection with State and local child support programs.

Budget Authority Considered

1987 Appropriations	$14,049,949,800
1988 Budget Estimate	14,616,851,000
Approved by House	15,350,018,000
Approved by Senate	15,067,250,000
Enacted	15,126,699,000

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 273

100th Congress
1st Session

September 25, 1987, 11:18 a.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-12780

DOD AUTHORIZATION

BILL NO.: S. 1174 (H.R. 1748)

AMENDMENT NO.: 740

TITLE: "National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Years 1988 and 1989"

SUBJECT: **Dixon motion to table the Roth amendment which makes non-NATO allies (such as Israel) eligible to bid on DOD contracts for maintenance associated with the European Workload Program and to perform that work outside the area in which the equipment is located.** (Current law requires that DOD maintenance work on U.S. military equipment stationed overseas be performed by companies in the area in which the equipment is located.)

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment noted that their proposal had already been adopted by the House. It would allow Israel, for example, which has acknowledged expertise in aviation maintenance and technology, to bid on contracts. Both Israel and the U.S. would benefit from a contractual arrangement. In addition, it would be timely for the U.S. to move toward assisting Israel's aircraft industry in light of their abandonment of the Levi project.

Opponents of the amendment pointed out that major non-NATO allies are currently permitted to bid on maintenance contracts for work to be done on location. Allowing the performance of work outside the area would appreciably affect the readiness and preparedness of U.S. troops in Europe. It would erode depot maintenance and the strength of the industrial base in Europe.

S. 1174 (H.R. 1748): Vote Nos. 112-114, 116, 240, 243-257, 259, 260, 263-271, 273, 275-278, 280-287, 292, 294-300, 384.

RESULT: **MOTION TO TABLE AGREED TO**

YEAS (49)

Democrats (38 or 73%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Daschle
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Graham
Harkin
Hollings
Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Metzenbaum
Moynihan
Nunn
Pryor
Reid
Rockefeller
Sanford
Shelby
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans (11 or 24%)

Cochran
Dole
Evans
Garn
Hatfield
Kassebaum
McCain
McClure
Quayle
Trible
Warner

NAYS (48)

Democrats (14 or 27%)

Biden
Bingaman
Burdick
Cranston
DeConcini
Heflin
Melcher
Mikulski
Mitchell
Pell
Proxmire
Riegle
Sarbanes
Sasser

Republicans (34 or 76%)

Armstrong
Bond
Boschwitz
Chafee
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Domenici
Durenberger
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hecht
Heinz
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes
Kasten
Lugar
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Packwood
Pressler
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Specter
Stafford
Stevens
Symms
Thurmond
Wallop
Wilson

NOT VOTING (3)

Democrats (2)

Gore—2
Simon—2

Republicans (1)

Weicker—3

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 73%
Republicans— 76%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (49)
Democrats— 38 or 78%
Republicans— 11 or 22%

Against (48)
Democrats— 14 or 29%
Republicans— 34 or 71%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 274

100th Congress
1st Session

September 25, 1987, 11:45 a.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-12780

CONTINUING APPROPRIATIONS, 1988

BILL NO.: H.J. Res. 362

SUBJECT: **Passage of the joint resolution which makes continuing appropriations to remain available from October 1, 1987, until November 10, 1987, or enactment of the applicable appropriation bill, whichever occurs first, for all programs and activities funded under the 13 major appropriations bills at their current level, except foreign assistance, which is funded at the current level or the President's budget request, whichever is lower, and except for aid to the Contras which is funded only for humanitarian assistance at the rate of $2.65 million per month; and includes a provision to permit the expenditure of funds for intelligence activities because the intelligence authorization bill has not yet been funded.**

NOTE: H.J. Res. 362 became Public Law 100-120, approved September 30, 1987.

H.J. Res. 362: Vote No. 274.

RESULT: **JOINT RESOLUTION PASSED**

YEAS (70)

Democrats (44 or 85%)

Adams
Bentsen
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Cranston
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Hollings
Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Stennis

Republicans (26 or 58%)

Bond
Boschwitz
Chafee
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Evans
Hatfield
Heinz
Humphrey
Kassebaum
Lugar
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Packwood
Pressler
Quayle
Rudman
Simpson
Specter
Stevens
Thurmond

NAYS (27)

Democrats (8 or 15%)

Baucus
Biden
Bingaman
Conrad
Daschle
Leahy
Proxmire
Wirth

Republicans (19 or 42%)

Armstrong
Durenberger
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hecht
Helms
Karnes
Kasten
McCain
McClure
Roth
Stafford
Symms
Trible
Wallop
Warner
Wilson

NOT VOTING (3)

Democrats (2)

Gore—2AY
Simon—2

Republicans (1)

Weicker—3

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 85%
Republicans— 58%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (70)
Democrats— 44 or 63%
Republicans— 26 or 37%

Against (27)
Democrats— 8 or 30%
Republicans— 19 or 70%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 275

100th Congress
1st Session

September 25, 1987, 1:04 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-12788

DOD AUTHORIZATION
(UNITED NATIONS)

BILL NO.: S. 1174 (H.R. 1748)

AMENDMENT NO.: 744

TITLE: "National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Years 1988 and 1989"

SUBJECT: **Heinz, et al., amendment which provides that 50 percent of the U.S. assessed contributions to the United Nations may not be obligated until the President certifies to Congress that significant progress has been made in eliminating the excessive use of "secondment" by member states and the blatant control of UN employees by their national governments.**

NOTE: Proponents contended that the amendment would help neutralize one Soviet espionage weapon—the abuse of the U.N. system. The Soviet bloc countries are guilty of excessive secondment (assignment of individuals to U.N. work on a temporary contract basis as opposed to a career basis), skimming of salaries from these employees for the benefit of Soviet bloc hard currency accounts, and the blatant control of Soviet bloc nationals on the U.N. Secretariat by their countries' missions. While there is a legitimate need for secondment in some situations, the Soviets have used it to keep control over their citizens and to control certain positions in the Secretariat over a long period of time. This amendment would give the U.N. an incentive to support a resolution setting a limit on the secondment of the assignment of U.N. personnel.

S. 1174 (H.R. 1748): Vote Nos. 112-114, 116, 240, 243-257, 259, 260, 263-271, 273, 275-278, 280-287, 292, 294-300, 384.

RESULT: AMENDMENT AGREED TO

YEAS (95)

Democrats
(51 or 100%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Biden
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Hollings
Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Wirth

Republicans
(44 or 100%)

Armstrong
Bond
Boschwitz
Chafee
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Evans
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hatfield
Hecht
Heinz
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes
Kasten
Lugar
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Packwood
Pressler
Quayle
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Specter
Stafford
Stevens
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Warner
Wilson

NAYS (0)

Democrats
(0 or 0%)

Republicans
(0 or 0%)

NOT VOTING (5)

Democrats (3)

Gore—2
Simon—2
Stennis—2

Republicans (2)

Kassebaum—2
Weicker—3

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 100%
Republicans— 100%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (95)
Democrats— 51 or 54%
Republicans— 44 or 46%

Against (0)
Democrats— 0 or 0%
Republicans— 0 or 0%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 276

100th Congress
1st Session

September 25, 1987, 2:46 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-12801

DOD AUTHORIZATION
(RELIGIOUS APPAREL)

BILL NO.: S. 1174 (H.R. 1748)

AMENDMENT NO.: 706

TITLE: "National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Years 1988 and 1989"

SUBJECT: **Glenn motion to table the Lautenberg, et. al., amendment which permits members of the Armed Forces to wear an item of religious apparel while in uniform, if the item is being worn as part of a religious observance of the member's faith and the Secretary of the member's service determines that the item is neat and conservative and does not interfere with the performance of military duty.** (See also Vote No. 277.)

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment noted that it was defeated by only two votes last year (Vote No. 186, 99th-2nd) and the House included identical language in its DOD authorization this year. The amendment is in response to the 1986 Supreme Court's 5 to 4 decision in *Goldman* *v.* *Weinberger* *that the military's need for uniformity of dress and for discipline overrode the first amendment right of an Orthodox Jewish serviceman to fulfill his traditional Jewish obligation by wearing a yarmulke. This amendment is broader than any one religion, however, and would allow persons of all faiths to serve their country without having to forsake their religious beliefs and practices. Wearing neat and conservative religious apparel would strengthen morale by affirming that the military is a humane and tolerant institution. They pointed out that many have worn yarmulkes for years without any apparent disruption. The Air Force has used a "neat and conservative" standard to allow the use of jewelry.*

Opponents of the amendment contended that it would open the floodgates to all kinds of litigation. It would leave to unit commanders the very sensitive judgments on matters of belief and religious practice—whether an item is religious, "neat and conservative," or would "significantly interfere" with the performance of military duties. Religious apparel is already permitted if it is not visible. Uniformity and lack of diversity are essential to instilling cohesiveness among trainees. The military and civilian leadership of DOD oppose this amendment, as does the American Legion and the Military Coalition.

S. 1174 (H.R. 1748): Vote Nos. 112-114, 116, 240, 243-257, 259, 260, 263-271, 273, 275-278, 280-287, 292, 294-300, 384.

RESULT: **MOTION TO TABLE FAILED**

YEAS (42)

Democrats (13 or 25%)

Baucus
Byrd
Conrad
Dodd
Exon
Fowler
Glenn
Hollings
Johnston
Nunn
Sanford
Shelby
Stennis

Republicans (29 or 64%)

Armstrong
Bond
Chafee
Cochran
Cohen
Dole
Durenberger
Evans
Garn
Gramm
Hatfield
Hecht
Helms
Kassebaum
Lugar

McCain
McClure
Murkowski
Nickles
Quayle
Rudman
Simpson
Stafford
Stevens
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Warner

NAYS (55)

Democrats (39 or 75%)

Adams
Bentsen
Biden
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Chiles
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Ford
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Inouye
Kennedy

Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sarbanes
Sasser
Wirth

Republicans (16 or 36%)

Boschwitz
D'Amato
Danforth
Domenici
Grassley
Hatch
Heinz
Humphrey
Karnes
Kasten
McConnell
Packwood
Pressler
Roth
Specter
Wilson

NOT VOTING (3)

Democrats (2)

Gore—^{2AN}
Simon—^{2}

Republicans (1)

Weicker—^{3}

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 75%
Republicans— 64%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (42)
Democrats— 13 or 31%
Republicans— 29 or 69%

Against (55)
Democrats— 39 or 71%
Republicans— 16 or 29%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 277

100th Congress
1st Session

September 25, 1987, 3:09 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-12801

DOD AUTHORIZATION
(RELIGIOUS APPAREL)

BILL NO.: S. 1174 (H.R. 1748) **AMENDMENT NO.:** 706

TITLE: "National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Years 1988 and 1989"

SUBJECT: **Lautenberg, et al., amendment which permits members of the Armed Forces to wear an item of religious apparel while in uniform, if the item is being worn as part of a religious observance of the member's faith and the Secretary of the member's service determines that the item is neat and conservative and does not interfere with the performance of military duty.** (See also Vote No. 276.)

NOTE: Proponents noted that this amendment was defeated by only two votes last year (Vote No. 186, 99th-2nd) and the House included identical language in their DOD authorization this year. The amendment is in response to the 1986 Supreme Court 5 to 4 decision in Goldman v. Weinberger that the military's need for uniformity of dress and for discipline overrode the first amendment right of an Orthodox Jewish serviceman to fulfill his traditional Jewish obligation by wearing a yarmulke. This amendment is broader than any one religion, however, and would allow persons of all faiths to serve their country without having to forsake their religious beliefs and practices. Wearing neat and conservative religious apparel would strengthen morale by affirming that the military is a humane and tolerant institution. They pointed out that many have worn yarmulkes for years without any apparent disruption. The Air Force has used a "neat and conservative" standard to allow the use of jewelry.

Opponents contended that it would open the floodgates to all kinds of litigation. It would leave to unit commanders the very sensitive judgments on matters of belief and religious practice—whether an item is religious, "neat and conservative," or would "significantly interfere" with the performance of military duties. Religious apparel is already permitted if it is not visible. Uniformity and lack of diversity are essential to instilling cohesiveness among trainees. The military and civilian leadership of DOD oppose this amendment, as does the American Legion and the Military Coalition.

S. 1174 (H.R. 1748): Vote Nos. 112-114, 116, 240, 243-257, 259,260, 263-271, 273, 275-278, 280-287, 292, 294-300, 384.

RESULT: **AMENDMENT AGREED TO**

YEAS (55)

Democrats (39 or 75%)

Adams
Bentsen
Biden
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
hiles
ranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
ord
raham
Harkin
Heflin
nouye
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sarbanes
Sasser
Wirth

Republicans (16 or 36%)

Boschwitz
D'Amato
Danforth
Domenici
Grassley
Hatch
Heinz
Humphrey
Karnes
Kasten
McConnell
Packwood
Pressler
Roth
Specter
Wilson

NAYS (42)

Democrats (13 or 25%)

Baucus
Byrd
Conrad
Dodd
Exon
Fowler
Glenn
Hollings
Johnston
Nunn
Sanford
Shelby
Stennis

Republicans (29 or 64%)

Armstrong
Bond
Chafee
Cochran
Cohen
Dole
Durenberger
Evans
Garn
Gramm
Hatfield
Hecht
Helms
Kassebaum
Lugar
McCain
McClure
Murkowski
Nickles
Quayle
Rudman
Simpson
Stafford
Stevens
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Warner

NOT VOTING (3)

Democrats (2)

Gore—2AY
Simon—2

Republicans (1)

Weicker—3

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 75%
Republicans— 64%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (55)
Democrats— 39 or 71%
Republicans— 16 or 29%

Against (42)
Democrats— 13 or 31%
Republicans— 29 or 69%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 278

100th Congress
1st Session

September 25, 1987, 4:29 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-12808

DOD AUTHORIZATION
(DIPLOMATIC IMMUNITY)

BILL NO.: S. 1174 (H.R. 1748)

AMENDMENT NO.: 748

TITLE: "National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Years 1988 and 1989"

SUBJECT: **Dixon motion to table the Helms-D'Amato amendment which provides that, notwithstanding existing conventions on diplomatic relations, members of a foreign diplomatic mission and a foreign consular post (other than diplomatic agents and consular officers) shall not be entitled to immunity from the criminal jurisdiction of the U.S. or any State for any crime of violence, reckless driving, or driving while intoxicated or using drugs; allows the President, when considering factors of reciprocity and international law obligations, to exclude from the coverage of this provision up to 5,000 foreign nationals who are family of foreign diplomats or support staff of foreign diplomatic or international missions; and requires that persons who are convicted be declared *persona non grata* and expelled.**

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment cited examples of crimes committed by the families and support staff of diplomats as sufficient reason not to continue diplomatic immunity for persons who have committed crimes. Many Americans have paid the price for the unwillingness of the U.S. to face up to its responsibility to protect its citizens. The purpose of diplomatic immunity is not to provide tens of thousands of foreigners in this country with the ability to create mayhem. The well-established and necessary process of diplomatic immunity should not continue to be abused.

Opponents of the amendment maintained that it would wipe out, in effect, diplomatic immunity, expose U.S. diplomats to arrest overseas, invite retaliation, and adversely affect U.S. intelligence operations around the world. Diplomatic immunity involves a fundamental principle of international law for the purpose of assuring that diplomatic representatives are able to carry out the official business of their governments without interference (or arrest) from the host country.

S. 1174 (H.R. 1748): Vote Nos. 112-114, 116, 240, 243-257, 259, 260, 263-271, 273, 275-278, 280-287, 292, 294-300, 384.

RESULT: **MOTION TO TABLE AGREED TO**

YEAS (48)

Democrats (39 or 75%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Biden
Bingaman
Bradley
Breaux
Burdick
Cranston
Daschle
Dixon
Dodd
Fowler
Glenn
Graham
Harkin
Hollings
Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sasser
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans (9 or 21%)

Boschwitz
Chafee
Danforth
Durenberger
Evans
Hatfield
Lugar
Stafford
Stevens

NAYS (46)

Democrats (13 or 25%)

Boren
Bumpers
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
DeConcini
Exon
Ford
Heflin
Mikulski
Riegle
Sarbanes
Shelby

Republicans (33 or 79%)

Armstrong
Bond
Cochran
D'Amato
Dole
Domenici
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hecht
Heinz
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes
Kassebaum
Kasten
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Packwood
Pressler
Quayle
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Specter
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Warner
Wilson

NOT VOTING (6)

Democrats (2)

Gore—2
Simon—2

Republicans (4)

Cohen—2
McCain—2
Symms—2
Weicker—3

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 75%
Republicans— 79%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (48)
Democrats— 39 or 81%
Republicans— 9 or 19%

Against (46)
Democrats— 13 or 28%
Republicans— 33 or 72%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 279

100th Congress
1st Session

September 25, 1987, 5:10 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-12811

NOMINATION OF WILLIAM S. SESSIONS TO BE DIRECTOR OF THE FBI

POSITION: Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation

SUBJECT: **Confirmation of the nomination of William S. Sessions, of Texas, to be Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation.**

NOTE: Proponents noted that not one witness testified against William Sessions before the Judiciary Committee, which reported the nomination favorably. Judge Sessions' background exemplifies the integrity and strong moral character expected of an FBI Director. He is a graduate of Baylor University and Baylor School of Law. Following ten years of private law practice, he served as Chief of the Government Operations Section of the Justice Department. From 1971-74, Judge Sessions served as U.S. Attorney in the western district of Texas. He was confirmed in 1974 by the Senate as U.S. District Judge for that district, and currently serves as Chief Judge. The FBI has been without a Director for five months, and it is vital that this position be filled. Judge Sessions is a tough but fair champion of law enforcement and has stated that under his leadership, the FBI would continue to protect and uphold the rights and liberties guaranteed by the Constitution and the laws of the U.S.

Vote No. 279.

RESULT: **NOMINATION CONFIRMED**

ADMINISTRATION POSITION: YEA

YEAS (90)

Democrats (50 or 100%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Biden
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Hollings
Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans (40 or 100%)

Armstrong
Bond
Boschwitz
Chafee
Cochran
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Evans
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hecht
Heinz
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes
Kassebaum
Kasten
Lugar
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Packwood
Pressler
Quayle
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Specter
Stafford
Stevens
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Warner
Weicker
Wilson

NAYS (0)

Democrats (0 or 0%)

Republicans (0 or 0%)

NOT VOTING (10)

Democrats (4)

Gore—2AY
Pell—2AY
Rockefeller—2
Simon—2

Republicans (6)

Cohen—2
Garn—2
Hatfield—2
McCain—2AY
McClure—2
Symms—2

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 100%
Republicans— 100%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (90)
Democrats— 50 or 56%
Republicans— 40 or 44%

Against (0)
Democrats— 0 or 0%
Republicans— 0 or 0%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 280

100th Congress
1st Session

September 29, 1987, 8:28 a.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-12958

DOD AUTHORIZATION
(JAPAN/NATO)

BILL NO.: S. 1174 (H.R. 1748) **AMENDMENT NO.:** 749

TITLE: "National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Years 1988 and 1989"

SUBJECT: **Conrad, et al., amendment expressing the sense of the Congress that the President should enter into negotiations with countries which participate in mutual defense alliances with the U.S., especially NATO nations and Japan, for the purpose of reaching an agreement on a more equitable distribution of the burden of financial support for the alliances and establishing a schedule of defense spending increases by NATO nations and Japan or a system of offsetting payments designed to achieve a division of responsibility for defense spending between those allies and the U.S. that is commensurate with their resources, and that the President should report to Congress within one year of enactment on the progress of these negotiations.** (See also Vote No. 264.)

NOTE: Proponents stated that the United States can no longer afford to provide a defense umbrella for its European and Japanese allies and should insist that they pay a fair share. One of the reasons the U.S. deficit is out of control is because the U.S. is burdened with a disproportionate share of defending the free world. In the 40 years since World War II, Europe and Japan have regained their economic strength, yet they contribute only 3.5 percent and one percent, respectively, compared to the United States' share of six percent.

Opponents claimed that the amendment indulges in "ally bashing" and is too narrow in scope because it deals solely with defense expenditures as a percentage of GNP. It is unfair because Japan's military expenditures are small compared to its GNP due to the demilitarization imposed on it after World War II. The same is true of Germany. The U.S. should look upon its six percent contribution as money well spent in the national defense. If six percent is too high, the Senate should reduce it rather than expect its allies to take up the slack. The best solution to the problem, opponents asserted, is the amendment already passed by the Senate by a vote of 96-1 stating the sense of the Congress that the U.S. would welcome a Japanese initiative to assume a politically acceptable and significant global security role consistent with its economic status.

S. 1174 (H.R. 1748): Vote Nos. 112-114, 116, 240, 243-257, 259, 260, 263-271, 273, 275-278, 280-287, 292, 294-300, 384.

RESULT: **AMENDMENT AGREED TO**

YEAS (90)

Democrats (49 or 96%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Bingaman
Boren
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Hollings
Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans (41 or 95%)

Armstrong
Bond
Chafee
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hatfield
Hecht
Heinz
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes
Kassebaum
Kasten
Lugar
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Packwood
Pressler
Quayle
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Specter
Stafford
Stevens
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Warner
Weicker
Wilson

NAYS (4)

Democrats (2 or 4%)

Bradley
Matsunaga

Republicans (2 or 5%)

Evans
McCain

NOT VOTING (6)

Democrats (3)

Biden—2
Gore—2
Simon—2

Republicans (3)

Boschwitz—2
Cochran—2
Wallop—2AY

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion	Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on: *For* (90)	*Against* (4)
Democrats— 96%	Democrats— 49 or 54%	Democrats— 2 or 50%
Republicans— 95%	Republicans— 41 or 46%	Republicans— 2 or 50%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 281

100th Congress
1st Session

September 29, 1987, 9:07 a.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-12958

DOD AUTHORIZATION
(PERSIAN GULF)

BILL NO.: S. 1174 (H.R. 1748)

AMENDMENT NO.: 753

TITLE: "National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Years 1988 and 1989"

SUBJECT: **Dole, et al., amendment which states the sense of the Senate that U.S. Armed Forces members who participated in the September 21-22 operation directed at the Iranian mine-laying ship acted in the finest traditions of the Armed Forces and displayed exemplary professionalism, skill, and dedication, and are to be commended.** (See also Vote No. 270 and 341.)

NOTE: Proponents stated that adoption of this noncontroversial amendment would send a much-needed message to Iran that the United States will not stand idle, but will react swiftly and effectively to any attempts to instigate tension in the Persian Gulf and the surrounding region. Congress should recognize the greatest resource that America has: the skill, professionalism, and patriotism of the members of the U.S. armed forces. It is important that the men and women who are serving the U.S. in the Persian Gulf know that the Senate supports them.

S. 1174 (H.R. 1748): Vote Nos. 112-114, 116, 240, 243-257, 259, 260, 263-271, 273, 275-278, 280-287, 292, 294-300, 384.

RESULT: AMENDMENT AGREED TO

YEAS (96)

Democrats
(52 or 100%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Biden
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Hollings

Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans
(44 or 100%)

Armstrong
Bond
Boschwitz
Chafee
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Durenberger
Evans
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hatfield
Hecht
Heinz
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes
Kassebaum

Kasten
Lugar
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Packwood
Pressler
Quayle
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Specter
Stafford
Stevens
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Warner
Weicker
Wilson

NAYS (0)

Democrats
(0 or 0%)

Republicans
(0 or 0%)

NOT VOTING (4)

Democrats (2)

Gore—2
Simon—2

Republicans (2)

Domenici—2
Wallop—2AY

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 100%
Republicans— 100%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (96)
Democrats— 52 or 54%
Republicans— 44 or 46%

Against (0)
Democrats— 0 or 0%
Republicans— 0 or 0%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 282

100th Congress
1st Session

September 29, 1987, 9:19 a.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-12958

DOD AUTHORIZATION
(INF TREATY)

BILL NO.: S. 1174 (H.R. 1748)

AMENDMENT NO.: 763

TITLE: "National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Years 1988 and 1989"

SUBJECT: **Byrd-Nunn amendment which requires the Secretary of Defense to report to Congress, in both classified and unclassified form, regarding nuclear deterrence in Europe and the maintenance of NATO's flexible response strategy, in the event of an arms control agreement between the U.S. and the Soviet Union; requires that the report be submitted within 90 days of enactment of this bill or upon the President's submission of an Intermediate-range Nuclear Forces (INF) treaty to the Senate for ratification, whichever is earlier.**

NOTE: Proponents asserted that the Senate will require detailed information on the military implications of the INF treaty now under negotiation between the U.S. and the Soviet Union if it is to fulfill its responsibility of advice and consent. The Senate will need to consider how the military landscape of Europe will be changed by the treaty, whether it will result in an imbalance of conventional forces, and whether the remaining nuclear forces will be sufficient to preserve NATO's strategy of deterrence. Some pointed out that the amendment complements the previously-passed Quayle amendment, which also asks for specific information on strategy, deterrence, and potential nuclear and conventional forces modernization. Together, they deliver a strong message to DOD and the U.S. allies that Congress is going to take the changes that may be brought about by the INF agreement seriously.

S. 1174 (H.R. 1748): Vote Nos. 112-114, 116, 240, 243-257, 259, 260, 263-271, 273, 275-278, 280-287, 292, 294-300, 384.

RESULT: AMENDMENT AGREED TO

YEAS (96)

Democrats (52 or 100%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Biden
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Hollings
Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans (44 or 100%)

Armstrong
Bond
Boschwitz
Chafee
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Evans
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hatfield
Hecht
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes
Kassebaum
Kasten
Lugar
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Packwood
Pressler
Quayle
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Specter
Stafford
Stevens
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Warner
Weicker
Wilson

NAYS (0)

Democrats (0 or 0%)

Republicans (0 or 0%)

NOT VOTING (4)

Democrats (2)

Gore—2
Simon—2

Republicans (2)

Heinz—2
Wallop—2AY

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 100%
Republicans— 100%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (96)
Democrats— 52 or 54%
Republicans— 44 or 46%

Against (0)
Democrats— 0 or 0%
Republicans— 0 or 0%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 283

100th Congress
1st Session

September 29, 1987, 2:01 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-12984

DOD AUTHORIZATION
(IRAN EMBARGO)

BILL NO.: S. 1174 (H.R. 1748) AMENDMENT NO.: 783

TITLE: "National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Years 1988 and 1989"

SUBJECT: **Dole-Byrd, et al., amendment which prohibits the importation of all products into the U.S. from Iran; permits the President to delay implementing the prohibition for up to 180 days if he submits a report to Congress explaining his reasons for doing so and specifying how the national interest would be jeopardized by its implementation; and provides that the prohibition shall go into effect following any such 180-day delay unless further extended by enactment of a joint resolution.** (See also Vote No. 301.)

NOTE: Proponents stated that it is ridiculous for the U.S. to continue importing 11 percent of its oil from a country that is mining the Persian Gulf in an attempt to sink U.S. ships. This amendment would send a strong message of support to the Administration and add credibility to U.S. efforts to have the U.N. aid in imposing tough sanctions against Iran. Economic pressures may bring about some modification of Iran's unacceptable behavior.

S. 1174 (H.R. 1748): Vote Nos. 112-114, 116, 240, 243-257, 259, 260, 263-271, 273, 275-278, 280-287, 292, 294-300, 384.

RESULT: AMENDMENT AGREED TO

YEAS (98)

Democrats (52 or 100%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Biden
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Hollings
Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans (46 or 100%)

Armstrong
Bond
Boschwitz
Chafee
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Evans
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hatfield
Hecht
Heinz
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes
Kassebaum
Kasten
Lugar
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Packwood
Pressler
Quayle
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Specter
Stafford
Stevens
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Warner
Weicker
Wilson

NAYS (0)

Democrats (0 or 0%)

Republicans (0 or 0%)

NOT VOTING (2)

Democrats (2)

Gore—2AY
Simon—2

Republicans (0)

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 100%
Republicans— 100%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (98)
Democrats— 52 or 53%
Republicans— 46 or 47%

Against (0)
Democrats— 0 or 0%
Republicans— 0 or 0%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 284

100th Congress
1st Session

September 29, 1987, 4:51 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-12995

DOD AUTHORIZATION
(DAVIS-BACON)

BILL NO.: S. 1174 (H.R. 1748) **AMENDMENT NO.:** 790

TITLE: "National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Years 1988 and 1989"

SUBJECT: **Dixon motion to table the Gramm amendment which limits the application of the Davis-Bacon Act to DOD construction projects by increasing the contract threshold from $2,000 to $250,000, above which the Secretary of Labor must make prevailing wage rate determinations.**

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment contended that the Davis-Bacon Act is "protectionist" legislation that has long outlived its usefulness. It should be reformed, if not repealed altogether, they argued, pointing out that there have been significant changes in economic conditions since the bill's passage in 1931, and that the artificially high wage it imposes prevents many small minority contractors from doing business with the government. Moreover, the law continues to exist simply because considerable political pressure is exerted by those it protects. Raising the Davis-Bacon threshold on DOD construction contracts would exempt about 70 percent of all contracts, resulting in savings of $150 million over five years. Reform of Davis-Bacon has been urged by the White House Conference on Small Business, as well as a number of associations.

Opponents of the amendment countered that Davis-Bacon is essential to assure that government contracts are not used to undermine the wage scale in the communities in which the contract is offered. While it is important to reduce the DOD budget, changing the Davis-Bacon threshold will not accomplish it. No one has suggested reducing the pay of soldiers to save money since it is recognized that doing so would lead to lower quality recruits and greater training costs; similarly, the same is true of defense construction projects, since awarding contracts on the basis of pay may lead to their being awarded to incompetent contractors. The projected savings is exaggerated, they argued, noting that when Davis-Bacon was suspended under the Nixon Administration, the projected savings never materialized. The House will soon take up a Davis-Bacon reform bill, and the Chairman of the Labor Committee indicated that when it comes to the Senate, it will be dealt with in a timely manner, which is more appropriate than using this bill as a vehicle.

S. 1174 (H.R. 1748): Vote Nos. 112-114, 116, 240, 243-257, 259, 260, 263-271, 273, 275-278, 280-287, 292, 294-300, 384.

RESULT: **MOTION TO TABLE AGREED TO**

YEAS (56)

Democrats
(46 or 88%)

Adams
Baucus
Biden
Bingaman
Bradley
Breaux
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
Dixon
Dodd
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Hollings
Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Proxmire
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans
(10 or 22%)

D'Amato
Danforth
Durenberger
Heinz
Murkowski
Packwood
Specter
Stafford
Stevens
Weicker

NAYS (41)

Democrats
(6 or 12%)

Bentsen
Boren
Bumpers
DeConcini
Exon
Pryor

Republicans
(35 or 78%)

Armstrong
Bond
Boschwitz
Chafee
Cochran
Cohen
Dole
Domenici
Evans
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hatfield
Hecht
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes
Kassebaum
Kasten
Lugar
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Nickles
Pressler
Quayle
Rudman
Simpson
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Warner
Wilson

NOT VOTING (3)

Democrats (2)

Gore—2AY
Simon—2

Republicans (1)

Roth—2

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 88%
Republicans— 78%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (56)
Democrats— 46 or 82%
Republicans— 10 or 18%

Against (41)
Democrats— 6 or 15%
Republicans— 35 or 85%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 285

100th Congress
1st Session

September 29, 1987, 5:53 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-12999

DOD AUTHORIZATION
(SERVICE CONTRACTING)

BILL NO.: S. 1174 (H.R. 1748)

AMENDMENT NO.: 791

TITLE: "National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Years 1988 and 1989"

SUBJECT: **Dixon motion to table the Gramm amendment which limits the application of the Service Contracting Act (SCA) to defense contracts by raising the threshold from $2,500 to $1 million (below which the prevailing wage rate determinations of the SCA shall not apply), restricts the SCA's application to DOD contracts wholly related to services, and limits its application for services to be performed on a vessel only if 20 percent of the contract is to be performed in the U.S.**

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment asserted that the Federal government should not be setting wage rates for companies providing services for DOD, and that doing so is contrary to the free enterprise system. The SCA sets wages that are three times the minimum wage and approximately ten precent above the pay the same worker would receive in the private sector. It is unfair, they argued, to use taxpayers' money to maintain these higher wages, and the Act adds significant overhead to companies providing these services. Raising the threshold would save more than $300 million in the DOD budget without eliminating a single job.

Opponents of the amendment pointed out that the purpose of the SCA is to establish labor standards for employees engaged in government service contracts and to maintain wages at prevailing community rates. The 700,000 employees covered by the Act are among the poorest and most politically vulnerable in the Nation's work force. They are mostly women and minorities with minimal technical skills and literacy. It is inappropriate to try to realize savings in the defense budget by penalizing this group of working people, particularly since significant waste exists in such major weapons systems as the MX and the B-1 bomber.

S. 1174 (H.R. 1748): Vote Nos. 112-114, 116, 240, 243-257, 259, 260, 263-271, 273, 275-278, 280-287, 292, 294-300, 384.

RESULT: MOTION TO TABLE AGREED TO

YEAS (67)			NAYS (30)			NOT VOTING (3)	
Democrats (52 or 100%)		Republicans (15 or 33%)	Democrats (0 or 0%)	Republicans (30 or 67%)		Democrats (2)	Republicans (1)
Adams	Inouye	Chafee		Armstrong	Lugar	Gore—2AY	Roth—2
Baucus	Johnston	D'Amato		Bond	McCain	Simon—2	
Bentsen	Kennedy	Danforth		Boschwitz	McClure		
Biden	Kerry	Domenici		Cochran	McConnell		
Bingaman	Lautenberg	Durenberger		Cohen	Murkowski		
Boren	Leahy	Evans		Dole	Nickles		
Bradley	Levin	Hatfield		Garn	Pressler		
Breaux	Matsunaga	Heinz		Gramm	Quayle		
Bumpers	Melcher	Kasten		Grassley	Rudman		
Burdick	Metzenbaum	Packwood		Hatch	Simpson		
Byrd	Mikulski	Specter		Hecht	Symms		
Chiles	Mitchell	Stafford		Helms	Thurmond		
Conrad	Moynihan	Stevens		Humphrey	Trible		
Cranston	Nunn	Weicker		Karnes	Wallop		
Daschle	Pell	Wilson		Kassebaum	Warner		
DeConcini	Proxmire						
Dixon	Pryor						
Dodd	Reid						
Exon	Riegle						
Ford	Rockefeller						
Fowler	Sanford						
Glenn	Sarbanes						
Graham	Sasser						
Harkin	Shelby						
Heflin	Stennis						
Hollings	Wirth						

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:
1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:
AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 100%
Republicans— 67%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (67)
Democrats— 52 or 78%
Republicans— 15 or 22%

Against (30)
Democrats— 0 or 0%
Republicans— 30 or 100%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 286

100th Congress
1st Session

September 29, 1987, 8:12 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-13038

DOD AUTHORIZATION
(STATE DEPARTMENT)

BILL NO.: S.1174 (H.R. 1748)

AMENDMENT NO.: 784

TITLE: "National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Years 1988 and 1989"

SUBJECT: **Helms-Dixon amendment which states congressional findings that the Department of State on September 15, 1987, declared itself to be a temporary foreign diplomatic mission (for the duration of the visit of the Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze) for the purpose of denying free speech to American citizens who planned to protest the tyranny of the Soviet regime; and prohibits the Department from declaring itself to be a foreign diplomatic mission.**

NOTE: Proponents noted that the State Department had used a provision of the Foreign Missions Act to block peaceful demonstrations at the State Department during the visit of the Soviet Foreign Minister. This action occurred 30 minutes before a group, which included a number of Congressmen, planned to protest the Soviet Union's human rights abuses by demonstrating in front of the State Department building. By declaring it a foreign mission, these Americans were prevented from demonstrating and denied their first amendment rights. This State Department action, which is Orwellian and bizarre, shows an arrogance and disregard for the basic rights of Americans.
Opponents made no statements..

S. 1174 (H.R. 1748): Vote Nos. 112-114, 116, 240, 243-257, 259, 260, 263-271, 273, 275-278, 280-287, 292, 294-300, 384.

RESULT: AMENDMENT AGREED TO

YEAS (90)

Democrats (45 or 88%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Biden
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Graham
Heflin
Inouye
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans (45 or 98%)

Armstrong
Bond
Boschwitz
Chafee
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Evans
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hecht
Heinz
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes
Kassebaum
Kasten
Lugar
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Packwood
Pressler
Quayle
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Specter
Stafford
Stevens
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Warner
Weicker
Wilson

NAYS (7)

Democrats (6 or 12%)

Cranston
Hollings
Johnston
Kennedy
Metzenbaum
Reid

Republicans (1 or 2%)

Hatfield

NOT VOTING (3)

Democrats (3)

Gore—[2]
Harkin—[2]
Simon—[2]

Republicans (0)

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 88%
Republicans— 98%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (90)
Democrats— 45 or 50%
Republicans— 45 or 50%

Against (7)
Democrats— 6 or 86%
Republicans— 1 or 14%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 287

100th Congress
1st Session

September 29, 1987, 8:34 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-13038

DOD AUTHORIZATION
(AIDS)

BILL NO.: S. 1174 (H.R. 1748)

AMENDMENT NO.: 786

TITLE: "National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Years 1988 and 1989"

SUBJECT: **Dixon motion to table the Wilson-Cranston amendment which requires that: the Secretary of the Army lease to the County of San Francisco, at no cost, property on the Presidio Army Base currently occupied by the Defense Language School; the county use the property solely for the treatment of persons with AIDS or AIDS-related complex; the Secretary determine and report to the Comptroller General, within 90 days of enactment, the most economically feasible manner of accomplishing the property transfer; and the transfer be made as soon as praticable after the Comptroller General reports to Congress.** (Subsequently, the amendment was agreed to by voice vote.)

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment stated that there is an immense need for a facility to accommodate 300-500 beds for subacute AIDS patients. The additional space provided by the Presidio Public Health Hospital, now occupied by the Defense Language Institute, would greatly assist in dealing with AIDS victims. Locating the Defense Language School branch in the hospital was intended to be a stopgap measure, with the school to be relocated in Monterey or another location in the future. Teaching foreign language skills to armed forces personnel is important, but trying to stay ahead of the AIDS crisis is much more imperative.

Opponents of the amendment noted that DOD has stated that any change in location of the languge school at this time would cause serious dispruption to the language training mission. The Senate recently defeated a $200 million transfer to HHS for DOD medical research, and this amendment is a backdoor attempt to do something similar. Since Medicare would pay only 50 percent of patient costs and the City of San Francisco would pay only 15 percent, the remaining 35 percent would have to come from the Federal government.

S. 1174 (H.R. 1748): Vote Nos. 112-114, 116, 240, 243-257, 259, 260, 263-271, 273, 275-278, 280-287, 292, 294-300, 384.

RESULT: **MOTION TO TABLE FAILED**

YEAS (23)

Democrats (23 or 44%)

Baucus
Bentsen
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Chiles
Conrad
Daschle
Dixon
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Graham
Harkin
Hollings
Johnston
Levin
Nunn
Pell
Pryor
Sasser
Shelby

Republicans (0 or 0%)

NAYS (75)

Democrats (29 or 56%)

Adams
Biden
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Byrd
Cranston
DeConcini
Dodd
Heflin
Inouye
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Proxmire
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans (46 or 100%)

Armstrong
Bond
Boschwitz
Chafee
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Evans
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hatfield
Hecht
Heinz
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes
Kassebaum
Kasten
Lugar
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Packwood
Pressler
Quayle
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Specter
Stafford
Stevens
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Warner
Weicker
Wilson

NOT VOTING (2)

Democrats (2)

Gore—2
Simon—2

Republicans (0)

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 56%
Republicans— 100%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (23)
Democrats— 23 or 100%
Republicans— 0 or 0%

Against (75)
Democrats— 29 or 39%
Republicans— 46 or 61%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 288

100th Congress
1st Session

September 30, 1987, 9:07 a.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-13139

INTERIOR DEPARTMENT APPROPRIATIONS, 1988

BILL NO.: H.R. 2712

SUBJECT: **Passage of the bill which appropriates a total of $10,019,754,000 in new budget authority for the Department of the Interior and related agencies in FY 1988.**

NOTE: Compromise provisions of the bill were contained in H.J. Res. 395, the Continuing Resolution, which became Public Law 100-202, approved December 22, 1987.

H.R. 2712: Vote No. 288.

RESULT: **BILL PASSED**

YEAS (†92)

Democrats (50 or 98%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Biden
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Hollings
Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans (†42 or 93%)

Armstrong
Bond
Boschwitz
Chafee
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
†Domenici
Durenberger
Evans
Garn
Grassley
Hatch
Hatfield
Hecht
Heinz
Humphrey
Karnes
Kassebaum
Kasten
Lugar
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Packwood
Pressler
Quayle
Rudman
Specter
Stafford
Stevens
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Warner
Weicker
Wilson

NAYS (†4)

Democrats (1 or 2%)

Proxmire

Republicans (†3 or 7%)

Gramm
Helms
Roth

NOT VOTING (4)

Democrats (3)

Dodd—2
Gore—2AY
Simon—2

Republicans (1)

Simpson—2

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

† Perm. Rec. Correction, S-13139, 9/30/87

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 98%
Republicans— 93%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (92)
Democrats— 50 or 54%
Republicans— 42 or 46%

Against (4)
Democrats— 1 or 25%
Republicans— 3 or 75%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

MAJOR PROVISIONS

Appropriates a total of $10,019,754,000 in new budget authority for the Department of the Interior and related agencies for FY 1988.

Contains $694.9 million for the Bureau of Land Management (BLM); $444.4 million for the Fish and Wildlife Service; $871.7 million for the National Park Service; $449.9 million for the Geological Survey; $171.3 million for the Minerals Management Service; $158.4 million for the Bureau of Mines; $311.1 million for the Office of Surface Mining Reclamation and Enforcement; $1.1 billion for the Bureau of Indian Affairs; $1.7 billion for the Forest Service; $2.2 billion for the Department of Energy (which includes $350 million for the Clean Coal Technology Program, $291.4 million for the fossil energy research program, $159.7 million for the Naval Petroleum and Oil Shale Reserves; $336.8 million for energy conservation activities, $164.2 million for Strategic Petroleum Reserve (SPR) construction, and $806.9 million for SPR petroleum acquisition and transportation); $1 billion for Indian health services; $66.3 million for Indian education; $165.96 million for the National Endowment of the Arts; and $139.3 million for the National Endowment of the Humanities.

Provides an SPR fill rate of 75,000 barrels per day through the first four months of FY 1988 and thereafter 100,000 barrels of oil per day to provide a total inventory of 568 million barrels of crude oil in the Federal reserve by the end of FY 1988.

Continues the prohibition on the export of timber harvested on National Forest Service lands; prohibits the use of funds in this bill to produce literature or otherwise promote public support for a legislative proposal on which legislative action is incomplete; continues the prohibition on the use of funds to process or issue leases for coal, oil, gas, oil shale, or geothermal resources on wilderness lands and Forest Service RARE II further planning and BLM wilderness study areas.

Budget Authority Considered

1987 Appropriations	$8,441,492,000
1988 Budget Estimate	8,632,818,000
Approved by House	9,441,834,000
Approved by Senate	10,019,754,000
Enacted	9,287,523,000

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 289

100th Congress
1st Session

September 30, 1987, 11:41 a.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-13157

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA APPROPRIATIONS, 1988
(ABORTION)

BILL NO.: H.R. 2713 **AMENDMENT NO.:** 811

TITLE: "District of Columbia Appropriations Act, 1988"

SUBJECT: **Harkin motion to table the Nickles amendment which prohibits the use of Federal and District of Columbia funds to perform abortions except where the life of the mother would be endangered if the fetus were carried to term.** (The Committee-reported language, which the Nickles amendment would replace, retains current law which prohibits the use of Federal funds—not D.C. funds—to perform abortions except where the life of the mother would be endangered if the fetus were carried to term or in cases of rape, incest, or ectopic pregnancy.)

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment were critical of the fact that the District of Columbia has one of the highest abortion rates in the country and noted that significant numbers of these abortions are subsidized with public funds. Since the Constitution gives Congress the power to control spending in the District and "exercise exclusive legislation in all cases," some felt that the Hyde language should be included in the bill. They dismissed the distinction between Federal and District funds as a "bookkeeping" convenience that had no bearing on congressional powers in the District.

Opponents of the amendment countered that Congress granted the District of Columbia home rule to provide the city with the authority to govern itself. Consequently, Congress should not dictate how the District spends the funds its raises through taxes in providing medical services for the poor. The arguments presented against abortion are self-serving, some concluded, since the Senate easily could fund a national program to provide pre-natal and post-natal care assistance for women, infants and children, adoption services, and help for pregnant teenagers—all of which would help reduce the Nation's abortion rate.

H.R. 2713: Vote Nos. 289-291.

RESULT: **MOTION TO TABLE AGREED TO**

YEAS (60)

Democrats (44 or 83%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Biden
Bingaman
Bradley
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Fowler
Glenn
Gore
Graham
Harkin
Hollings
Inouye
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Pryor
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Simon
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans (16 or 35%)

Chafee
Cochran
Cohen
Evans
Heinz
Kassebaum
Packwood
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Specter
Stafford
Stevens
Warner
Weicker
Wilson

NAYS (39)

Democrats (9 or 17%)

Boren
Breaux
DeConcini
Ford
Heflin
Johnston
Melcher
Proxmire
Reid

Republicans (30 or 65%)

Armstrong
Bond
Boschwitz
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hatfield
Hecht
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes
Kasten
Lugar
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Pressler
Quayle
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop

NOT VOTING (1)

Democrats (1) **Republicans (0)**

Matsunaga—2

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 83%
Republicans— 65%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (60)
Democrats— 44 or 73%
Republicans— 16 or 27%

Against (39)
Democrats— 9 or 23%
Republicans— 30 or 77%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 290

100th Congress
1st Session

September 30, 1987, 1:32 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-13175

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA APPROPRIATIONS, 1988
(AIDS)

BILL NO.: H.R. 2713 — AMENDMENT NO.: 813

TITLE: "District of Columbia Appropriations Act, 1988"

SUBJECT: **Harkin motion to table the Helms amendment which prohibits the obligation or expenditure of funds for the Federal payment to the District of Columbia after December 31, 1987, if the D.C. City Council has not by that date repealed D.C. Law 6-170, which prohibits insurance companies from requiring applicants to test for AIDS, using any test to deny, amend, cancel or refuse to renew coverage, or raising premiums for five years for those who test positive for any AIDS-related agent.** (Subsequently, the amendment was agreed to by voice vote.)

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment argued that the D.C. City Council should not be permitted to give special preference to one group of people at the expense of everyone else by prohibiting insurance companies from using AIDS testing in determining whether to sell insurance to an individual. As a result of this law, a significant number of insurance companies have stopped selling insurance in the District, and there is now an insurance crisis in the city, they claimed. Insurance companies should be allowed to assess an applicant's risk for developing AIDS just as they do with respect to other diseases. The Senate passed a similar amendment twice in the 99th Congress.

Opponents of the amendment countered that D.C. Law 6-170 does not require the sale of insurance to AIDS victims. Instead, it prevents insurance companies from raising everyone's rates to compensate for an area that has a higher incidence of AIDS. The law allows the use of any test that is part of a doctor's diagnosis of AIDS under the guidelines of the Federal Center for Disease Control in determining whether to sell a policy to an individual. Moreover, in an effort to prevent fraud, the law provides a three-year contestability provision against any claim arising from AIDS, a length of time that effectively prevents AIDS victims from attempting to buy insurance because the majority of AIDS victims do not live more than three years. As a result, they noted, even legitimate claims by AIDS victims are likely to be contested. The law probably will lead to a decline in AIDS because it will help in education efforts by removing disincentives to seek voluntary testing and counseling. Concern also was raised that this amendment intrudes too far into the authority of the District government and sets a dangerous precedent for the Senate to move closer to regulating the insurance industry. If pressure should be brought on the D.C. City Council to change the law, it should be brought by the residents of D.C. and the insurance companies, not the Senate.

H.R. 2713: Vote Nos. 289-291.

RESULT: **MOTION TO TABLE FAILED**

YEAS (44)

Democrats (34 or 64%)

Adams
Biden
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Conrad
Cranston
Fowler
Glenn
Gore
Graham
Harkin
Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Pell
Proxmire
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sarbanes
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans (10 or 22%)

Boschwitz
Chafee
Cohen
Durenberger
Evans
Heinz
Packwood
Specter
Stafford
Weicker

NAYS (55)

Democrats (19 or 36%)

Baucus
Bentsen
Bingaman
Boren
Byrd
Chiles
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Heflin
Hollings
Nunn
Pryor
Sanford
Sasser
Shelby

Republicans (36 or 78%)

Armstrong
Bond
Cochran
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hatfield
Hecht
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes
Kassebaum
Kasten
Lugar
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Pressler
Quayle
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Stevens
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Warner
Wilson

NOT VOTING (1)

Democrats (1)

Simon—2

Republicans (0)

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 64%
Republicans— 78%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (44)
Democrats— 34 or 77%
Republicans— 10 or 23%

Against (55)
Democrats— 19 or 35%
Republicans— 36 or 65%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 291

100th Congress
1st Session

September 30, 1987, 1:58 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-13176

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA APPROPRIATIONS, 1988

BILL NO.: H.R. 2713

TITLE: "District of Columbia Appropriations Act, 1988"

SUBJECT: **Passage of the bill which appropriates $564,618,000 in Federal funds and approves $2,627,742,000 in District of Columbia funds making a combined total of $3,192,360,000 available for the District of Columbia in FY 1988.**

NOTE: Compromise provisions of the bill were contained in H.J. Res. 395, the Continuing Resolution, which became Public Law 100-202, approved December 22, 1987.

H.R. 2713: Vote Nos. 289-291.

RESULT: **BILL PASSED**

YEAS (76)

Democrats (45 or 85%)

Adams
Bentsen
Biden
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Gore
Graham
Harkin
Hollings
Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Stennis

Republicans (31 or 67%)

Bond
Boschwitz
Chafee
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Evans
Grassley
Hatfield
Hecht
Heinz
Kassebaum
Lugar
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Packwood
Pressler
Quayle
Rudman
Simpson
Specter
Stafford
Stevens
Trible
Warner
Weicker

NAYS (23)

Democrats (8 or 15%)

Baucus
Breaux
Daschle
DeConcini
Heflin
Proxmire
Shelby
Wirth

Republicans (15 or 33%)

Armstrong
Garn
Gramm
Hatch
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes
Kasten
McCain
McClure
Roth
Symms
Thurmond
Wallop
Wilson

NOT VOTING (1)

Democrats (1)

Simon—2

Republicans (0)

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 85%
Republicans— 67%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (76)
Democrats— 45 or 59%
Republicans— 31 or 41%

Against (23)
Democrats— 8 or 35%
Republicans— 15 or 65%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

MAJOR PROVISIONS

Appropriates $564,618,000 in Federal funds and approves $2,627,742,000 in District of Columbia funds for FY 1988 making a total of $3,192,360,000 available for the operations and activities of the District.

Includes within Federal funds, $434.5 million as the Federal payment to the District, $48 million as payment in lieu of reimbursement for water and sewer services for Federal facilities, and $52.1 million as the Federal contribution to various retirement systems.

Restates current language requiring the obligation and expenditure of all funds included for the police department and for repayment of the general fund deficit and prohibits any effort to reprogram or redirect these funds for other purposes.

Requires an annual plan by quarter and project for any capital outlay borrowing.

Restates the prohibition on the use of Federal funds to perform abortions except in cases of rape or incest, or where the life of the mother is endangered and includes language allowing Federal funds to be used for medical procedures necessary to terminate ectopic pregnancies.

Prohibits the use of Federal funds appropriated for the District after December 31, 1987, if the D.C. City Council has not repealed D.C. Law 6-170 which prohibits insurance companies from (1) requiring applicants to test for AIDS, (2) using any test to deny, amend, cancel, or refuse to renew insurance coverage, and (3) raising premiums for individuals who test positive for any AIDS-related agent.

Budget Authority Considered

	Federal Funds	D.C. Funds
1987 Appropriations	$560,380,000	$3,060,407,000
1988 Budget Estimate	507,070,000	3,070,183,000
Approved by House	555,118,000	3,070,183,000
Approved by Senate	564,618,000	2,627,742,000
Enacted	550,000,000	

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 292

100th Congress
1st Session

September 30, 1987, 5:01 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-13202

DOD AUTHORIZATION
(WAR POWERS)

BILL NO.: S. 1174 (H.R. 1748) AMENDMENT NO.: 732

TITLE: "National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Years 1988 and 1989"

SUBJECT: **Byrd motion to table the Byrd-Nunn, et. al., modified perfecting amendment (to the Weicker-Hatfield amendment No. 712) which states that Congress determines that the circumstances in the Persian Gulf and Gulf of Oman meet the conditions established in Section 4(a)(1) of the War Powers Resolution; requires the President within 30 days of enactment to submit a report to Congress, in both classified and unclassified forms, providing a complete review of the policy of escorting reflagged vessels in the Persian Gulf including the duration, objectives, and costs of the operation; and requires the President within 60 days after submission of the report or 90 days after enactment, whichever is earlier, to terminate the registration of reregistered vessels under U.S. law and the use of U.S. Armed Forces to escort these vessels in the Persian Gulf unless Congress has enacted specific authorization by joint resolution under expedited procedures.** (On October 1, the Weicker-Hatfield amendment was withdrawn, taking with it the Byrd-Nunn, et al., amendment thereto. See also Vote Nos. 296, 317, and 338-347.)

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment emphasized that it aims at the reflagging and escort policy which has exacerbated the increased tension in the Gulf and resulted in the buildup of naval forces there. It would not require the withdrawal of any U.S. forces. In fact, it would give U.S. naval vessels greater flexibility to execute a greater range of options. This amendment calls on the President to report to Congress within 30 days—not 48 hours as the War Powers Resolution requires. If Congress has not authorized reflagging and escorting by the end of 60 days, then that policy must end. The elected

(OVER)

S. 1174 (H.R. 1748): Vote Nos. 112-114, 116, 240, 243-257, 259, 260, 263-271, 273, 275-278, 280-287, 292, 294-300, 384.

RESULT: **MOTION TO TABLE FAILED**

YEAS (1)

Democrats (1 or 2%)

Boren

Republicans (0 or 0%)

NAYS (99)

Democrats (53 or 98%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Biden
Bingaman
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Gore
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Hollings
Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Simon
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans (46 or 100%)

Armstrong
Bond
Boschwitz
Chafee
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Evans
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hatfield
Hecht
Heinz
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes
Kassebaum
Kasten
Lugar
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Packwood
Pressler
Quayle
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Specter
Stafford
Stevens
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Warner
Weicker
Wilson

NOT VOTING (0)

Democrats (0) **Republicans (0)**

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion	**Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on**	
	For (1)	*Against* (99)
Democrats— 98%	Democrats— 1 or 100%	Democrats— 53 or 54%
Republicans— 100%	Republicans— 0 or 0%	Republicans— 46 or 46%

representatives of the American public have the right to information concerning the Administration's policy in order to participate in a decision that commits American men and women to risk their lives. Some argued that the War Powers Resolution was the law of the land, and therefore, had to be obeyed. The President, acting alone, should not be permitted to get the U.S. into a full-fledged war. Such a decision must have the support of the American people as expressed by their elected representatives. Thirty-seven Americans have already lost their lives, and military personnel in the area number over 20,000 and receive hazardous duty pay. The number of ships needed has escalated from four to forty. The Minority Leader urged members to vote against tabling as a tactical move.

The only opponent voting to table the amendment did so because he felt it was not in the national interest to set a period during which decisions are suspended in the eyes of the world. While feeling there is a need for greater bipartisan cooperation and consultation, he favored consideration of meaningful and major revisions of the War Powers Act itself.

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 293

100th Congress
1st Session

September 30, 1987, 6:37 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-13209

LEGISLATIVE APPROPRIATIONS, 1988

BILL NO.: H.R. 2714

TITLE: "Legislative Branch Appropriations Act, 1988"

SUBJECT: **Passage of the bill which appropriates $1,802,954,300 for the legislative branch in FY 1988 which includes $1.235 billion in Title I for the Senate, House, and joint items, as well as the Office of Technology Assessment, CBO, CRS, and congressional printing done by GPO and a total of $568.0 million in Title II for other agencies which includes the Botanic Garden, Library of Congress, GAO, and the Copyright Royalty Tribunal; requires an affirmative vote of Congress before any pay raise for Members of Congress could take effect; transfers maintenance of Library of Congress grounds from the Architect of the Capitol to the Librarian of Congress; and contains several administrative provisions of a technical or housekeeping nature relating to the Senate and House of Representatives.**

Budget Authority Considered

1987 Appropriations	**$1,722,401,914**
1988 Budget Estimate	**1,978,041,800**
Approved by House	**1,429,657,500**
Approved by Senate	**1,802,954,300**
Enacted	**1,808,819,500**

NOTE: Compromise provisions of the bill were contained in H.J. Res. 395, the Continuing Resolution, which became Public Law 100-202, approved December 22, 1987.

H.R. 2714: Vote No. 293.

RESULT: **BILL PASSED**

YEAS (79)

Democrats (44 or 85%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Biden
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Cranston
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Glenn
Gore
Graham
Harkin
Hollings
Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser

Republicans (35 or 76%)

Bond
Boschwitz
Chafee
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Evans
Grassley
Hatfield
Heinz
Karnes
Kassebaum
Lugar
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Packwood
Quayle
Rudman
Simpson
Specter
Stafford
Stevens
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Warner
Weicker

NAYS (19)

Democrats (8 or 15%)

Conrad
Daschle
DeConcini
Fowler
Heflin
Proxmire
Shelby
Wirth

Republicans (11 or 24%)

Armstrong
Garn
Gramm
Hatch
Hecht
Helms
Humphrey
Kasten
Pressler
Roth
Wilson

NOT VOTING (2)

Democrats (2)

Simon—2
Stennis—2

Republicans (0)

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 85%
Republicans— 76%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (79)
Democrats— 44 or 56%
Republicans— 35 or 44%

Against (19)
Democrats— 8 or 42%
Republicans— 11 or 58%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 294

100th Congress
1st Session

October 1, 1987, 9:00 a.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-13272

DOD AUTHORIZATION

BILL NO.: S. 1174 (H.R. 1748)

TITLE: "National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Years 1988 and 1989"

SUBJECT: **Byrd motion to instruct the Sergeant at Arms to request the attendance of absent Senators.** (See also Vote Nos. 113, 243, and 255.)

S. 1174 (H.R. 1748): Vote Nos. 112-114, 116, 240, 243-257, 259, 260, 263-271, 273, 275-278, 280-287, 292, 294-300, 384.

RESULT: **MOTION FOR ATTENDANCE AGREED TO**

YEAS (89)

Democrats (51 or 98%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Biden
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Hollings
Inouye
Johnston
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Nunn
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Simon
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans (38 or 83%)

Armstrong
Boschwitz
Chafee
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hatfield
Hecht
Heinz
Humphrey
Karnes
Kassebaum
Kasten
Lugar
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Packwood
Pressler
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Specter
Stafford
Stevens
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Warner
Wilson

NAYS (9)

Democrats (1 or 2%)

Moynihan

Republicans (8 or 17%)

Bond
Evans
Helms
Murkowski
Nickles
Quayle
Wallop
Weicker

NOT VOTING (2)

Democrats (2)

Gore—2
Kennedy—2

Republicans (0)

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 98%
Republicans— 83%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (89)
Democrats— 51 or 57%
Republicans— 38 or 43%

Against (9)
Democrats— 1 or 11%
Republicans— 8 or 89%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 295

100th Congress
1st Session

October 1, 1987, 3:12 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-13319

DOD AUTHORIZATION
(ARMS LIMIT)

BILL NO.: S. 1174 (H.R. 1748)

AMENDMENT NO.: 825

TITLE: "National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Years 1988 and 1989"

SUBJECT: **Warner motion to table the Bumpers-Leahy-Chafee, et al., amendment which prohibits the expenditure before September 30, 1988, of funds appropriated pursuant to this or any other act to overhaul, maintain, operate, or deploy more than an aggregate total of 1,320 MIRVed launchers (ICBM's, SLBM's, and bombers with cruise missiles of which no more than 820 can be ICBM's and no more than 1,200 can be ICBM's and SLBM's); lifts the spending moratorium if, at any time more than 29 days after the date of enactment, the President certifies to Congress that the Soviet Union deploys strategic forces greater than the levels permitted above, or a new agreement between the U.S. and the Soviet Union relating to the deployment of strategic offensive weapons becomes effective.** (See also Vote No. 299.)

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment questioned the policy of increasing the size of U.S. strategic offensive nuclear forces at the same time the U.S. is negotiating to reach a 50 percent reduction in these weapons. Since last December when the President announced that the U.S. would no longer abide by the sublimits in SALT II, the U.S. has been adding 400 warheads every 12 weeks. They questioned whether the weapons on which the U.S. is spending valuable resources will be what is needed after the arms control agreement is reached. The limits set by this amendment would not apply if the Soviets exceeded the interim restraints, they emphasized. The amendment is not a back door means of ratifying the SALT II Treaty. It simply uses the sublimits of 1,320 MIRVed launchers as a cap on nuclear weapons. This amendment is not anti-SDI, they maintained, since without the limits the Soviet Union will have more warheads and, consequently, as every Pentagon military planner has stated, a greater capability to defeat SDI.

(OVER)

S. 1174 (H.R. 1748): Vote Nos. 112-114, 116, 240, 243-257, 259, 260, 263-271, 273, 275-278, 280-287, 292, 294-300, 384.

RESULT: **MOTION TO TABLE FAILED**

YEAS (44)

Democrats (7 or 13%)

Chiles
DeConcini
Heflin
Hollings
Nunn
Shelby
Stennis

Republicans (37 or 82%)

Armstrong
Bond
Boschwitz
Cochran
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Evans
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hecht
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes
Kassebaum
Kasten
Lugar
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Packwood
Pressler
Quayle
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Stevens
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Warner

NAYS (55)

Democrats (47 or 87%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Biden
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Gore
Graham
Harkin
Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Simon
Wirth

Republicans (8 or 18%)

Chafee
Cohen
Durenberger
Hatfield
Heinz
Specter
Stafford
Weicker

NOT VOTING (1)

Democrats (0)

Republicans (1)

Wilson—2

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 87%
Republicans— 82%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (44)
Democrats— 7 or 16%
Republicans— 37 or 84%

Against (55)
Democrats— 47 or 85%
Republicans— 8 or 15%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

Opponents of the amendment insisted that establishing these limits would undermine the Geneva negotiations by hampering the President's flexibility to negotiate. Compliance with the SALT II sublimits will cost the U.S. more than the Soviets in terms of warheads. Observance of the Treaty has had a negative impact on developing and deploying long-range air-launched cruise missiles. This amendment leaves out the other important limit on strategic nuclear delivery vehicles, a limit the Soviets have violated. This amendment represents a leap to the past that is not to the benefit of the U.S. In addition, the Joint Chiefs of Staff have stated that regardless of these limits, the Soviet Union is not going to deploy more weapons because they already have enough to target the U.S., NATO, and China. This amendment also gives the House a role in the approval of treaties, which is an abdication of the Senate's constitutional responsibility to approve treaties by a two-thirds vote. This amendment mandates compliance with an expired agreement by simple majority vote. Others opposed the amendment on the basis that a better alternative would be available in six to eight months and stated that they would consider a call for compliance with the SALT II sublimits at that time if no treaty were imminent.

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 296

100th Congress
1st Session

October 1, 1987, 4:50 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-13326

DOD AUTHORIZATION
(CLOTURE—WAR POWERS)

BILL NO.: S. 1174 (H.R. 1748)

AMENDMENT NO.: 732

TITLE: "National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Years 1988 and 1989"

SUBJECT: **Byrd, et al., motion to close further debate on the Byrd-Nunn, et al., modified perfecting amendment (to the Weicker-Hatfield amendment No. 712) which states that Congress determines that the circumstances in the Persian Gulf and the Gulf of Oman meet the conditions established in Section 4(a)(1) of the War Powers Resolution; requires the President, within 30 days of enactment, to submit a report to Congress, in both classified and unclassified forms, providing a complete review of the policy of escorting reflagged vessels in the Persian Gulf including the duration, objectives, and costs of the operation; and requires the President, within 60 days after submission of the report or 90 days after enactment, whichever is earlier, to terminate the registration of reregistered vessels under U.S. law and the use of U.S. Armed Forces to escort these vessels in the Persian Gulf unless Congress has enacted specific authorization by joint resolution under expedited procedures.** (See also Vote Nos. 292, 317, and 338-347.)

NOTE: By unanimous consent, the Senate agreed that the vote on the cloture petition presented on September 30, 1987, would occur on October 1 instead of October 2, and that this vote would be followed immediately by the second cloture vote on the bill, regardless of the result of the first vote. The petition was signed by Senators Byrd, Exon, Bumpers, Harkin, Mitchell, Metzenbaum, Burdick, Lautenberg, Daschle, Sasser, Adams, Cranston, Levin, Bingaman, Conrad, and Ford.

Cloture was sought on the amendment in an effort to get it adopted before cloture was invoked on the bill because if cloture were invoked on the bill, the amendment would not be germane.

S. 1174 (H.R. 1748): Vote Nos. 112-114, 116, 240, 243-257, 259, 260, 263-271, 273, 275-278, 280-287, 292, 294-300, 384.

RESULT: **CLOTURE MOTION REJECTED, 3/5THS NOT HAVING VOTED IN THE AFFIRMATIVE**

YEAS (54)

Democrats (53 or 98%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Biden
Bingaman
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Gore
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Hollings
Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Simon
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans (1 or 2%)

Weicker

NAYS (45)

Democrats (1 or 2%)

Boren

Republicans (44 or 98%)

Armstrong
Bond
Boschwitz
Chafee
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Evans
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hatfield
Hecht
Heinz
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes
Kassebaum
Kasten
Lugar
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Packwood
Pressler
Quayle
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Specter
Stafford
Stevens
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Warner

NOT VOTING (1)

Democrats (0)

Republicans (1)

Wilson—2

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 98%
Republicans— 98%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (54)
Democrats— 53 or 98%
Republicans— 1 or 2%

Against (45)
Democrats— 1 or 2%
Republicans— 44 or 98%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 297

100th Congress
1st Session

October 1, 1987, 5:12 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-13327

DOD AUTHORIZATION
(CLOTURE)

BILL NO.: S. 1174 (H.R. 1748)

TITLE: "National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Years 1988 and 1989"

SUBJECT: **Dole, et al., motion to close further debate on the bill.**

NOTE: By unanimous consent, the Senate agreed that the vote on the cloture petition presented on September 30, 1987, would occur on October 1 instead of October 2, and that this vote would occur immediately after a cloture vote on the Byrd-Nunn, et al., amendment, regardless of the result of that vote. The petition was signed by Senators Dole, Wallop, Symms, Grassley, Garn, Quayle, Wilson, Thurmond, Stevens, Hecht, Cochran, Nickles, McCain, Evans, Trible, McClure, Helms, and Boschwitz.

If cloture had been invoked on the bill, the Byrd-Nunn, et al., amendment would not have been germane under Rule XXII.

S. 1174 (H.R. 1748): Vote Nos. 112-114, 116, 240, 243-257, 259, 260, 263-271, 273, 275-278, 280-287, 292, 294-300, 384.

RESULT: **CLOTURE MOTION REJECTED, 3/5THS NOT HAVING VOTED IN THE AFFIRMATIVE**

YEAS (41)

Democrats
(2 or 4%)

DeConcini
Pell

Republicans
(39 or 87%)

Armstrong
Bond
Boschwitz
Cochran
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Evans
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hecht
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes
Kassebaum
Kasten

Lugar
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Packwood
Pressler
Quayle
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Stafford
Stevens
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Warner

NAYS (58)

Democrats
(52 or 96%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Biden
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Gore
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Hollings

Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Simon
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans
(6 or 13%)

Chafee
Cohen
Hatfield
Heinz
Specter
Weicker

NOT VOTING (1)

Democrats (0)

Republicans (1)

Wilson—2

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 96%
Republicans— 87%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (41)
Democrats-- 2 or 5%
Republicans— 39 or 95%

Against (58)
Democrats— 52 or 90%
Republicans— 6 or 10%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C Byrd. Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 298

100th Congress
1st Session

October 2, 1987, 9:31 a.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-13415

DOD AUTHORIZATION
(ARMS LIMIT)

BILL NO.: S. 1174 (H.R. 1748)

AMENDMENT NO.: 839

TITLE: "National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Years 1988 and 1989"

SUBJECT: **Dole-Warner-Byrd amendment which provides that, notwithstanding any other provision of law, the U.S. shall not be obligated to abide by the provisions of the SALT II Treaty, in whole or in part, unless the Senate has amended the Treaty so as to give it legal force as if it were ratified; the Senate has given its advice and consent to the Treaty; the USSR has agreed to all amendments, reservations, and understandings upon which the Senate's advice and consent is conditioned; and each party has ratified the Treaty in accordance with its own constitutional processes.**

NOTE: Proponents noted that the amendment makes a very simple statement on the constitutional process required to give SALT II legal force. It, in fact, makes it absolutely clear that the Senate, in adopting the Bumpers amendment No. 825 (Vote No. 299), is not voting the SALT II Treaty into law, even if the numbers happen to be the same. Some indicated that it nullified the problem they had with voting for the amendment yesterday.

S. 1174 (H.R. 1748): Vote Nos. 112-114, 116, 240, 243-257, 259, 260, 263-271, 273, 275-278, 280-287, 292, 294-300, 384.

RESULT: AMENDMENT AGREED TO

YEAS (97)

Democrats (54 or 100%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Biden
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Gore
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Hollings
Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Simon
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans (43 or 100%)

Armstrong
Bond
Boschwitz
Chafee
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Evans
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hatfield
Hecht
Heinz
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes
Kasten
Lugar
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Packwood
Pressler
Quayle
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Specter
Stafford
Stevens
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Warner
Weicker

NAYS (0)

Democrats (0 or 0%)

Republicans (0 or 0%)

NOT VOTING (3)

Democrats (0)

Republicans (3)

Garn—2
Kassebaum—2
Wilson—2

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 100%
Republicans— 100%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (97)
Democrats— 54 or 56%
Republicans— 43 or 44%

Against (0)
Democrats— 0 or 0%
Republicans— 0 or 0%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 299

100th Congress
1st Session

October 2, 1987, 10:42 a.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-13420

DOD AUTHORIZATION
(ARMS LIMIT)

BILL NO.: S. 1174 (H.R. 1748) **AMENDMENT NO.:** 825

TITLE: "National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Years 1988 and 1989"

SUBJECT: **Bumpers-Leahy-Chafee, et al., amendment which prohibits the expenditure before September 30, 1988, of funds appropriated pursuant to this or any other act to overhaul, maintain, operate, or deploy more than an aggregate total of 1,320 MIRVed launchers (ICBM's, SLBM's, and bombers with cruise missiles of which no more than 820 can be ICBM's and no more than 1,200 can be ICBM's and SLBM's); lifts the spending moratorium if, at any time more than 29 days after the date of enactment, the President certifies to Congress that the Soviet Union deploys strategic forces greater than the levels permitted above, or a new agreement between the U.S. and the Soviet Union relating to the deployment of strategic offensive weapons becomes effective.** (See also Vote No. 295.)

NOTE: Proponents questioned the policy of increasing the size of U.S. strategic offensive nuclear forces while negotiating to reach a 50 percent reduction in these weapons. Since last December when the President announced that the U.S. would no longer abide by the sublimits in SALT II, the U.S. has been adding 400 warheads every 12 weeks. They questioned whether the weapons on which the U.S. is spending valuable resources will be what is needed after the arms control agreement is reached. The limits set by this amendment would not apply if the Soviets exceeded the interim restraints, they emphasized. The amendment is not a back door means of ratifying the SALT II Treaty. It simply uses the sublimits of 1,320 MIRVed launchers as a cap on nuclear weapons. This amendment is not anti-SDI, since, they maintained, without the limits the Soviet Union will have more warheads and, consequently, as every Pentagon military planner has stated, a greater capability to defeat SDI.

Opponents insisted that establishing these limits would undermine the Geneva negotiations by hampering the President's flexibility to negotiate. Compliance with the SALT II sublimits will cost the U.S. more than the Soviets in terms of warheads. Observance of the Treaty has had a negative impact on

(OVER)

S. 1174 (H.R. 1748): Vote Nos. 112-114, 116, 240, 243-257, 259, 260, 263-271, 273, 275-278, 280-287, 292, 294-300, 384.

RESULT: AMENDMENT AGREED TO

YEAS (57)

Democrats
(49 or 91%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Biden
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Gore
Graham
Harkin
Inouye
Johnston

Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Simon
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans
(8 or 18%)

Chafee
Cohen
Durenberger
Hatfield
Heinz
Specter
Stafford
Weicker

NAYS (41)

Democrats
(5 or 9%)

Chiles
DeConcini
Heflin
Hollings
Shelby

Republicans
(36 or 82%)

Armstrong
Bond
Boschwitz
Cochran
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Evans
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hecht
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes
Kassebaum
Kasten

Lugar
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Packwood
Pressler
Quayle
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Stevens
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Warner

NOT VOTING (2)

Democrats (0)

Republicans (2)

Garn—2
Wilson—2

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 91%
Republicans— 82%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (57)
Democrats— 49 or 86%
Republicans— 8 or 14%

Against (41)
Democrats— 5 or 12%
Republicans— 36 or 88%

developing and deploying long-range air-launched cruise missiles. This amendment leaves out the other important limit on strategic nuclear delivery vehicles, a limit the Soviets have violated. This amendment represents a leap to the past that is not to the benefit of the U.S. In addition, the Joint Chiefs of Staff have stated that regardless of these limits, the Soviet Union is not going to deploy more weapons because they already have enough to target the U.S., NATO, and China. This amendment also gives the House a role in the approval of treaties, which is an abdication of the Senate's constitutional responsibility to approve treaties by a two-thirds vote. This amendment mandates compliance with an expired agreement by simple majority vote. Others opposed the amendment on the basis that a better alternative would be available in six to eight months and stated that they would consider a call for compliance with the SALT II sublimits at that time if no treaty were imminent.

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 300

100th Congress
1st Session

October 2, 1987, 12:29 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-13439

DOD AUTHORIZATION

BILL NO.: H.R. 1748 (S. 1174)

TITLE: "National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Years 1988 and 1989"

SUBJECT: **Passage of the bill which authorizes a total of $224.5 billion in FY 1988 and $166.1 billion in 1989 for the military activities of the Department of Defense of which $81.26 billion in FY 1988 and $55.03 billion in 1989 is for procurement of aircraft, missiles, naval vessels, and weapons, including tracked combat vehicles, torpedoes, and related support equipment; $40.80 billion in FY 1988 and $17.90 billion in 1989 is for research, development, test, and evaluation; $84.39 billion in FY 1988 (plus such amounts as necessary to cover unbudgeted increases in fuel costs and those resulting from inflation, as well as pay, retirement, and other employee benefits authorized by law) is for operation and maintenance for the active and reserve forces; $8.97 billion in FY 1988 and $5.11 billion in 1989 is for military construction and family housing; $7.8 billion for FY 1988 is for Department of Energy operating expenses, capital equipment, and construction costs related to the national defense programs; and $134.8 million is for the civil defense preparedness program; prohibits expenditure of funds before FY 1988 to overhaul, maintain, operate, or deploy more than an aggregate total of 1,320 MIRVed launchers, unless, at any time more than 29 days after enactment, the President certifies to Congress that the Soviet Union deploys strategic forces greater than these levels, or a new agreement with the Soviets relating to the deployment of strategic offensive weapons becomes effective; continues funding for the SDI, ASAT, and the Stealth programs; prescribes military personnel levels and for the first time waives the ceiling on civilian end strengths for FY 1988 and 1989, but limits funds for civilian salaries to $35.1 billion FY 1988 and $35.4 billion in FY 1989; and provides a four percent pay increase for all military personnel effective January 1, 1988.**

H.R. 1748 (S. 1174): Vote Nos. 112-114, 116, 240, 243-257, 259, 260, 263-271, 273, 275-278, 280-287, 292, 294-300, 384.

RESULT: BILL PASSED

YEAS (56)			NAYS (42)			NOT VOTING (2)	
Democrats (52 or 96%)		Republicans (4 or 9%)	Democrats (2 or 4%)	Republicans (40 or 91%)		Democrats (0)	Republicans (2)
Adams	Inouye	Chafee	Hollings	Armstrong	Lugar		Garn—2
Baucus	Johnston	Cohen	Proxmire	Bond	McCain		Wilson—2AN
Bentsen	Kennedy	Heinz		Boschwitz	McClure		
Biden	Kerry	Stafford		Cochran	McConnell		
Bingaman	Lautenberg			D'Amato	Murkowski		
Boren	Leahy			Danforth	Nickles		
Bradley	Levin			Dole	Packwood		
Breaux	Matsunaga			Domenici	Pressler		
Bumpers	Melcher			Durenberger	Quayle		
Burdick	Metzenbaum			Evans	Roth		
Byrd	Mikulski			Gramm	Rudman		
Chiles	Mitchell			Grassley	Simpson		
Conrad	Moynihan			Hatch	Specter		
Cranston	Nunn			Hatfield	Stevens		
Daschle	Pell			Hecht	Symms		
DeConcini	Pryor			Helms	Thurmond		
Dixon	Reid			Humphrey	Trible		
Dodd	Riegle			Karnes	Wallop		
Exon	Rockefeller			Kassebaum	Warner		
Ford	Sanford			Kasten	Weicker		
Fowler	Sarbanes						
Glenn	Sasser						
Gore	Shelby						
Graham	Simon						
Harkin	Stennis						
Heflin	Wirth						

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:
1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:
AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion	Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on	
	For (56)	*Against* (42)
Democrats— 96%	Democrats— 52 or 93%	Democrats— 2 or 5%
Republicans— 91%	Republicans— 4 or 7%	Republicans— 40 or 95%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

MAJOR PROVISIONS—

MX/ICBM: Authorizes $1.2 billion to procure 21 MX missiles for operational testing, and provides $700 million for continued development of the small ICBM and $400 million for continued research on the proposed rail-garrison basing concept for the MX; expresses the sense of the Senate that authorization of R&D funds for the small ICBM and the rail mobile basing mode for the MX does not constitute a commitment or intent to procure and deploy either or both.

Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI): Authorizes $4.5 billion for SDI (a real growth level of 22.5 percent over FY 1987) of which $4.12 billion is for DOD and $380 million is for DOE; prohibits the award of R&D contracts in connection with the SDI program to foreign countries or firms, except for R&D which the Secretary of Defense certifies cannot be competently performed in the U.S., and any contract awarded to a foreign government or firm which agrees to fund a substantial portion of the total contract cost; requires human action as part of SDI C3 architecture; requires the President to submit a classified and unclassified report on the effect of no ABM Treaty limitations on the SDI program; consolidates reporting requirements relating to the SDI program; sets forth conditions for the authorization of the establishment of a Federally-funded R&D center to support the SDI program.

Prohibits, for the two-year duration of this bill, expenditure of funds to test or develop mobile/space-based ABM's (including ABM's using exotics) unless the President submits a report to Congress (which sets forth the specific tests that he proposed to undertake, mission and funding information, details about consultation with U.S. allies, and a legal analysis of the proposed actions) and Congress passes a joint resolution repealing this prohibition under expedited procedures.

Space Defense Systems—Anti-Satellite (ASAT): Authorizes $236.8 million for the space defense program; includes $46.6 million for the EMRLD (excimer, moderate power, Raman-shifted, laser device) program, and $206.4 million in RDT&E funding to continue development of the F-15 MHV portion of the program.

Chemical Weapons: Authorizes $5 million for BIGEYE bomb procurement to complete low rate initial production.

Advanced Cruise Missile/Stealth: Approves the full budget request (classified) for the advanced technology bomber (Stealth), and makes marginal reductions in the budget request (classified) for advanced Cruise missile procurement.

B-1B: Authorizes $375.7 million for R&D in connection with the B-1 bomber and imposes tighter oversight controls on corrective measures for the B-1B's defensive avionics system.

Nimitz-class Aircraft Carrier/Trident: Authorizes $644 million for advanced procurement of nuclear components for the first of two Nimitz-class nuclear powered aircraft carriers, and $797 million in FY 1989 for advance procurement; authorizes $2.2 billion for procurement and $1.1 billion in R&D for the Trident II missile program and provides $1.3 billion for the Trident submarine program; calls for a report by the Navy on the feasibility and desirability of developing a successor to the Trident II submarine as called for in the Scowcroft Commission report.

MIRVed Launcher Limitations: Prohibits expenditure of funds before FY 1988 to overhaul, maintain, operate, or deploy more than an aggregate total of 1,320 MIRVed launchers (ICBMs, SLBMs, and bombers with cruise missiles), unless, at any time more than 29 days after enactment, the President certifies to Congress that the Soviet Union deploys strategic forces greater than these levels, or a new agreement between the U.S. and the Soviet Union relating to the deployment of strategic offensive weapons becomes effective.

U.S.-Soviet Arms Reduction Negotiations/ABM Treaty Compliance: States Senate support for the President's efforts to negotiate equitable and verifiable arms reduction treaties with the Soviet Union; endorses the principle of mutuality and reciprocity in arms control negotiations with the Soviets and cautions that neither the Congress nor the President should take actions which are unilateral concessions to the Soviets; urges the President to insure that no provisions are agreed to that are harmful to the U.S. or its allies; and expresses the sense of the Congress that the Soviet Union is in violation of its legal obligation under the 1972 ABM Treaty.

SALT II: Provides, notwithstanding any other provision of law, that the U.S. shall not be obligated to abide by the provisions of the SALT II Treaty unless the Senate has amended the Treaty so as to give it legal force as if ratified; the Senate has given its advice and consent to the Treaty; the USSR has agreed to all amendments, reservations, and understandings upon which the Senate's advice and consent is conditioned; and each party has ratified the Treaty in accordance with its own constitutional processes.

Threshold Test Ban Treaty (TTBT) Reports: Directs the Secretary of Defense to submit a report, within 30 days of enactment, discussing the current official U.S. method of estimating the yield of Soviet underground nuclear tests and the results of applying that method to past U.S. assessments of Soviet compliance with the 1974 TTBT, and a report on competitive strategies to the Armed Services Committees, in classified and unclassified versions, by January 15, 1988.

Soviet Embassy: Requires the President to void the current embassy site and construction agreements between the U.S. and the Soviet Union and enter into negotiations for a new agreement under which the Soviet Union will move its new embassy to a site in the District of Columbia that is no more than 90 feet above mean sea level.

Equitable Defense Burden Negotiations: Expresses the sense of the Congress that the President should enter into negotiations with countries participating in mutual defense alliances with the U.S., especially member NATO nations and Japan, for an agreement on a more equitable distribution of the burden of financial support for the alliances.

NATO: Requires the Secretary of Defense to report on options available to NATO to ensure continued deterrence against war in Europe and continued NATO unity in light of the proposed Intermediate Range Nuclear Treaty, and to report on NATO's ability to maintain its strategy of deterrence through the 1990's.

United Nations: Prohibits obligation of 50 percent of the U.S. assessed contributions to the U.N., until the President certifies to Congress that significant progress has been made in eliminating the use of "secondment" by member states.

Persian Gulf: Directs the Secretary of Defense to develop contingency plans to deal with conditions created by significant disruptions in the production and transportation of crude oil from Persian Gulf nations.

Panama Military Assistance: Suspends shipments of military equipment and spare parts to Panama, and prohibits the importation into the U.S. of Panama sugars, syrups, or molasses, unless Panama has fulfilled several specified conditions, including the election of a nonmilitary transitional government and restoration of all constitutional guarantees.

Iranain Imports Ban: Prohibits the importation of all products into the U.S. from Iran; permits the President to delay the implementation of the prohibition for up to 180 days if he submits a report to Congress explaining his reasons for doing so and specifying how the national interest would be jeopardized by implementation; and provides that the prohibition would go into effect following this delay unless further extended by enactment of a joint resolution.

Pay Raise: Provides a four percent pay raise effective January 1, 1988, for all military personnel.

Religious Apparel: Permits members of the Armed Forces to wear an item of religious apparel while in uniform, if the item is worn as part of a religious observance of the member's faith and the respective Service Secretary determines that the item is neat and conservative and does not interfere with the performance of military duty.

Drug Testing: Authorizes a drug/alcohol dependency testing program prior to enlistment or reenlistment in the armed forces.

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 301

100th Congress
1st Session

October 6, 1987, 9:14 a.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-13504

IRANIAN IMPORT BAN

BILL NO.: S. 1748

SUBJECT: Passage of the bill which prohibits the importation of all products into the U.S. from Iran; permits the President to delay the implementation of the prohibition for up to 180 days if he submits a report to Congress explaining his reasons for doing so and specifying how the national interest would be jeopardized by the prohibition's implementation; and provides that the prohibition shall go into effect following any such 180 day delay unless further extended by enactment of a joint resolution. (See also Vote No. 283.)

S. 1748: Vote No. 301.

RESULT: **BILL PASSED**

YEAS (93)

Democrats (49 or 100%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Bingaman
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Hollings
Inouye
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans (44 or 100%)

Armstrong
Bond
Boschwitz
Chafee
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Evans
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hecht
Heinz
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes
Kassebaum
Kasten
Lugar
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Packwood
Pressler
Quayle
Rudman
Simpson
Specter
Stafford
Stevens
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Warner
Weicker
Wilson

NAYS (0)

Democrats (0 or 0%)

Republicans (0 or 0%)

NOT VOTING (7)

Democrats (5)

Biden—2
Boren—2
Gore—2
Johnston—2
Simon—2

Republicans (2)

Hatfield—2
Roth—2

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion	Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on	
	For (93)	*Against* (0)
Democrats— 100%	Democrats— 49 or 53%	Democrats— 0 or 0%
Republicans— 100%	Republicans— 44 or 47%	Republicans— 0 or 0%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 302

100th Congress
1st Session

October 6, 1987, 10:55 a.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-13521

STATE DEPARTMENT AUTHORIZATION
(ARMS LIMIT/HAWAII)

BILL NO.: S. 1394 (H.R. 1777) AMENDMENT NO.: 843

TITLE: "Foreign Relations Authorization Act, Fiscal Year 1988"

SUBJECT: **Pell motion to table the Helms modified perfecting amendment (to the Wallop, et al., amendment No. 842) which prohibits the impeding or delaying of any national defense program in order to comply with any treaty, proposed treaty, or provision thereof which the President has certified that the USSR is violating unless the President certifies to Congress that the USSR is no longer violating such treaty or provision and that the USSR has given formal assurance that it will not again use impact areas adjacent to Hawaii or any other State or territory of the U.S. for testing ICBM's or any other nuclear weapons delivery system.** (See also Vote Nos. 247, 271, and 303.)

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment asserted that the U.S. should not bind itself to observing arms control treaties that the Soviet Union is unquestionably violating. The restraints imposed by the Senate have not permitted the U.S. to respond to Soviet violations; consequently, the U.S. position in the world has eroded from one of superiority in strategic weapons to one of inferiority to the Soviet Union. Soviet nuclear intimidation and blackmail are increasingly evident, as demonstrated recently by the Soviet ICBM testing that occurred in the vicinity of Hawaii, and incidents of laser attack (i.e., saturation of aircraft electronics) on U.S. verification aircraft. The Soviets, who are known to be violating every existing arms control treaty, they asserted, have destroyed arms control as a means of preserving international security.

Opponents of the amendment countered that it would jeopardize every arms control agreement, impact the arms control negotiations currently in progress, and require that the U.S. make defense decisions which could violate some of the Nation's international obligations. The amendment would require the U.S. to find solid proof of Soviet compliance in order to keep from breaking its treaty obligations—a much more difficult and complicated effort than finding proof of violation. It would be foolish to jeopardize the nearly-concluded INF agreement by adopting this amendment.

S. 1394 (H.R. 1777): Vote Nos. 302-305, 307-315.

RESULT: **MOTION TO TABLE AGREED TO**

YEAS (52)			NAYS (43)			NOT VOTING (5)	
Democrats (43 or 86%)		Republicans (9 or 20%)	Democrats (7 or 14%)	Republicans (36 or 80%)		Democrats (4)	Republicans (1)
Adams	Kennedy	Chafee	Bentsen	Armstrong	Lugar	Boren—^{2}	Stevens—^{2}
Baucus	Kerry	Cohen	DeConcini	Bond	McCain	Gore—^{2}	
Biden	Lautenberg	Durenberger	Fowler	Boschwitz	McClure	Nunn—^{2}	
Bingaman	Leahy	Evans	Heflin	Cochran	McConnell	Simon—^{2}	
Bradley	Levin	Hatfield	Hollings	D'Amato	Murkowski		
Breaux	Matsunaga	Kassebaum	Melcher	Danforth	Nickles		
Bumpers	Metzenbaum	Specter	Shelby	Dole	Packwood		
Burdick	Mikulski	Stafford		Domenici	Pressler		
Byrd	Mitchell	Weicker		Garn	Quayle		
Chiles	Moynihan			Gramm	Roth		
Conrad	Pell			Grassley	Rudman		
Cranston	Proxmire			Hatch	Simpson		
Daschle	Pryor			Hecht	Symms		
Dixon	Reid			Heinz	Thurmond		
Dodd	Riegle			Helms	Trible		
Exon	Rockefeller			Humphrey	Wallop		
Ford	Sanford			Karnes	Warner		
Glenn	Sarbanes			Kasten	Wilson		
Graham	Sasser						
Harkin	Stennis						
Inouye	Wirth						
Johnston							

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 86%
Republicans— 80%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (52)
Democrats— 43 or 83%
Republicans— 9 or 17%

Against (43)
Democrats— 7 or 16%
Republicans— 36 or 84%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 303

100th Congress
1st Session

October 6, 1987, 11:59 a.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-13524

STATE DEPARTMENT AUTHORIZATION
(ARMS LIMIT/HAWAII)

BILL NO.: S. 1394 (H.R. 1777)

AMENDMENT NO.: 856

TITLE: "Foreign Relations Authorization Act, Fiscal Year 1988"

SUBJECT: **Wallop, et al., amendment, as amended by the Wallop amendment No. 857, which states the sense of the Congress that: the Soviet ICBM test near Hawaii has increased rather than decreased the risk of nuclear war; Congress condemns these Soviet actions, which were probable new violations of the SALT II Treaty, and demands an apology; the U.S. should officially, at the highest levels, protest this action and inform the USSR that it will not tolerate another flight test aimed directly at U.S. territory; and the President should report to Congress in 10 days, in both classified and unclassified form (1) the details of the tests, (2) Soviet explanations, (3) U.S. steps to ensure that such a test will not happen in the future, and (4) the effect a first-phase SDI system could have against a missile launched in similar proximity to U.S. territory.** (See also Vote Nos. 247, 271, and 302.)

NOTE: Proponents were concerned and outraged at the recent test-firing of two Soviet ICBM's in the vicinity of Hawaii—the closest test-firing ever to U.S. soil in three decades of superpower ballistic missile testing. If the first missile had not malfunctioned, it could have passed over portions of Hawaii. The timing of the tests could not have been more unfavorable, they noted, in light of the recently concluded agreement on nuclear risk reduction centers and the soon to be concluded INF negotiations. It is imperative that the U.S. strongly object to this Soviet action. It was particularly unfortunate when those in Congress who pursue greater arms restraint are seeking mutual superpower adherence to the unratified SALT II Treaty and the narrow interpretation of the ABM treaty. Some hoped that this sense of the Congress resolution might cause the Soviet Union to respond by undertaking negotiations with respect to prohibiting potentially destabilizing missile testing near each other's territory.

S. 1394 (H.R. 1777): Vote Nos. 302-305, 307-315.

RESULT: AMENDMENT AGREED TO

YEAS (96)

Democrats (51 or 100%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Biden
Bingaman
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Hollings
Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans (45 or 100%)

Armstrong
Bond
Boschwitz
Chafee
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Durenberger
Evans
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hatfield
Hecht
Heinz
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes
Kassebaum
Kasten
Lugar
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Packwood
Pressler
Quayle
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Specter
Stafford
Stevens
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Warner
Weicker
Wilson

NAYS (0)

Democrats (0 or 0%)

Republicans (0 or 0%)

NOT VOTING (4)

Democrats (3)

Boren—2
Gore—2
Simon—2

Republicans (1)

Domenici—2AY

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats-- 100%
Republicans— 100%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (96)
Democrats— 51 or 53%
Republicans— 45 or 47%

Against (0)
Democrats— 0 or 0%
Republicans— 0 or 0%

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 304

100th Congress
1st Session

October 6, 1987, 12:28 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-13531

STATE DEPARTMENT AUTHORIZATION
(TIBET)

BILL NO.: S. 1394 (H.R. 1777)

AMENDMENT NO.: 858

TITLE: "Foreign Relations Authorization Act, Fiscal Year 1988"

SUBJECT: **Pell-Helms amendment which states the sense of the Congress that the U.S. condemns human rights violations in Tibet by the People's Republic of China (PRC); requires a Presidential determination that the Chinese government is acting to resolve human rights issues in Tibet to accompany any sale of any defense article to the PRC; requires the Secretary of State to report to Congress, within 60 days, on the human rights situation in Tibet; earmarks $200,000 each for FY 1988-89 for assisting Tibetan refugees; and makes 15 scholarships to U.S. higher education institutions available to Tibetan students and professionals.**

NOTE: Proponents were critical of recent actions carried out by the People's Republic of China against the people of Tibet. In response to a peace plan proposed by the Dalai Lama calling for improvements in human rights for the people of Tibet, which was revealed during his recent visit to the U.S., the Chinese authorities responded by cracking down severely on Buddhist monks and native Tibetans, which included the execution of two people. In the Tibetan demonstration that was mounted to protest this action, Chinese police fired on the demonstrators, killing a number of people.

S. 1394 (H.R. 1777): Vote Nos. 302-305, 307-315.

RESULT: AMENDMENT AGREED TO

YEAS (98)

Democrats
(52 or 100%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Biden
Bingaman
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Hollings
Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Simon
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans
(46 or 100%)

Armstrong
Bond
Boschwitz
Chafee
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Evans
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hatfield
Hecht
Heinz
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes
Kassebaum
Kasten
Lugar
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Packwood
Pressler
Quayle
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Specter
Stafford
Stevens
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Warner
Weicker
Wilson

NAYS (0)

Democrats
(0 or 0%)

Republicans
(0 or 0%)

NOT VOTING (2)

Democrats (2)

Boren—2
Gore—2

Republicans (0)

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 100%
Republicans— 100%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (98)
Democrats— 52 or 53%
Republicans— 46 or 47%

Against (0)
Democrats— 0 or 0%
Republicans— 0 or 0%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 305

100th Congress
1st Session

October 6, 1987, 6:53 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-13576

STATE DEPARTMENT AUTHORIZATION
(SECRETARY'S HOUSE/MOZAMBIQUE)

BILL NO.: S. 1394 (H.R. 1777) AMENDMENT NO.: 869

TITLE: "Foreign Relations Authorization Act, Fiscal Year 1988"

SUBJECT: **Danforth motion to table the Helms amendment (taking with it the Helms modified perfecting amendment No. 870 which would force the Secretary of State to negotiate with RENAMO rebel forces in Mozambique, thereby implying their recognition by the U.S., which is contrary to the Administration's position) which prohibits the authorization of any funds by this or any other act for the use of constructing, acquiring, studying, planning, or soliciting funds for a residence for the Secretary of State or any other Cabinet member.** (See also Vote No. 314.)

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment argued that it is wrong to have the residence and the basic living expenses of the top Cabinet member paid for by special interests and the Nation's wealthy. Not only would such a residence raise serious questions regarding conflicts of interest, but succeeding Secretaries of State would have to go "panhandling around the country" to raise money to maintain the residence which would be both acquired and maintained by private funds. The use of private funds, however, does not remove entirely government costs, since any contributions would be tax deductible. Some dismissed the argument concerning personal security, claiming that the same case could be made for any Cabinet official. With regard to the perfecting amendment, they stressed the desirability of the State Department consulting with all parties in Mozambique to reach an end to that country's civil war. It was noted that the perfecting amendment does not specifically refer to RENAMO by name; nor does it even imply, they argued, that RENAMO be recognized by the U.S.

Opponents of the amendment countered that the establishment of a sound and secure residence for future Secretaries of State would eliminate government costs associated with securing the houses of each new Secretary. With a separate annex constructed for security officials, the Secretaries would have more privacy than currently enjoyed, since the duties of security officials requires them, to some degree, to use the House of the Secretary. An appropriate level of security for the Secretary of State is critical, they pointed out, because he receives more personal threats than any other Cabinet official. Secretary

(OVER)

S. 1394 (H.R. 1777): Vote Nos. 302-305, 307-315.

RESULT: **MOTION TO TABLE AGREED TO**

YEAS (61)

Democrats (40 or 80%)

Baucus
Bentsen
Biden
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Cranston
Daschle
Dodd
Exon
Fowler
Glenn
Gore
Graham
Harkin
Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Pryor
Reid
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans (21 or 47%)

Bond
Boschwitz
Chafee
Cochran
Cohen
Danforth
Domenici
Durenberger
Evans
Hatfield
Heinz
Kassebaum
Lugar
McConnell
Murkowski
Rudman
Simpson
Specter
Stevens
Wallop
Warner

NAYS (34)

Democrats (10 or 20%)

Bingaman
Boren
Conrad
DeConcini
Dixon
Ford
Heflin
Hollings
Proxmire
Shelby

Republicans (24 or 53%)

Armstrong
D'Amato
Dole
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hecht
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes
Kasten
McCain
McClure
Nickles
Pressler
Quayle
Roth
Stafford
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Weicker
Wilson

NOT VOTING (5)

Democrats (4)

Adams—2
Bradley—2
Riegle—2
Simon—2

Republicans (1)

Packwood—2

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 80%
Republicans— 53%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (61)
Democrats— 40 or 66%
Republicans— 21 or 34%

Against (34)
Democrats— 10 or 29%
Republicans— 24 or 71%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

Schultz made a strong case before the Foreign Relations Committee for such a residence, and his actions have the support of the President. They also expressed opposition to the perfecting amendment, asserting that the Secretary of State should not be compelled to consult with parties that the President has chosen not to recognize. If the Secretary of State did not meet with RENAMO, the perfecting amendment would suspend all funds appropriated in this authorization bill, an action they called "draconian."

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 306

100th Congress
1st Session

October 7, 1987, 9:02 a.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-13686

SENATE PROCEDURE
(ATTENDANCE)

SUBJECT: **Breaux motion to instruct the Sergeant at Arms to request the attendance of absent Senators.**

Vote Nos. 22, 23, 32, 50, 258, 261, 306, 316, 319, 322, 334, 381, 388, 391, 394.

RESULT: **MOTION FOR ATTENDANCE AGREED TO**

YEAS (85)

Democrats (52 or 98%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Biden
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Gore
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Hollings
Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans (33 or 73%)

Armstrong
Boschwitz
Chafee
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hatfield
Hecht
Heinz
Humphrey
Karnes
Kassebaum
Lugar
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Pressler
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Specter
Stafford
Thurmond
Trible
Warner
Wilson

NAYS (13)

Democrats (1 or 2%)

Sanford

Republicans (12 or 27%)

Bond
Evans
Garn
Helms
Kasten
Murkowski
Nickles
Quayle
Stevens
Symms
Wallop
Weicker

NOT VOTING (2)

Democrats (1)

Simon—2

Republicans (1)

Packwood—2

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion	Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on	
	For (85)	*Against* (13)
Democrats— 98%	Democrats— 52 or 61%	Democrats— 1 or 8%
Republicans— 73%	Republicans— 33 or 39%	Republicans— 12 or 92%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 307

100th Congress
1st Session

October 7, 1987, 9:53 a.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-13690

STATE DEPARTMENT AUTHORIZATION
(WARSAW PACT TRAVEL RESTRICTIONS)

BILL NO.: S. 1394 (H.R. 1777)

AMENDMENT NO.: 885

TITLE: "Foreign Relations Authorization Act, Fiscal Year 1988"

SUBJECT: **Pell motion to table the Roth-Dole amendment which imposes the same travel and other restrictions on diplomats who are in this country from East European nations and Cuba (which do not restrict travel of U.S. diplomats) as apply to diplomats from the Soviet Union unless the President reports in a classified document to the Intelligence Committees that national security and foreign policy circumstances require waiver of this provision for a country or a particular agency. (Subsequently, the amendment was agreed to by voice vote.)**

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment asserted that the U.S. government should restrict the movements of diplomats from the Warsaw Pact nations in the U.S. to the same degree that it restricts the movements of Soviet diplomats. The restrictions on Soviet diplomats have not curtailed their espionage efforts; instead, the Soviets have turned to their surrogates in the eastern bloc to carry out their spy missions, and according to testimony from the FBI, they have been successful. The amendment allows the President to exempt nations from these restrictions for national security or foreign policy considerations.

Opponents of the amendment countered that placing such restrictions on Warsaw Pact diplomats would invite retaliation and limit the ability of American diplomats to travel freely in Eastern Europe. The amendment would present a greater burden for the U.S. than the countries of Eastern Europe, since Warsaw Pact diplomats would still have access to a great deal of information in the U.S. The intelligence community opposes the objective of the amendment.

S. 1394 (H.R. 1777): Vote Nos. 302-305, 307-315.

RESULT: **MOTION TO TABLE FAILED**

YEAS (36)

Democrats
(30 or 58%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Biden
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
Dodd
Fowler
Graham
Harkin
Inouye
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Matsunaga
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Rockefeller
Sarbanes
Sasser
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans
(6 or 14%)

Boschwitz
Evans
Hatfield
Kassebaum
Lugar
Weicker

NAYS (60)

Democrats
(22 or 42%)

Bingaman
Boren
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
DeConcini
Dixon
Exon
Ford
Glenn
Gore
Heflin
Hollings
Johnston
Levin
Melcher
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Reid
Riegle
Shelby

Republicans
(38 or 86%)

Armstrong
Bond
Chafee
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hecht
Heinz
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes
Kasten
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Pressler
Quayle
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Specter
Stafford
Stevens
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Warner
Wilson

NOT VOTING (4)

Democrats (2)

Sanford—2
Simon—2

Republicans (2)

McCain—2
Packwood—2

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 58%
Republicans— 86%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (36)
Democrats— 30 or 83%
Republicans— 6 or 17%

Against (60)
Democrats— 22 or 37%
Republicans— 38 or 63%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 308

100th Congress
1st Session

October 7, 1987, 10:49 a.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-13694

STATE DEPARTMENT AUTHORIZATION
(PANAMA CANAL TREATIES)

BILL NO.: S. 1394 (H.R. 1777)

AMENDMENT NO.: 860

TITLE: "Foreign Relations Authorization Act, Fiscal Year 1988"

SUBJECT: **Pell motion to table the Symms amendment expressing the sense of the Senate "that the Senate ought not to have consented to the ratification of the Panama Canal Treaties whereby the Panama Canal was given away and that such treaties are voidable unless and until Panama formally accepts the DeConcini Reservation, and should be voided by the President if such acceptance is not forthcoming within six months of the adoption of this section."**

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment asserted that ratification of the Panama Canal Treaties should be voided in view of the Canal's deteriorating condition, the drug trafficking conducted by the Noriega dictatorship, and the refusal of Panama to accept the DeConcini Reservation permitting the U.S. to defend the Canal after the turn of the century. Since ratification of the Treaties was contingent on acceptance of the DeConcini Reservation, the treaties are voidable under international law. While the amendment does not void the treaties, they stressed, it urges the President to address the issue of the DeConcini reservation, and it makes clear to the people of Central America that the Canal continues to be an important concern in the U.S. Relinquishing control of the Canal to Panama had been justified as a means of stimulating the development of democracy in Central America. Unfortunately, this has not occurred. Panama is still ruled by a corrupt government and an absolute dictator.

Opponents of the amendment countered that the only way any substantive change will be made in Panama is through significant actions carried out by the U.S. government, not just Congress, and not necessarily in the way presented in this amendment. They also noted that the Senate has expressed overwhelming support in recent weeks for resolutions condemning the Government of Panama.

The Symms amendment originally was offered as a 2nd degree amendment to the Bentsen amendment No. 859, increasing funds for a grant to the National Endowment for Democracy, with specific funds targeted to support elements of the free press in Nicaragua. Opponents argued that because the Senate was so strongly divided on the Symms amendment, the message the Senate was trying to send with the Bentsen amendment would be weakened and "might be seen as a source of some solace to the very people we are trying to send a different message to." Consequently, Senator Symms agreed to offer his amendment separately, and the Bentsen amendment was passed by voice vote.

S. 1394 (H.R. 1777): Vote Nos. 302-305, 307-315.

RESULT: **MOTION TO TABLE AGREED TO**

YEAS (59)

Democrats (44 or 83%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Biden
Bingaman
Bradley
Bumpers
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Fowler
Glenn
Gore
Graham
Harkin
Hollings
Inouye
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans (15 or 33%)

Chafee
D'Amato
Danforth
Durenberger
Evans
Hatfield
Heinz
Kassebaum
Lugar
Quayle
Specter
Stafford
Stevens
Warner
Weicker

NAYS (39)

Democrats (9 or 17%)

Boren
Breaux
Burdick
Exon
Ford
Heflin
Johnston
Melcher
Shelby

Republicans (30 or 67%)

Armstrong
Bond
Boschwitz
Cochran
Cohen
Dole
Domenici
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hecht
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes
Kasten
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Pressler
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Wilson

NOT VOTING (2)

Democrats (1)

Simon—2

Republicans (1)

Packwood—2

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 83%
Republicans— 67%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (59)
Democrats— 44 or 75%
Republicans— 15 or 25%

Against (39)
Democrats— 9 or 23%
Republicans— 30 or 77%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 309

100th Congress
1st Session

October 7, 1987, 1:25 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-13713

STATE DEPARTMENT AUTHORIZATION
(SOUTHEAST ASIAN REFUGEES)

BILL NO.: S. 1394 (H.R. 1777)

AMENDMENT NO.: 886

TITLE: "Foreign Relations Authorization Act, Fiscal Year 1988"

SUBJECT: **Hatfield-Pell-Boschwitz, et al., amendment which requires the President to report to Congress, within 120 days, on the merits of transferring the authority to admit all refugees under the Immigration and Naturalization Act from the Attorney General to the Secretary of State; earmarks for each of FY 1988-89, $5 million for certain educational programs along the Thai-Laotian and Thai-Cambodian borders, $5 million from the Economic Support Fund to assist Thai villages affected by Indochinese refugee camps, and $2 million from the International Military Education and Training Assistance Fund to train and deploy the Royal Thai Army to protect refugees in Thailand; and states the sense of the Congress that: the international community should increase its efforts to assure that Indochinese refugee camps are protected, the President should allocate at least 28,000 admissions from East Asia, first asylum camps and at least 8,500 admissions for the Orderly Departure Program for each of FY 1988-90, and Indochinese refugees who have lived in camps for three or more years should be considered eligible for refugee processing.**

NOTE: Proponents asserted that the Senate should reaffirm its commitment to the resettlement program in Southeast Asia. The U.S. has a special responsibility for Indochinese refugees, they insisted. Since Thailand has borne the brunt of the refugee problem, the amendment continues special assistance to that country. It also encourages the U.S. to work closely with the first asylum countries, as well as the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees and the International Committee of the Red Cross. Refugees have an immediate and urgent need for safety and protection from violent regimes. Rather than risk their lives and safety, the U.S. should reaffirm its commitment so that countries like Thailand can continue to provide the necessary, temporary safe havens. There is no basis for dismissing the bulk of those who cross the border into Thailand as economic immigrants because their rejection is based on being unable to meet stringent documentation requirements.

Opponents accepted the intent of the amendment as well-meaning, but contended that it distorts the Refugee Act because it does not maintain the distinction between refugee and immigrant. It sends a signal to Southeast Asia that anyone who wants to come to the U.S. can do so under the refugee program. Many of those seeking immigration are not refugees but persons who desire greater economic

(OVER)

S. 1394 (H.R. 1777): Vote Nos. 302-305, 307-315.

RESULT: **AMENDMENT AGREED TO**

YEAS (63)

Democrats
(35 or 70%)

Adams
Baucus
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Bumpers
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Fowler
Glenn
Graham
Harkin
Hollings
Inouye
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Nunn
Pell
Reid
Riegle
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans
(28 or 61%)

Armstrong
Boschwitz
Chafee
D'Amato
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Evans
Garn
Hatch
Hatfield
Hecht
Heinz
Helms
Kasten
McCain
McClure
Murkowski
Packwood
Quayle
Specter
Stafford
Stevens
Symms
Trible
Warner
Weicker
Wilson

NAYS (33)

Democrats
(15 or 30%)

Bentsen
Biden
Breaux
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Exon
Ford
Heflin
Johnston
Proxmire
Pryor
Rockefeller
Shelby

Republicans
(18 or 39%)

Bond
Cochran
Cohen
Danforth
Gramm
Grassley
Humphrey
Karnes
Kassebaum
Lugar
McConnell
Nickles
Pressler
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Thurmond
Wallop

NOT VOTING (4)

Democrats (4)

Gore—2AY
Kennedy—2
Moynihan—2
Simon—2

Republicans (0)

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 70%
Republicans— 61%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (63)
Democrats— 35 or 56%
Republicans— 28 or 44%

Against (33)
Democrats— 15 or 45%
Republicans— 18 or 55%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

and political freedom, or who wish to be reunited with family members—a conclusion affirmed by the R Commission. The U.S. does not have the facilities to assist the millions of people who may want to come the U.S., which is the reason the U.S. passed the Refugee Act in the first place. The amendment retur the U.S. to the questionable practice, eliminated by the Refugee Act, of targeting specific areas of the wo for special preference by setting quotas for the number of people allowed to immigrate, and probably w lead to similar demands being made in relation to other areas of the world. Part of the problem, th suggested, is the pressure exerted by voluntary agencies. Despite their good intentions, they have forme huge bureaucracy that must continue the movement of people out of Asia in order to maintain th existence. The funds in the amendment are not necessary because the U.S. already funds agencies th maintain activities and educational programs along the Thai-Laotian and the Thai-Cambodian borde Providing funds for refugee camps in Thailand will create friction with the local Thai farmers whose o dwellings would be meager in comparison. The U.S. has one of the most generous and responsible polic for providing asylum for refugees in the world. The U.S. has taken 800,000 refugees since 1985, and h already prepared to receive 38,000 in 1987, while this Nation's allies are reducing their numbers.

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 310

100th Congress
1st Session

October 7, 1987, 2:40 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-13718

STATE DEPARTMENT AUTHORIZATION
(PERSIAN GULF)

BILL NO.: S. 1394 (H.R. 1777)

AMENDMENT NO.: 851

TITLE: "Foreign Relations Authorization Act, Fiscal Year 1988"

SUBJECT: **Melcher modified amendment stating the sense of the Congress that the President should enter negotiations with the government of any country benefitting from the U.S. military protection of reflagged Kuwaiti oil ships in the Persian Gulf to secure reimbursements based on a *pro rata* share of these costs.**

NOTE: Proponents asserted that the U.S. should negotiate with the governments of those countries that are benefitting from U.S. protection of oil shipments and other navigation in the Persian Gulf in order to defray the cost of this protection. The Navy estimates that it is spending $1.4 million per day to remain in the Gulf. Some were concerned that the amendment could set a precedent for making the U.S. armed forces available for hire as mercenaries. Japan receives about 50 percent of its oil from the Persian Gulf. Japanese pledges to pay for some of these costs were applauded.
Opponents made no statements.

S. 1394 (H.R. 1777): Vote Nos. 302-305, 307-315.

RESULT: AMENDMENT AGREED TO

YEAS (95)

Democrats
(51 or 100%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Biden
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Hollings

Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Wirth

Republicans
(44 or 96%)

Armstrong
Bond
Boschwitz
Chafee
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Evans
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hatfield
Hecht
Heinz
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes

Kassebaum
Kasten
Lugar
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Packwood
Pressler
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Specter
Stafford
Stevens
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Warner
Weicker
Wilson

NAYS (2)

Democrats
(0 or 0%)

Republicans
(2 or 4%)

Quayle
Wallop

NOT VOTING (3)

Democrats (3)

Gore—2
Simon—2
Stennis—2

Republicans (0)

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 100%
Republicans— 96%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (95)
Democrats— 51 or 54%
Republicans— 44 or 46%

Against (2)
Democrats— 0 or 0%
Republicans— 2 or 100%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 311

100th Congress
1st Session

October 7, 1987, 5:35 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-13739

STATE DEPARTMENT AUTHORIZATION
(ILLEGAL ALIENS)

BILL NO.: S. 1394 (H.R. 1777) **AMENDMENT NO.:** 894

TITLE: "Foreign Relations Authorization Act, Fiscal Year 1988"

SUBJECT: **Simpson motion to table the Chafee-Pell-Moynihan, et al., amendment which permits the spouse and/or children of an illegal alien who has already qualified for legalization of residence status (by entering the country prior to January 1, 1982, and maintaining continuous residence since that date) to also qualify for legalization of their illegal residence status, provided they were in this country by November 6, 1986.**

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment asserted that the new immigration law is flawed in that it does not provide guidelines for the treatment of family members who do not qualify for legalization and are consequently separated from those who do. Although it was not the intent of Congress to break up families, the fear of family separation is deterring many people from seeking amnesty under the new law. The number of applications is below expectations, and this one-time amnesty program runs the risk of failing to provide the assistance intended. This amendment would help only spouses and children who were in the country when the immigration law became effective. It will not increase the immigration level, nor take work away from American citizens since most of these people are currently employed. While it may be argued that the amendment gives illegal aliens more favorable treatment than legal aliens, the Senate already did that by providing amnesty. However, the legal alien has voluntarily left his family behind, whereas the illegal alien has not. In addition, the U.S. must have a sound policy on the issue of family reunification if it is going to confront Communist governments in this area.

Opponents of the amendment countered that providing amnesty for family members who do not meet the requirements of the immigration law amounts to the creation of a second amnesty program. The Judiciary Committee clearly stated in its report that family members who do not qualify for legalization must "'wait in line' in the same manner as immediate family members of other new resident aliens."

(OVER)

S. 1394 (H.R. 1777): Vote Nos. 302-305, 307-315.

RESULT: **MOTION TO TABLE AGREED TO**

YEAS (55)

Democrats (24 or 44%)

Biden
Bingaman
Boren
Breaux
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Heflin
Hollings
Johnston
Metzenbaum
Mitchell
Nunn
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Shelby
Stennis

Republicans (31 or 67%)

Armstrong
Bond
Cochran
Cohen
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hecht
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes
Kassebaum

Kasten
Lugar
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Pressler
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Warner

NAYS (45)

Democrats (30 or 56%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Bradley
Bumpers
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Glenn
Gore
Graham
Harkin
Inouye
Kennedy

Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Mikulski
Moynihan
Pell
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Simon
Wirth

Republicans (15 or 33%)

Boschwitz
Chafee
D'Amato
Durenberger
Evans
Hatfield
Heinz
McCain
Packwood
Quayle
Specter
Stafford
Stevens
Weicker
Wilson

NOT VOTING (0)

Democrats (0) **Republicans (0)**

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 56%
Republicans— 67%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (55)
Democrats— 24 or 44%
Republicans— 31 or 56%

Against (45)
Democrats— 30 or 67%
Republicans— 15 or 33%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

The amendment would treat illegal, undocumented immigrants more generously than the U.S. treats legal immigrants. It is the illegal alien who chose to break up his family by entering this country illegally, not the person entering through legal channels. The amnesty program is proceeding well and appears to be on course toward two million applications by the end of the statutory period, exceeding Congress' expectations.

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 312

100th Congress
1st Session

October 8, 1987, 9:01 a.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-13787

STATE DEPARTMENT AUTHORIZATION

BILL NO.: S. 1394 (H.R. 1777)

TITLE: "Foreign Relations Authorization Act, Fiscal Year 1988"

SUBJECT: **Byrd motion to instruct the Sergeant at Arms to request the attendance of absent Senators.**

S. 1394 (H.R. 1777): Vote Nos. 302-305, 307-315.

RESULT: **MOTION FOR ATTENDANCE AGREED TO**

YEAS (77)

Democrats (47 or 100%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Biden
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Graham
Harkin
Heflin

Hollings
Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby

Republicans (30 or 73%)

Armstrong
Boschwitz
Chafee
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Grassley
Hatch
Hatfield
Hecht
Heinz
Karnes
Lugar
McCain
McConnell
Packwood
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Specter
Stafford
Stevens
Thurmond
Trible
Warner
Wilson

NAYS (11)

Democrats (0 or 0%)

Republicans (11 or 27%)

Bond
Evans
Garn
Helms
Kasten
Murkowski
Nickles
Quayle
Symms
Wallop
Weicker

NOT VOTING (12)

Democrats (7)

Burdick—2
Gore—2
Mikulski—2
Riegle—2
Simon—2
Stennis—2
Wirth—2

Republicans (5)

Gramm—2
Humphrey—2
Kassebaum—2
McClure—2
Pressler—2

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 100%
Republicans— 73%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (77)
Democrats— 47 or 61%
Republicans— 30 or 39%

Against (11)
Democrats— 0 or 0%
Republicans— 11 or 100%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 313

100th Congress
1st Session

October 8, 1987, 11:54 a.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-13818

STATE DEPARTMENT AUTHORIZATION
(SOVIET UNION/ARAB-ISRAELI PEACE)

BILL NO.: S. 1394 (H.R. 1777)

AMENDMENT NO.: 915

TITLE: "Foreign Relations Authorization Act, Fiscal Year 1988"

SUBJECT: **Wilson-DeConcini, et al., amendment stating the sense of the Congress that the Soviet Union should not be included in any Arab-Israeli Peace Conference unless and until the USSR has re-established diplomatic relations with Israel, publicly accepted United Nations Resolutions 181, 242, and 338, and substantially increased and maintained Soviet Jewish exit visas, and Egypt, Israel, and Jordan have approved the Soviet Union's participation.**

NOTE: Proponents asserted that the Soviet Union should not be permitted to participate in any international summit regarding the Arab-Israeli conflict unless it respects the sovereignty of all Middle East countries. The Soviets have not had diplomatic relations with Israel since 1967, and their strategy in the Middle East has rarely deviated from the exploitation of tension in the area. The Soviets should publicly reaffirm U.N. Resolutions 181, 242, and 338, which legitimize Israel's claims to territory, and liberalize emigration quotas for Jews in the Soviet Union who wish to live and work in Israel.

S. 1394 (H.R. 1777): Vote Nos. 302-305, 307-315.

RESULT: AMENDMENT AGREED TO

YEAS (95)

Democrats
(49 or 100%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Biden
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Graham
Harkin
Heflin

Hollings
Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby

Republicans
(46 or 100%)

Armstrong
Bond
Boschwitz
Chafee
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Evans
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hatfield
Hecht
Heinz
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes
Kassebaum

Kasten
Lugar
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Packwood
Pressler
Quayle
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Specter
Stafford
Stevens
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Warner
Weicker
Wilson

NAYS (0)

Democrats
(0 or 0%)

Republicans
(0 or 0%)

NOT VOTING (5)

Democrats (5)

Gore—2
Riegle—2
Simon—2
Stennis—2
Wirth—2

Republicans (0)

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 100%
Republicans— 100%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (95)
Democrats— 49 or 52%
Republicans— 46 or 48%

Against (0)
Democrats— 0 or 0%
Republicans— 0 or 0%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 314

100th Congress
1st Session

October 8, 1987, 4:20 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-13858

STATE DEPARTMENT AUTHORIZATION
(SECRETARY OF STATE RESIDENCE)

BILL NO.: S. 1394 (H.R. 1777)

AMENDMENT NO.: 941

TITLE: "Foreign Relations Authorization Act, Fiscal Year 1988"

SUBJECT: **Helms amendment which prohibits the Department of State from soliciting or receiving funds for the construction, purchase, lease, or rental of, or any gift or bequest of real property or any other property for the purpose of providing living quarters for the Secretary of State. (See also Vote No. 305.)**

NOTE: Proponents argued that the residence and basic living expenses of the top member of the Cabinet should not be paid for by special interests and the Nation's wealthy. Not only would such a residence raise serious questions regarding conflicts of interest, but succeeding Secretaries of State would have to raise money to maintain the residence, which would be both acquired and maintained by private funds. The use of private funds, however, does not remove entirely government costs, since any contributions would be tax deductible. Some dismissed the argument concerning personal security, claiming that the same case could be made for any Cabinet official.

Opponents countered that the establishment of a sound and secure residence for future Secretaries of State would eliminate government costs associated with securing the houses of each new Secretary. With a separate annex constructed for security officials, the Secretaries would have more privacy than currently enjoyed, since the duties of security officials requires them, to some degree, to use the house of the Secretary. An appropriate level of security for the Secretary of State is critical because the number of personal threats the Secretary receives is second only to the President and the Vice President. Some felt the amendment did not deserve the amount of time it was taking of the Senate, and that, because the Foreign Relations Committee voted to put the provision in the bill, it should remain.

S. 1394 (H.R. 1777): Vote Nos. 302-305, 307-315.

RESULT: **AMENDMENT AGREED TO**

YEAS (48)

Democrats
(19 or 38%)

Bingaman
Boren
Burdick
Byrd
Conrad
DeConcini
Dixon
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Heflin
Leahy
Melcher
Mikulski
Mitchell
Proxmire
Shelby
Stennis

Republicans
(29 or 64%)

Armstrong
Bond
Chafee
Cochran
D'Amato
Durenberger
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hecht
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes
Kasten
McCain
McClure
Murkowski
Nickles
Packwood
Pressler
Quayle
Roth
Stafford
Symms
Thurmond
Wallop
Weicker
Wilson

NAYS (47)

Democrats
(31 or 62%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Biden
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Chiles
Cranston
Daschle
Dodd
Graham
Harkin
Hollings
Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Levin
Matsunaga
Metzenbaum
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sarbanes
Sasser

Republicans
(16 or 36%)

Boschwitz
Cohen
Danforth
Domenici
Evans
Hatfield
Heinz
Kassebaum
Lugar
McConnell
Rudman
Simpson
Specter
Stevens
Trible
Warner

NOT VOTING (5)

Democrats (4)

Gore—2
Sanford—2
Simon—2
Wirth—2

Republicans (1)

Dole—2

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 62%
Republicans— 64%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (48)
Democrats— 19 or 40%
Republicans— 29 or 60%

Against (47)
Democrats— 31 or 66%
Republicans— 16 or 34%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 315

100th Congress
1st Session

October 8, 1987, 6:36 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-13875

STATE DEPARTMENT AUTHORIZATION

BILL NO.: H.R. 1777 (S. 1394)

TITLE: "Foreign Relations Authorization Act, Fiscal Year 1988"

SUBJECT: **Passage of the bill which authorizes a total of $3,630,749,000 for FY 1988 for the foreign affairs functions of the United States which includes $2,691,749,000 for the Department of State (including $2.7 billion for Administration of Foreign Affairs, $605.9 million for International Organizations and Conferences, and $314.5 million for Migration and Refugee Assistance), $777.0 million for the United States Information Agency, and $162 million for the Board for International Broadcasting (which makes grants to Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty); prohibits the Soviets from occupying their new chancery on Mount Alto in Washington, D.C., until there is a new secure U.S. chancery in Moscow suitable for U.S. embassy operations; contains a number of provisions addressing the new U.S. embassy in Moscow and dealing with the security of U.S. embassies overseas generally; expresses the sense of the Congress with respect to the Soviet ICBM test off Hawaii; limits pay out of the U.S. contribution to the U.N. pending U.N. implementation of the consensus-based decision-making process; creates a strong American preference for projects undertaken through VOA's facilities modernization program; establishes a Task Force on the Global Climate to oversee the development and implementation of a national strategy to combat global warming; and tightens certain statutory provisions relating to diplomatic immunity to provide legal recourse for U.S. citizens injured in automobile accidents involving foreign diplomats.**

NOTE: The Senate agreed to the conference report by voice vote on December 16, 1987. H.R. 1777 became Public Law 100-204, approved December 16, 1987.

H.R. 1777 (S. 1394): Vote Nos. 302-305, 307-315.

RESULT: BILL PASSED

YEAS (85)

Democrats (44 or 90%)

Baucus
Bentsen
Biden
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Cranston
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Inouye

Johnston
Kennedy
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Stennis

Republicans (41 or 93%)

Armstrong
Bond
Chafee
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Domenici
Durenberger
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hatfield
Hecht
Heinz
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes
Kassebaum
Kasten

McCain
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Packwood
Quayle
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Specter
Stafford
Stevens
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Warner
Weicker
Wilson

NAYS (8)

Democrats (5 or 10%)

Conrad
Daschle
Exon
Hollings
Proxmire

Republicans (3 or 7%)

Evans
Lugar
Pressler

NOT VOTING (7)

Democrats (5)

Adams—2
Gore—2
Kerry—2AY
Simon—2
Wirth—2

Republicans (2)

Boschwitz—2
Dole—2

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 90%
Republicans— 93%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (85)
Democrats— 44 or 52%
Republicans— 41 or 48%

Against (8)
Democrats— 5 or 62.5%
Republicans— 3 or 37.5%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

MAJOR PROVISIONS

New Soviet Embassy: Prohibits the Soviets from occupying their new chancery on Mount Alto in Washington, D.C., or any other new facility in the Washington area until the Secretary of State and Director of Central Intelligence certify that there is a new U.S. chancery in Moscow, secure and suitable for U.S. embassy operations; requires the President to void the current embassy site and construction agreements with the Soviet Union and enter into negotiations for a new agreement under which the Soviet Union will move its new embassy to a site in D.C. that is no more than 90 feet above mean sea level.

Embassy Security: Requires the Secretary of State, by August 31, 1987, to provide a list of options and associated costs for the disposition of the new U.S. Chancery in Moscow, establish a task force on the State Department's management of security in foreign buildings to report on a program to correct management deficiencies, and report on the status of the Soviets' Mount Alto embassy complex and whether it would be in the U.S. national interest to vitiate the agreement; calls for the establishment of an accountability review board to review the Moscow Embassy security breaches and to investigate all cases of serious intelligence breaches; requires the Secretary and Director of Central Intelligence to certify that new facilities to be constructed will adequately safeguard classified material; expresses the sense of the Congress that there be periodic inspections of security abroad; requires the Secretary to review, by December 31, 1987, diplomatic and consular posts in the USSR and Eastern Europe and certify, together with the Director of Central Intelligence, that they are adequate for the protection of classified material and personnel, or explain why not; consolidates the diplomatic security, foreign buildings, and foreign missions offices into a new bureau under an Under Secretary of State for Security, Construction, and Foreign Missions; directs the State Department to use American design and engineering firms to construct future embassies; makes these provisions effective April 1, 1988, unless the State Department submits a restructuring plan, by February 1, 1988, that accords higher priority to diplomatic security, improves coordination between the Bureau of Diplomatic Security and the Offices of Foreign Buildings and Foreign Missions, ensures that U.S. design and construction firms are used in future construction projects, and Congress approves by passage of a joint resolution; requires the American Ambassador to the Soviet Union and certain specified Communist countries to report annually on the security of U.S. diplomatic and official facilities, foreign efforts to penetrate security, and security programs planned for the next year; prohibits construction in a communist-controlled country until 30 days after submission of a report by the Secretary of State evaluating all security-related factors; prohibits, after September 30, 1989, the employment of any communist national at a U.S. diplomatic or consular mission in any communist country.

Soviet ABM Violations: Directs the President to report to Congress on whether Soviet violations of the ABM Treaty and its complete failure after ratification to reduce or limit the increase of Soviet offensive intercontinental nuclear weapons systems jeopardizes the U.S. national interest, and whether the U.S. should withdraw from the Treaty.

Soviet ICBM Test off Hawaii: States the sense of the Congress that the Soviet ICBM test near Hawaii has increased the risk of nuclear war; condemns the Soviet Union for its actions which were probable new violations of the SALT II Treaty; states that the U.S. should officially protest this action and that the President should submit a full report to Congress on the incident in 10 days, including the effect a first-phase SDI system could have against a missile launched in similar proximity to U.S. territory.

Persian Gulf: States the sense of the Congress that Iran violated international law by mining the Persian Gulf without notifying neutral nations, and the use of force by the U.S. Navy to terminate the Iranian mining was justified under international law; requires the establishment of a plan that provides for a *pro rata* sharing of costs among countries which benefit from the U.S. convoys in the Gulf.

United Nations: Contains $193.2 million for the U.N.; limits the funds available for the assessed U.S. contributions to the U.N. if the consensus-based decision-making process (which required that budgets of U.N. agencies must first be approved by a budget committee on which the U.S. sits) is not being implemented; restores the limitations on housing expenses for U.S. employees at the U.N. to the $1,500 per month that existed prior to 1981; establishes a commission to improve the effectiveness of the U.N.; prohibits obligation of 50 percent of the funds available in FY 1988 to meet U.S. obligations for assessed contributions to the U.N. until the President certifies to Congress that significant progress has been made within the U.N. Secretariat and its specialized agencies to eliminate foreign salary remission arrangements; bars U.S. participation in the U.N.'s Economic and Social Council until Israel is permitted to participate fully.

U.S. Advisory Commission on Public Diplomacy: Increases, from seven to nine, the membership of this Commission and provides that five would be appointed by the President and two each by the Chairman or Ranking Minority Member of the Senate Foreign Relations and House Foreign Affairs Committees, whichever member is not of the same political party as the President.

Voice of America (VOA): Contains $180 million for the VOA of which $10 million is earmarked for VOA's Cuba Service; creates a strong American preference for projects undertaken through VOA's facilities modernization program with certain narrowly drawn exceptions; directs VOA to provide broadcasts in the Slovenian language on a daily basis.

Global Climate Protection: Requires the President to establish a one-year Task Force on the Global Climate to oversee the development and implementation of a national strategy to combat global warming and to develop a strategy report to protect the global climate and any legislative recommendations; and creates the position of Ambassador at Large to coordinate and lead U.S. participation in multilateral activities on global warming.

Diplomatic Immunity: Provides legal recourse for U.S. citizens injured in automobile accidents involving foreign diplomats; increases the statutory minimum automobile liability insurance from $300,000 to $1 million and calls for the establishment of a liability insurance scheme to compensate victims of crimes committed by diplomats; requires the President to take necessary steps to prevent the use of diplomatic pouches for illicit transportation of drugs, explosives, and weapons or any material used to foster terrorism.

Refugees: Expedites refugee admissions from Indochinese refugee camps and adjusts certain Polish nationals who fled Poland after martial law was imposed to permanent resident status; directs INS to process certain current and former Cuban political prisoners as refugees for entry into the U.S.; restores normal Cuban immigration from Cuba and third countries to the U.S.

International Parental Child Abduction: Makes international parental abduction a criminal offense and earmarks $250,000 of State Department funds to assist parents in international child abduction cases; implements the 1980 Hague Convention on the Civil Aspects of International Parental Child Abduction.

Drug-Transiting Countries: Changes to February 15 the date by which the President must certify major drug-producing and transit countries; extends to 60 days the congressional review period; and imposes further sanctions against such countries.

Afghanistan: Requires the Director of USIA to submit to Congress a comprehensive plan on Afghanistan, based on the FY 1988 USIA country plan instruction; establishes the position of Ambassador at Large on Afghanistan.

Other: Expresses congressional policy regarding a negotiated settlement leading to total Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan; a negotiated end to the Iran-Iraq War; South Korean constitutional reforms; North Korean domestic repression and support for international terrorism; the Vietnamese occupation of Cambodia; Lebanon's unity; the democratic trends in Taiwan; the self-determination of the Baltic States; the Romanian denationalization and ethnocide in Transylvania; the Angolan conflict; Chinese treatment of Tibet; the security of Thailand; and Soviet/Eastern bloc harassment of Christians.

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 316

100th Congress
1st Session

October 9, 1987, 9:01 a.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-13940

SENATE PROCEDURE
(ATTENDANCE)

SUBJECT: **Byrd motion to instruct the Sergeant at Arms to request the attendance of absent Senators.**

Vote Nos. 22, 23, 32, 50, 258, 261, 306, 316, 319, 322, 334, 381, 388, 391, 394.

RESULT: **MOTION FOR ATTENDANCE AGREED TO**

YEAS (72)

Democrats
(46 or 100%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Hollings
Johnston
Kennedy
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sasser
Shelby
Stennis

Republicans
(26 or 67%)

Chafee
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Grassley
Hatfield
Heinz
Humphrey
Karnes
Kassebaum
Lugar
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Packwood
Pressler
Roth
Rudman
Specter
Stafford
Trible
Warner

NAYS (13)

Democrats
(0 or 0%)

Republicans
(13 or 33%)

Bond
Evans
Garn
Hecht
Helms
Kasten
Murkowski
Nickles
Quayle
Stevens
Symms
Weicker
Wilson

NOT VOTING (15)

Democrats (8)

Biden—2
Dodd—2
Gore—2
Inouye—2
Kerry—2
Sarbanes—2
Simon—2
Wirth—2

Republicans (7)

Armstrong—2
Boschwitz—2
Gramm—2
Hatch—2
Simpson—2
Thurmond—2AY
Wallop—2

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion	Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on	
	For (72)	*Against* (13)
Democrats— 100%	Democrats— 46 or 64%	Democrats— 0 or 0%
Republicans— 67%	Republicans— 26 or 36%	Republicans— 13 or 100%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 317

100th Congress
1st Session

October 9, 1987, 12:45 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-13978

WAR POWERS

BILL NO.: S.J. Res. 194

SUBJECT: **Dole motion to table the resolution which declares that the report described in section 4(a)(1) of the War Powers Resolution (requiring the submission of a report to Congress within 48 hours of the introduction of U.S. Armed Forces into "situations where imminent involvement in hostilities is clearly indicated by the circumstances") must be submitted to Congress not later than 48 hours after the attack on October 8, 1987, when an Iranian vessel fired on a patrolling U.S. military helicopter necessitating an American response attack on the Iranian patrol boat in the Persian Gulf.** (See also Vote Nos. 292, 296, and 338-347).

NOTE: Proponents of the resolution maintained that events in the Persian Gulf had already triggered the War Powers Resolution. Clearly hostile acts have occurred against the U.S. This resolution asserts the proper role of the Senate as a partner in the decisions of war and peace, reflecting the balance of power under the Constitution. The resolution does not require all forces to be withdrawn, but it does require agreement on a policy. The elected representatives of the American public have the right to information concerning the Administration's policy in order to participate in a decision that could commit American men and women to risk their lives. Thirty-seven Americans already have lost their lives, and military personnel in the area number over 20,000 and receive hazardous duty pay. The number of ships needed has escalated from four to forty. The War Powers Resolution is the law of the land and remains so until found unconstitutional by the Supreme Court.

Opponents of the resolution claimed that the most important action the Senate can take is to support the President. While the War Powers Act may be the law of the land, it presents a "Byzantine thicket laced with potholes and quicksand," which could require the President to withdraw U.S. forces from the Persian Gulf. American forces may be involved in hostilities but certainly not war. Declaration of war has been voted only five times in history, but U.S. forces have been engaged overseas on almost 200 occasions. The U.S. has not sided with either Iran or Iraq but only attempts to maintain stability and nonbelligerent shipping on the open seas. It makes no sense, they argued, to invoke this document of debatable relevance and constitutionality.

S.J. Res. 194: Vote Nos. 317, 338-347.

RESULT: **MOTION TO TABLE FAILED**

ADMINISTRATION POSITION: YEA

YEAS (37)

Democrats
(3 or 6%)

Boren
DeConcini
Reid

Republicans
(34 or 83%)

Armstrong
Bond
Chafee
Cochran
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Evans
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hecht
Heinz
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes
Kasten
Lugar
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Nickles
Pressler
Quayle
Roth
Rudman
Stafford
Stevens
Symms
Trible
Warner
Wilson

NAYS (52)

Democrats
(45 or 94%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Bingaman
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Hollings
Johnston
Kennedy
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Stennis

Republicans
(7 or 17%)

Cohen
Durenberger
Hatfield
Murkowski
Packwood
Specter
Weicker

NOT VOTING (11)

Democrats (6)

Biden—^{2}
Gore—^{2AN}
Inouye—^{2}
Kerry—^{2AN}
Simon—^{2}
Wirth—^{2}.

Republicans (5)

Boschwitz—^{2}
Kassebaum—^{2}
Simpson—^{2}
Thurmond—^{2AY}
Wallop—^{2AY}

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion	**Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on**	
	For (37)	*Against* (52)
Democrats— 94%	Democrats— 3 or 8%	Democrats— 45 or 87%
Republicans— 83%	Republicans— 34 or 92%	Republicans— 7 or 13%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 318

100th Congress
1st Session

October 9, 1987, 1:23 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-13997

PROMPT PAYMENT

BILL NO.: S. 328

TITLE: "Prompt Payment Act Amendments of 1987"

SUBJECT: **Passage of the bill which amends the Prompt Payment Act of 1982 to require the Federal government to automatically pay interest on overdue payments; extends coverage of the Act to subcontractors under Federal construction contracts, Commodity Credit Corporation (CCC) operations, and contract payments for dairy products, edible fats and oils, and food products prepared from edible fats and oils; and establishes a Presidential Advisory Panel for Coordination of Government Debt Collection and Delinquency Prevention Activities.**

S. 328: Vote No. 318.

RESULT: BILL PASSED

YEAS (86)

Democrats
(46 or 100%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Hollings
Johnston
Kennedy
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Stennis

Republicans
(40 or 100%)

Armstrong
Bond
Chafee
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Evans
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hatfield
Hecht
Heinz
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes
Kasten
Lugar
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Packwood
Pressler
Quayle
Roth
Rudman
Specter
Stafford
Stevens
Trible
Warner
Weicker
Wilson

NAYS (0)

Democrats
(0 or 0%)

Republicans
(0 or 0%)

NOT VOTING (14)

Democrats (8)

Biden—2
Bingaman—2AY
Dodd—2
Gore—2AY
Inouye—2
Kerry—2AY
Simon—2
Wirth—2

Republicans (6)

Boschwitz—2
Kassebaum—2
Simpson—2
Symms—2
Thurmond—2AY
Wallop—2AY

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 100%
Republicans— 100%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (86)
Democrats— 46 or 53%
Republicans— 40 or 47%

Against (0)
Democrats— 0 or 0%
Republicans— 0 or 0%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

MAJOR PROVISIONS

Clarifies that the Act's "payment clock" is triggered upon the receipt of a proper invoice by the designated agency representative or on the date that the supplies, services, or construction are formally accepted by the Federal agency, whichever is later; specifies that acceptance, exclusively for the purpose of determining payment timeliness, is deemed to have been accomplished five days after delivery of a product or service, unless otherwise specified in the contract.

Reduces the grace period during which an agency may pay a bill late without incurring any interest penalty from 15 to seven days and eliminates the grace period on October 1, 1989.

Makes explicit that late payment interest penalties should be paid automatically; doubles the interest penalty due a contractor if the agency fails to include any required late payment interest penalty in a contract payment and the contractor makes a written demand for the late payment interest penalty after ten days but within 40 days of the contract payment date; specifies that the Act's provisions are not abrogated if an agency is unable to make timely payments due to a temporary unavailability of funds.

Explicitly states the Act's application to construction contract progress payments, recognizes seven days as the prevailing industry standard, and reserves the government's right to specify a longer period in the contract solicitation upon demonstrating that it is the prevailing practice for the procured construction; makes Federal agencies liable for late payment interest penalties if they fail to release amounts retained from progress payments in accordance with a Federal construction contract or within 30 days of acceptance, whichever is shorter.

Clarifies that the Act applies to periodic payments for the delivery of supplies or services authorized under many government contracts.

Extends the Act's protections to subcontractors under Federal construction contracts by requiring that the prime contractor include a payment clause that is (1) based on the "prevailing industry standard" (currently within seven days of receiving Federal payment), and (2) entitles subcontractors to a late payment penalty from the prime contractor at the interest rate applicable between the Federal government and the prime contractor, unless the prime contractor certifies to the Federal agency that other payment terms were included in solicitations for subcontractor bids; specifies that the prompt payment and late penalty provisions only apply when no dispute exists as to the acceptability of the subcontractors' performance as determined by the prime contractor.

Expressly recognizes the right of the parties to a subcontract agreement to negotiate provisions governing withholding and retainage; explicitly removes the government from responsibility for resolving any dispute between the prime contractor and subcontractor regarding entitlement to payment or late payment interest penalties; stipulates that the Federal government is not liable for the payment of any late payment interest penalties incurred by the contractor.

Clarifies that the period during which an agency may take advantage of a contractor's price discount offer for early payment begins when a proper invoice is received by the designated office and stipulates that the agency is responsible for ensuring that payment is made before the specified expiration date.

Makes explicit the Act's coverage of the U.S. Postal Service and of payments due under long-term contracts initiated prior to enactment of these provisions.

Extends coverage to (1) all CCC operations and requires penalty interest on CCC obligations unpaid after 30 days, and (2) contract payments for dairy products, edible fats and oils, and food products prepared from edible fats and oils, which are to be made within 10 days after the agency receives a proper invoice stating the amount due.

Modifies the Act's reporting requirements, effective in FY 1988, to require data collection on the number and dollar value of invoices paid after the required payment date without inclusion of a late payment interest penalty, and requires the reporting agency to explain why a penalty was not incurred.

Requires the implementation of the Act through the government-wide Federal Acquisition Regulation; establishes payment term parameters which are to be developed to conform to prevailing market practice whenever possible; requires publication of implementation regulations, within 120 days of enactment, for public comment; and gives agencies a minimum of 90 days to implement most of the Act's provisions.

Establishes a Presidential Advisory Panel for Coordination of Government Debt Collection and Delinquency Prevention Activities to review, evaluate, and recommend improvements in Federal policies on debt collection and delinquency prevention; requires the Panel to make interim reports as the President or Congress may determine necessary with a final report to be submitted within 18 months of the Panel's first meeting.

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 319

100th Congress
1st Session

October 13, 1987, 9:29 a.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-14090

SENATE PROCEDURE
(ATTENDANCE)

SUBJECT: **Byrd motion to instruct the Sergeant at Arms to request the attendance of absent Senators.**

Vote Nos. 22, 23, 32, 50, 258, 261, 306, 316, 319, 322, 334, 381, 388, 391, 394.

RESULT: **MOTION FOR ATTENDANCE AGREED TO**

YEAS (67)

Democrats
(43 or 98%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Byrd
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Hollings
Inouye
Johnston
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Stennis

Republicans
(24 or 69%)

Boschwitz
Cohen
D'Amato
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hatfield
Humphrey
Karnes
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Packwood
Pressler
Rudman
Simpson
Specter
Thurmond
Trible
Warner
Wilson

NAYS (12)

Democrats
(1 or 2%)

Conrad

Republicans
(11 or 31%)

Bond
Chafee
Evans
Hecht
Helms
Kasten
Murkowski
Quayle
Symms
Wallop
Weicker

NOT VOTING (21)

Democrats (10)

Biden—2
Burdick—2
Chiles—2
Dodd—2
Glenn—2
Gore—2
Kennedy—2
Pell—1
Simon—2
Wirth—2

Republicans (11)

Armstrong—2
Cochran—2
Danforth—2
Garn—2
Heinz—2
Kassebaum—4
Lugar—2
Nickles—2
Roth—2
Stafford—2
Stevens—2

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 98%
Republicans— 69%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (67)
Democrats— 43 or 64%
Republicans— 24 or 36%

Against (12)
Democrats— 1 or 8%
Republicans— 11 or 92%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 320

100th Congress
1st Session

October 13, 1987, 2:01 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-14130

NOMINATION OF C. WILLIAM VERITY, JR. TO BE SECRETARY OF COMMERCE
(CLOTURE)

POSITION: Secretary of Commerce

SUBJECT: **Byrd, et al., motion to close debate on the nomination of C. William Verity, Jr., of Ohio, to be Secretary of Commerce.**

NOTE: The cloture petition, which was presented on October 8, 1987, was signed by Senators Byrd, Grassley, Bond, Chafee, Stevens, Gramm, Exon, Lautenberg, Leahy, Mitchell, Dole, Kasten, Packwood, Stafford, Pressler, Ford, and DeConcini.

Vote Nos. 320, 321.

RESULT: CLOTURE MOTION AGREED TO, 3/5THS HAVING VOTED IN THE AFFIRMATIVE

YEAS (85)

Democrats
(49 or 100%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Biden
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Hollings

Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans
(36 or 82%)

Armstrong
Bond
Boschwitz
Chafee
Cochran
Cohen
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Evans
Garn
Gramm
Hatfield
Hecht
Heinz
Karnes
Kasten

Lugar
McCain
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Packwood
Pressler
Quayle
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Specter
Stevens
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Warner
Weicker

NAYS (8)

Democrats
(0 or 0%)

Republicans
(8 or 18%)

D'Amato
Grassley
Hatch
Helms
Humphrey
McClure
Wallop
Wilson

NOT VOTING (7)

Democrats (5)

Dodd—2
Gore—2
Lautenberg—2
Metzenbaum—2
Simon—2

Republicans (2)

Kassebaum—4AY
Stafford—2

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 100%
Republicans— 82%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (85)
Democrats— 49 or 58%
Republicans— 36 or 42%

Against (8)
Democrats— 0 or 0%
Republicans— 8 or 100%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 321

100th Congress
1st Session

October 13, 1987, 4:06 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-14166

NOMINATION OF C. WILLIAM VERITY, JR. TO BE SECRETARY OF COMMERCE

POSITION: Secretary of Commerce

SUBJECT: **Confirmation of the nomination of C. William Verity, Jr., of Ohio, to be Secretary of Commerce.**

NOTE: Proponents of the nomination described Mr. Verity as a man of considerable accomplishment and ability with more than 40 years of experience in the steel industry. As former head of Armco Steel, he is well suited to address the problems facing the domestic steel industry. He has a record of voluntary service to community and country and has served as cochairman of the U.S.-USSR Trade and Economic Council. He has expressed support for the enactment of a trade bill this year and his desire to work with Congress to accomplish this.

Opponents of the nomination voiced concern about Mr. Verity's position on the Jackson-Vanik policy. While speaking on Radio Moscow, the nominee referred to it as a "terrible mistake," thereby showing insensitivity to the plight of Soviet Jews, whose prospects of leaving the USSR pivot on this law. During his testimony before the Commerce Committee, he stated his support for Jackson-Vanik but did not disguise his lingering doubts about the use of U.S. trade policies for human rights purposes. Believing that trade should be divorced from politics, he contended that the U.S. should export goods and services—including sensitive technology—to the Soviet Union and other Communist countries. He has unceasingly lobbied for expanded trade with the Communist world, despite the effect it would have on national security interests and on strengthening Communist regimes. He has a poor record with regard to the environment and has been described as "an unrepentant polluter." He strongly opposed enforcement of antipollution laws applying to a subsidiary firm he owned that was polluting Lake Superior.

Vote Nos. 320, 321.

RESULT: NOMINATION CONFIRMED

ADMINISTRATION POSITION: YEA

YEAS (84)

Democrats (47 or 92%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Biden
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Hollings
Inouye

Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Pryor
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans (37 or 84%)

Armstrong
Bond
Boschwitz
Chafee
Cochran
Cohen
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Evans
Garn
Gramm
Hatfield
Hecht
Heinz
Karnes
Lugar
McCain

McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Packwood
Pressler
Quayle
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Specter
Stevens
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Warner
Weicker
Wilson

NAYS (11)

Democrats (4 or 8%)

DeConcini
Dixon
Proxmire
Reid

Republicans (7 or 16%)

D'Amato
Grassley
Hatch
Helms
Humphrey
Kasten
Wallop

NOT VOTING (5)

Democrats (3)

Dodd—2
Gore—2
Simon—2

Republicans (2)

Kassebaum—4AY
Stafford—2

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 92%
Republicans— 84%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (84)
Democrats— 47 or 56%
Republicans— 37 or 44%

Against (11)
Democrats— 4 or 36%
Republicans— 7 or 64%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 322

100th Congress
1st Session

October 14, 1987, 9:20 a.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-14199

SENATE PROCEDURE
(ATTENDANCE)

SUBJECT: **Byrd motion to instruct the Sergeant at Arms to request the attendance of absent Senators.**

Vote Nos. 22, 23, 32, 50, 258, 261, 306, 316, 319, 322, 334, 381, 388, 391, 394.

RESULT: MOTION FOR ATTENDANCE AGREED TO

YEAS (55)

Democrats (47 or 98%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Graham
Heflin
Hollings
Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Matsunaga
Melcher
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans (8 or 20%)

Armstrong
Hatfield
Humphrey
Packwood
Roth
Rudman
Stafford
Stevens

NAYS (34)

Democrats (1 or 2%)

Conrad

Republicans (33 or 80%)

Bond
Boschwitz
Chafee
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Evans
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hecht
Heinz
Helms
Kasten
Lugar
McCain
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Pressler
Quayle
Simpson
Specter
Symms
Trible
Wallop
Weicker
Wilson

NOT VOTING (11)

Democrats (6)

Biden—2
Gore—2
Harkin—2
Levin—2
Metzenbaum—2
Simon—2

Republicans (5)

Karnes—2
Kassebaum—4
McClure—2
Thurmond—2
Warner—2

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 98%
Republicans— 80%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (55)
Democrats— 47 or 85%
Republicans— 8 or 15%

Against (34)
Democrats— 1 or 3%
Republicans— 33 or 97%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 323

100th Congress
1st Session

October 14, 1987, 2:40 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-14220

LABOR-HHS-EDUCATION APPROPRIATIONS, 1988
(AIDS EDUCATION)

BILL NO.: H.R. 3058

AMENDMENT NO.: 963

SUBJECT: **Helms modified amendment to prohibit the use of any funds provided under this Act to the Centers for Disease Control from being used to provide AIDS education, information, or prevention materials and activities that promote or encourage, directly or indirectly, homosexual sexual activities or the intravenous use of illegal drugs.**

NOTE: Proponents were concerned that Federal funds appropriated for AIDS education were actually being used to promote homosexuality. Referring to a comic book distributed by a gay crisis center in New York (which was not paid for with public funds), they argued that Federal funds are being misused and insisted that the only way to stop the spread of AIDS is by discouraging the activities responsible for it. They suggested that the Senate stop talking about individual rights and consider broad AIDS testing. While many reluctantly supported the amendment, they pointed out that it has a distorted focus on educational material that was not even funded with Federal money. They lamented that the amendment makes no constructive contribution to the battle against AIDS and cautioned that it should not be interpreted as placing the Senate on record as urging the Federal government to pretend that homosexuality does not exist, or that AIDS educational material should condemn homosexuality.

Opponents maintained that the Senate should not make laws that are so broad that they could be interpreted as restricting information needed by the American public. Censorship of knowledge regarding AIDS will lead to more people dying. The most effective weapon the Nation has against the spread of AIDS at this time is information. This is not the time to make moral judgments about homosexuality or any other sexually-transmitted or self-inflicted disease while the virus continues to spread. The U.S. already lags far behind most nations with regard to AIDS education. The Administration has worsened the situation by refusing to allow the Centers for Disease Control to distribute a mailing to every household regarding AIDS that the Senate approved.

H.R. 3058: Vote Nos. 323-326.

RESULT: **AMENDMENT AGREED TO**

YEAS (94)

Democrats (51 or 98%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Biden
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Hollings
Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Nunn
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans (43 or 98%)

Armstrong
Bond
Boschwitz
Chafee
Cochran
Cohen
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Evans
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hatfield
Hecht
Heinz
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes
Kasten
Lugar
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Packwood
Pressler
Quayle
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Specter
Stafford
Stevens
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Warner
Wilson

NAYS (2)

Democrats (1 or 2%)

Moynihan

Republicans (1 or 2%)

Weicker

NOT VOTING (4)

Democrats (2)

Gore—^{2}
Simon—^{2}

Republicans (2)

D'Amato—^{2}
Kassebaum—^{4}

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 98%
Republicans— 98%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (94)
Democrats— 51 or 54%
Republicans— 43 or 46%

Against (2)
Democrats— 1 or 50%
Republicans— 1 or 50%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD
NO. 324

100th Congress
1st Session

October 14, 1987, 5:03 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-14238

LABOR-HHS-EDUCATION APPROPRIATIONS, 1988 (LOW INCOME ENERGY ASSISTANCE/BUDGET WAIVER)

BILL NO.: H.R. 3058

AMENDMENT NO.: 953

SUBJECT: **Weicker motion to waive section 302(f) of the Budget Act (which prohibits consideration of legislation providing budget authority or outlays in excess of the Committee's section 302(b) report) to allow consideration of the Weicker amendment No. 953 which increases by $585 million funding for the Low Income Home Energy Assistance Program (LIHEAP).** (See also Vote No. 325.)

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment asserted that the Senate should restore funding for LIHEAP to last year's level. The proposed reduction is the largest percentage cut of any program serving the poor since 1982 even though gas prices have risen 36 percent in the last year and are expected to rise another four or five percent by the end of 1987. An underfunded program will further reduce the number of people the program can help and will cause increased illness among the elderly and the poor, resulting in many deaths and greater health care costs for the Federal government through medicare and medicaid. Many people will be forced into homeless shelters, also resulting in additional Federal costs. With a defense budget of $300 billion, it should be possible to provide $1.8 billion to keep low income Americans warm. A budget waiver was sought instead of an across-the-board offset because other programs in the bill are already cut to the bare minimum.

Opponents of the amendment countered that waiving the Budget Act would force the Federal government to borrow an additional $585 million and consequently increase the national debt. While conscious of the need to provide such basic human necessities as heating and cooling, they were critical of the Senate's pattern of voting to meet a particular crisis but failing to raise the necessary revenue. Some favored an across-the-board offset to raise money for the program.

H.R. 3058: Vote Nos. 323-326.

RESULT: MOTION TO WAIVE BUDGET ACT REJECTED, 3/5THS NOT HAVING VOTED IN THE AFFIRMATIVE

YEAS (47)

Democrats
(29 or 56%)

Adams
Biden
Bradley
Burdick
Byrd
Conrad
Cranston
Dodd
Fowler
Glenn
Harkin
Inouye
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Pell
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser

**Republicans
(18 or 40%)**

Chafee
Cohen
D'Amato
Durenberger
Grassley
Hatch
Hatfield
Heinz
Karnes
Lugar
McCain
Pressler
Roth
Specter
Stafford
Stevens
Weicker
Wilson

NAYS (50)

**Democrats
(23 or 44%)**

Baucus
Bentsen
Bingaman
Boren
Breaux
Bumpers
Chiles
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Exon
Ford
Graham
Heflin
Hollings
Johnston
Nunn
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Shelby
Stennis
Wirth

**Republicans
(27 or 60%)**

Armstrong
Bond
Boschwitz
Cochran
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Evans
Garn
Gramm
Hecht
Helms
Humphrey
Kasten
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Packwood
Quayle
Rudman
Simpson
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Warner

NOT VOTING (3)

Democrats (2)

Gore—2
Simon—2

Republicans (1)

Kassebaum—4

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 56%
Republicans— 60%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (47)
Democrats— 29 or 62%
Republicans— 18 or 38%

Against (50)
Democrats— 23 or 46%
Republicans— 27 or 54%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 325

100th Congress
1st Session

October 14, 1987, 6:04 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-14244

LABOR-HHS-EDUCATION APPROPRIATIONS, 1988
(LOW INCOME ENERGY ASSISTANCE)

BILL NO.: H.R. 3058

AMENDMENT NO.: 970

SUBJECT: **Chiles motion to table the Rudman-Kasten amendment which increases by $432.3 million funding for the Low Income Home Energy Assistance Program (LIHEAP) and offsets the increase by an across-the-board reduction of 1.94 percent in all other spending in the bill. (See also Vote No. 324.)**

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment asserted that the Committee unfairly penalized LIHEAP in making the allocations in this bill. While other programs in the bill are increased by hundreds of millions of dollars, this program has borne the brunt of the current budget pressures and has been cut enormously. By raising the necessary funding for LIHEAP with an across-the-board reduction on all other spending in the bill, most programs will still receive ample funding, and the poor and the elderly will be kept warm. Some continued to feel that a budget waiver was preferable (Vote No. 324) but supported this amendment as well.

Opponents of the amendment countered that by taking money from other programs in the bill, the Senate is only setting the persons the bill is intending to help "at each other's throat." The House funding level for LIHEAP will result in funds being added to the program in conference.

H.R. 3058: Vote Nos. 323-326.

RESULT: MOTION TO TABLE AGREED TO

YEAS (68)

Democrats (45 or 87%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Biden
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Hollings

Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Shelby
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans (23 or 52%)

Armstrong
Chafee
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Evans
Garn
Grassley
Hatch
Hatfield
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Packwood
Pressler
Stafford
Trible
Warner
Weicker
Wilson

NAYS (28)

Democrats (7 or 13%)

Bingaman
Conrad
Dixon
Melcher
Mitchell
Proxmire
Sasser

Republicans (21 or 48%)

Bond
Boschwitz
Danforth
Gramm
Hecht
Heinz
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes
Kasten
McCain
McClure
Quayle
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Specter
Stevens
Symms
Thurmond
Wallop

NOT VOTING (4)

Democrats (2)

Gore—2
Simon—2

Republicans (2)

Kassebaum—4
Lugar—2

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 87%
Republicans— 52%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (68)
Democrats— 45 or 66%
Republicans— 23 or 34%

Against (28)
Democrats— 7 or 25%
Republicans— 21 or 75%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 326

100th Congress
1st Session

October 14, 1987, 6:42 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-14253

LABOR-HHS-EDUCATION APPROPRIATIONS, 1988

BILL NO.: H.R. 3058

SUBJECT: **Passage of the bill which appropriates $129,404,328,930 in budget authority for the Departments of Labor, Health and Human Services, and Education and Related Agencies for FY 1988.**

NOTE: Compromise provisions of the bill were contained in H.J. Res. 395, the Continuing Resolution, which became Public Law 100-202, approved December 22, 1987.

H.R. 3058: Vote Nos. 323-326.

RESULT: BILL PASSED

YEAS (81)

Democrats
(49 or 94%)

Adams
Bentsen
Biden
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Hollings
Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans
(32 or 73%)

Boschwitz
Chafee
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Evans
Hatch
Hatfield
Hecht
Heinz
Karnes
Lugar
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Packwood
Pressler
Quayle
†Rudman
Simpson
Specter
Stafford
Stevens
Thurmond
Trible
Warner
Weicker
Wilson

NAYS (15)

Democrats
(3 or 6%)

Baucus
Conrad
Proxmire

Republicans
(12 or 27%)

Armstrong
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Helms
Humphrey
Kasten
McCain
Nickles
Roth
Symms
Wallop

NOT VOTING (4)

Democrats (2)

Gore—2
Simon—2

Republicans (2)

Bond—2
Kassebaum—4

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

†Perm. Record Correction, S-14294, 10/15/87

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 94%
Republicans— 73%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (81)
Democrats— 49 or 60%
Republicans— 32 or 40%

Against (15)
Democrats— 3 or 20%
Republicans— 12 or 80%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

MAJOR PROVISIONS

Department of Labor—$5,437,112,000: Contains $6.4 billion for the Employment and Training Administration (including $1.9 billion for block grants to States, $750 million for Summer Youth Employment, $300 million for dislocated worker assistance, $700 million for the Job Corps, $50 million for Trade Adjustment Assistance grants, $12 million for homeless job training, and $346 million for Community Service Employment for Older Americans); $1.1 billion for the Employment Standards Administration of which $649.2 million is for the Black Lung Disability Trust Fund; $169.8 million for the Mine Safety and Health Administration; $247.9 million for the Occupational Safety and Health Administration; and $183.8 million for the Bureau of Labor Statistics plus $43.4 million in trust funds, which will provide for a total program level of $227.3 million.

Extends the moratorium on Job Corps center closings through January 1, 1989, and on the contracting of civilian conservation centers through program year 1988; directs the Secretary of Labor to conduct a study on older Americans who have retired and are trying to reenter the workforce.

Retains the prohibition on using funds to carry out Federal Mine Safety and Health Act training provisions with respect to shell dredging and provisions relating to farming operations; recreational hunting, shooting, or fishing; small firms with low injury rates; the exemption of small farms from general schedule safety inspections; spot-check monitoring visits; and activities on the Outer Continental Shelf.

Department of HHS—$15,999,768,000: Contains a total of $946.4 million for research, prevention, information, and education activities for Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome (AIDS)-related programs, including funding for the AIDS-related activities of HHS agencies as follows: $43.6 million for the Health Resources and Services Administration, $310 million for the Centers for Disease Control (CDC), $467.9 million for the National Institutes of Health (NIH), $117.3 million for the Alcohol, Drug Abuse and Mental Health Administration (ADAMHA), and $5 million for the Public Health Care Emergency Fund.

Contains $1.6 billion for the Health Resources and Services Administration (including $557 million for the Maternal and Child Health Block Grant Program, $400 million for the Community Health Centers Program, and $232 million for health professions activities); $803 million for CDC; $1.5 billion for ADAMHA; $6.9 billion for NIH; $509 million for the Alcohol, Drug Abuse, and Mental Health Block Grant Program; $11.1 billion for child support enforcement and AFDC payments which includes $2.5 billion in advance payments; $1.2 billion for low-income home energy assistance; $389.6 million for refugee and entrant assistance; $407 million for Community Services Block Grants including $20 million for grants for services to the homeless (which when combined with the $36.8 million available from FY 1987 provides a total program level of $56.8 million); $96.7 million for the Work Incentives Program; $2.7 billion for Social Services Block Grants; $2.6 billion for Human Development Services including $1.3 billion for Head Start; $30.9 million for child abuse prevention and treatment; $27.3 million for the Runaway and Homeless Youth Program; $767.7 million for Administration on Aging programs; $99.8 million for developmental disabilities programs; and $811.2 million for family social services.

Provides for the major entitlement programs: $9.5 billion for the Supplemental Security Income (SSI) program which when combined with the $2.8 billion appropriated in advance payments in FY 1987 provides a total program level of $12.3 billion for SSI; $25.4 billion for payments to the health care trust funds (Medicare); $30 billion for grants to States for Medicaid, including $7.1 billion appropriated in advance payments in FY 1987 and provides $8 billion in advance appropriations for FY 1989; $105.3 million for payments to the Social Security Trust Funds; and $663.5 million for special benefits for disabled coal miners which is in addition to $252.5 million in advance payments in FY 1987.

Prohibits the CDC from using funds to provide AIDS education, information, or prevention materials and activities that promote or encourage, directly or indirectly, homosexual activities or the intravenous use of illegal drugs; requires NIH to expedite the process by which experimental drugs for the treatment of AIDS that have shown some effectiveness are made available for use in clinical trials and to enroll as many individuals with AIDS and AIDS-related complex in those trials as is scientifically feasible; precludes multiyear or forward funding of FY 1988 NIH grants, except as specifically required because of program or agency needs.

Department of Education—$16,711,943,930: Contains $4.5 billion for Compensatory Education for the Disadvantaged of which $4.5 billion is for Chapter 1 grants to local educational agencies; $701 million for impact aid; $1.1 billion for special programs including $530.1 million for chapter 2 programs of the Education Consolidation and Improvement Act; $200.3 million for bilingual education; $2 billion for education for the handicapped; $1.6 billion for rehabilitation services and handicapped research; $1.1 billion for vocational and adult education, $5.8 billion for student financial assistance of which $4.5 billion is for Pell grants; $2.9 billion for Guaranteed Student Loans; $512.4 million for higher education programs; and $136.6 million for library programs including $2.5 million for newly authorized college library technology and cooperation grants.

Related Agencies—$7,035,912,000: Contains $173.5 million for ACTION of which $20.7 million is for VISTA and $120.3 million is for Older Americans Volunteer Programs; $248 million in advance FY 1990 appropriations for the Corporation for Public Broadcasting; $139 million for the National Labor Relations Board; and $368 million for the Railroad Retirement Board's beneficiary payments.

General Provisions: Requires a uniform percentage reduction of all travel expense accounts to achieve a total outlay reduction of $22.6 million; directs the Secretary of HHS to report to Congress on violations of HHS travel policy and require reimbursement by persons found to be in violation.

Budget Authority Considered

1987 Appropriations	$115,962,635,000
1988 Budget Estimate	200,512,635,000
Approved by House	126,777,088,000
Approved by Senate	129,404,328,930
Enacted	127,074,798,000

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 327

100th Congress
1st Session

October 15, 1987, 9:20 a.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-14300

ARIAS NOBEL PEACE PRIZE

BILL NO.: S. Con. Res. 83

SUBJECT: **Adoption of the resolution which states the sense of the Congress that the U.S. congratulates Oscar Arias Sanchez, President of Costa Rica, as the recipient of the Nobel Peace Prize and commends the Nobel Prize Committee on its outstanding choice; recognizes the signing of the August 7 Guatemala Peace Accord as an historic achievement; urges the parties to the peace accord to implement all of its provisions in good faith; and pledges congressional support and full cooperation with respect to the good faith implementation of the August 7, 1987, Central America peace agreement.**

S. Con. Res. 83: Vote No. 327.

RESULT: **RESOLUTION AGREED TO**

YEAS (92)

Democrats
(51 or 100%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Biden
Bingaman
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Gore
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Hollings

Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Wirth

Republicans
(41 or 93%)

Armstrong
Bond
Boschwitz
Chafee
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Evans
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatfield
Hecht
Heinz
Karnes
Kasten
Lugar

McCain
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Packwood
Pressler
Quayle
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Specter
Stafford
Stevens
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Warner
Weicker
Wilson

NAYS (3)

Democrats
(0 or 0%)

Republicans
(3 or 7%)

Helms
Humphrey
Symms

NOT VOTING (5)

Democrats (3)

Boren—[2]
Simon—[2]
Stennis—[2]

Republicans (2)

Hatch—[2]
Kassebaum—[4AY]

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2--Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 100%
Republicans— 93%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (92)
Democrats— 51 or 55%
Republicans— 41 or 45%

Against (3)
Democrats— 0 or 0%
Republicans— 3 or 100%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 328

100th Congress
1st Session

October 15, 1987, 10:25 a.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-14312

HUD APPROPRIATIONS, 1988
(VETERANS' HEALTH)

BILL NO.: H.R. 2783

AMENDMENT NO.: 950

SUBJECT: **Cranston, et al., amendment to increase by $45.2 million funding in the VA medical care account which includes $20 million for AIDS treatment, $21.2 million for health care personnel recruitment and retention bonuses and tuition assistance, and $4 million for start-up costs for six satellite outpatient clinics. (No offset is necessary, because the increase would use the remaining outstanding balance of the subcommittee's allocation.)**

NOTE: Proponents asserted that the additional funds available in the budget allocation to the HUD-Independent Agencies Subcommittee should be applied to three vital areas in the VA medical care account—the care of veterans with AIDS, bonus pay and tuition assistance to recruit and retain high-quality health-care personnel, and start-up costs for six VA outpatient clinics. These funds are not being transferred from other programs but represent funds remaining under the subcommittee budget allocation.

Opponents countered that commitment of these funds now would leave nothing for a supplemental appropriation should the need arise. While the amendment involves a modest amount of money and a worthy use, the only way the Senate will ever get control of the budget is to vote against additional spending.

H.R. 2783: Vote Nos. 328-332.

RESULT: AMENDMENT AGREED TO

YEAS (93)

Democrats (50 or 98%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Biden
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Harkin
Heflin
Hollings
Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans (43 or 98%)

Armstrong
Bond
Boschwitz
Chafee
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Evans
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatfield
Hecht
Heinz
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes
Kasten
Lugar
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Packwood
Pressler
Quayle
Roth
Simpson
Specter
Stafford
Stevens
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Warner
Weicker
Wilson

NAYS (2)

Democrats (1 or 2%)

Proxmire

Republicans (1 or 2%)

Rudman

NOT VOTING (5)

Democrats (3)

Gore—[2]
Graham—[2]
Simon—[2]

Republicans (2)

Hatch—[2]
Kassebaum—[4]

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 98%
Republicans— 98%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (93)
Democrats— 50 or 54%
Republicans— 43 or 46%

Against (2)
Democrats— 1 or 50%
Republicans— 1 or 50%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 329

100th Congress
1st Session

October 15, 1987, 1:21 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-14332

HUD APPROPRIATIONS, 1988
(VETERANS' HEALTH)

BILL NO.: H.R. 2783

AMENDMENT NO.: 982

SUBJECT: **Johnston motion to table the DeConcini amendment which adds $75 million for VA medical care field personnel pay increases, offset by reducing NASA's manned space station R&D program by $118.36 million. (The larger offset is necessary because of different outlay spendout rates.)**

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment (voting nay) asserted that the U.S. should not be proceeding with the development of the space station at the current rate without properly addressing the needs of veterans, particularly since the VA budget has fallen substantially since 1975 as a percentage of the Federal budget. The amendment would provide sufficient funds to the VA to cover the three percent pay raise for the first five months of 1988. Without these additional funds, medical care staff levels would have to be reduced by at least 3,000 jobs to absorb the cost, they claimed. The House bill fully funds the raise for the entire year. Some contended that the amendment was not intended to hurt NASA or the space station program, noting that the space station would still receive an increase of $20 million over last year. Others supported the amendment because it forces a more cautious and careful approach to the space station program, noting that the proposed orbit for the station is of little use for earth science and is poorly suited for unmanned exploration of the solar system—two of the primary applications suggested for the station.

Opponents of the amendment (voting yea) countered that reducing funding for the space station program would add four to six months to the development and launch schedule, and billions of dollars to the cost of the station. Since the space station will be the platform for all future space projects, the U.S. should provide sufficient resources to develop it properly. The total NASA budget is only about one-third of the VA budget, while the total VA budget is more than $10 billion, to which the Senate just voted to add an additional $43 million (Vote No. 328). The VA budget has decreased as a percentage of the Federal budget only because the rest of the budget has increased dramatically. Furthermore, there are fewer veterans who are in school under the GI bill now than in 1975, which has led to a reduction in their budget needs.

H.R. 2783: Vote Nos. 328-332.

RESULT: MOTION TO TABLE AGREED TO

YEAS (84)				NAYS (12)		NOT VOTING (4)	
Democrats (42 or 79%)		Republicans (42 or 98%)		Democrats (11 or 21%)	Republicans (1 or 2%)	Democrats (1)	Republicans (3)
Adams	Johnston	Bond	Kasten	Boren	Pressler	Simon—2	Armstrong—2
Baucus	Kennedy	Boschwitz	Lugar	Bradley			Kassebaum—4
Bentsen	Kerry	Chafee	McCain	Burdick			McClure—2
Biden	Lautenberg	Cochran	McConnell	Conrad			
Bingaman	Levin	Cohen	Murkowski	Daschle			
Breaux	Matsunaga	D'Amato	Nickles	DeConcini			
Bumpers	Melcher	Danforth	Packwood	Dixon			
Byrd	Metzenbaum	Dole	Quayle	Leahy			
Chiles	Mikulski	Domenici	Roth	Mitchell			
Cranston	Moynihan	Durenberger	Rudman	Pell			
Dodd	Nunn	Evans	Simpson	Proxmire			
Exon	Pryor	Garn	Specter				
Ford	Reid	Gramm	Stafford				
Fowler	Riegle	Grassley	Stevens				
Glenn	Rockefeller	Hatch	Symms				
Gore	Sanford	Hatfield	Thurmond				
Graham	Sarbanes	Hecht	Trible				
Harkin	Sasser	Heinz	Wallop				
Heflin	Shelby	Helms	Warner				
Hollings	Stennis	Humphrey	Weicker				
Inouye	Wirth	Karnes	Wilson				

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion	Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on: *For* (84)	*Against* (12)
Democrats— 79%	Democrats— 42 or 50%	Democrats— 11 or 92%
Republicans— 98%	Republicans— 42 or 50%	Republicans— 1 or 8%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 330

100th Congress
1st Session

October 15, 1987, 2:30 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-14337

HUD APPROPRIATIONS, 1988
(VETERANS' HEALTH/UDAG)

BILL NO.: H.R. 2783

AMENDMENT NO.: 985

SUBJECT: **Garn motion to table the Humphrey amendment which reduces funding for Urban Development Action Grants (UDAG) by $100 million and cuts veterans' medical care by $10 billion.** (The sponsor intended to add $100 million for veterans which would have been subject to a point of order that it violated the Budget Act. See Vote No. 331 on a second Humphrey amendment.)

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment argued that UDAG is nothing more than corporate welfare and that the funds the Senate expends in this way would be better spent on veterans' health care.

Opponents of the amendment countered that the Banking Committee has spent the last two years revising the whole UDAG formula so that it works fairly for all States and communities. This effort deserves more than the twenty minutes of debate permitted on the amendment, particularly since the amendment cuts in half the funds available for UDAG.

H.R. 2783: Vote Nos. 328-332.

RESULT: MOTION TO TABLE AGREED TO

YEAS (92)

Democrats (52 or 98%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Biden
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Gore
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Hollings
Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans (40 or 91%)

Armstrong
Bond
Boschwitz
Chafee
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Evans
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hatfield
Heinz
Karnes
Kasten
Lugar
McCain
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Packwood
Pressler
Quayle
Rudman
Simpson
Specter
Stafford
Stevens
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Warner
Weicker
Wilson

NAYS (5)

Democrats (1 or 2%)

Proxmire

Republicans (4 or 9%)

Hecht
Helms
Humphrey
Roth

NOT VOTING (3)

Democrats (1)

Simon—2

Republicans (2)

Kassebaum—4
McClure—2

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

Party Cohesion	*For* (92)	*Against* (5)
Democrats— 98%	Democrats— 52 or 57%	Democrats— 1 or 20%
Republicans— 91%	Republicans— 40 or 43%	Republicans— 4 or 80%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 331

100th Congress
1st Session

October 15, 1987, 3:20 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-14341

HUD APPROPRIATIONS, 1988
(VETERANS' HEALTH/UDAG)

BILL NO.: H.R. 2783

AMENDMENT NO.: 986

SUBJECT: **Garn motion to table the Humphrey-Hecht amendment which adds $5.9 million for veterans' medical care, offset by a $10 million reduction in funds for Urban Development Action Grants (UDAG).** (The larger offset is necessary because of different outlay spendout rates. See also Vote No. 330.)

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment asserted that UDAG is corporate welfare and that the program should be reduced if not eliminated altogether. They criticized the fact that prosperous U.S. companies have received UDAG grants and charged Congress with not using public funds wisely. The Senate should not distort the marketplace through the use of these subsidies, they argued, but should allow the free market to govern where investment is made. The amendment would reduce UDAG by $100 million and transfer that savings to veterans' health care.

Opponents of the amendment countered that UDAG has withstood every attempt to eliminate it because it is an effective program with a proven record. For every Federal dollar spent, $6 of private funds have been invested. Communities that have been ravaged by the decline of the U.S.' heavy industries have experienced the creation of new jobs as a result of UDAG projects. With revenue sharing eliminated, many communities rely heavily on the UDAG program. While agreeing that some UDAG funds have been misused in the past, they felt that the program's accomplishments far outweigh any abuses.

H.R. 2783: Vote Nos. 328-332.

RESULT: MOTION TO TABLE AGREED TO

YEAS (67)

Democrats
(46 or 87%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Biden
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Glenn
Gore
Graham
Harkin
Hollings
Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Pryor
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans
(21 or 47%)

Bond
Chafee
Cochran
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Evans
Garn
Hatch
Hatfield
Heinz
Karnes
Kasten
Lugar
Packwood
Quayle
Specter
Stafford
Wallop

NAYS (31)

Democrats
(7 or 13%)

Bumpers
DeConcini
Fowler
Heflin
Mitchell
Proxmire
Reid

Republicans
(24 or 53%)

Armstrong
Boschwitz
Cohen
Gramm
Grassley
Hecht
Helms
Humphrey
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Pressler
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Stevens
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Warner
Weicker
Wilson

NOT VOTING (2)

Democrats (1)

Simon—2

Republicans (1)

Kassebaum—4

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—87%
Republicans—53%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (67)
Democrats—46 or 69%
Republicans—21 or 31%

Against (31)
Democrats—7 or 23%
Republicans—24 or 77%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 332

100th Congress
1st Session

October 15, 1987, 3:44 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-14350

HUD APPROPRIATIONS, 1988

BILL NO.: H.R. 2783

SUBJECT: **Passage of the bill which appropriates a total of $57,216,459,000 in new budget authority for the Department of Housing and Urban Development, Veterans' Administration, National Aeronautics and Space Administration, Environmental Protection Agency, National Science Foundation, and other agencies, commissions, boards, corporations, institutes, and offices in FY 1988.**

NOTE: Compromise provisions of the bill were contained in H.J. Res. 395, the Continuing Resolution, which became Public Law 100-202, approved December 22, 1987.

H.R. 2783: Vote Nos. 328-332.

RESULT: BILL PASSED

YEAS (86)

Democrats
(51 or 96%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Biden
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Gore
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Hollings

Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans
(35 or 78%)

Bond
Boschwitz
Chafee
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Evans
Garn
Grassley
Hatch
Hatfield
Heinz
Karnes
Kasten

Lugar
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Packwood
Pressler
Quayle
Rudman
Simpson
Specter
Stafford
Stevens
Thurmond
Warner
Weicker
Wilson

NAYS (12)

Democrats
(2 or 4%)

Conrad
Proxmire

Republicans
(10 or 22%)

Armstrong
Gramm
Hecht
Helms
Humphrey
Nickles
Roth
Symms
Trible
Wallop

NOT VOTING (2)

Democrats (1)

Simon—2

Republicans (1)

Kassebaum—4

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 96%
Republicans— 78%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (86)
Democrats— 51 or 59%
Republicans— 35 or 41%

Against (12)
Democrats— 2 or 17%
Republicans— 10 or 83%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

MAJOR PROVISIONS

Appropriates a total of $57,216,459,000 in new budget authority for the Department of Housing and Urban Development, Veterans' Administration, National Aeronautics and Space Administration, Environmental Protection Agency, National Science Foundation, and other agencies, commissions, boards, corporations, institutes, and offices in FY 1988.

HUD—$13,089,649,000: Contains $9.5 billion for housing programs which includes $7.5 billion in new budget authority for the assisted housing program, less a $204.7 million rescission making $7.3 million available for the assisted housing program.

Rescinds $2.0 million in contract authority and $52.0 million in budget authority for the Rental Housing Assistance Program.

Places a $602.8 million limitation on loans for housing for the elderly or handicapped which is sufficient to produce 11,788 units; sets aside 25 percent of the total section 202 direct loan limitation for projects to assist handicapped persons—15 percent of which will be used for physically and developmentally handicapped individuals and 10 percent for the homeless deinstitutionalized mentally ill; continues limiting access to section 202 funds to qualified nonprofit sponsors, providing long-term permanent financing at a rate not to exceed 9.25 percent and requiring that section 202 loan authority be included as part of the Federal budget.

Contains $3.5 million for housing counseling assistance, $1.5 billion for operation of low-income housing projects, and $7 million for the congregate services program, which, together with $2.7 million carried forward from FY 1987, makes a total of $9.7 million available for contract extensions and new commitments.

Places a $150 billion limitation on GNMA loan guarantee commitments.

Contains $225.0 million for UDAG, $1.5 billion for public housing operating subsidies, and $3.0 billion for Community Development Block Grants.

Related Agencies—$44,126,810,000: Contains $12.9 million for the salaries and expenses of the American Battle Monuments Commission; $33.9 million for the activities of the Consumer Product Safety Commission; $5.3 billion for EPA, of which $193.6 million is for EPA R&D and $672.5 million is for EPA's abatement and control effort; $653.4 million for FEMA; $9.1 billion for NASA; $1.9 billion for the NSF; $27.1 billion for the VA which includes $14.3 billion for VA benefits and compensation, $625.7 million for VA readjustment benefits, and $10.1 billion for VA medical care.

Reinstates EPA's authority to collect up to $5 million per year in fees for quality assurances services and materials.

Budget Authority Considered

1987 Appropriations	$56,637,951,700
1988 Budget Estimate	51,596,329,313
Approved by House	57,938,256,000
Approved by Senate	57,216,459,000
Enacted	56,616,649,000

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 333

100th Congress
1st Session

October 15, 1987, 7:21 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-14399

COMMERCE-JUSTICE-STATE APPROPRIATIONS, 1988

BILL NO.: H.R. 2763

SUBJECT: **Passage of the bill which appropriates $14,194,813,933 in new budget authority for the Departments of Commerce, Justice, and State, the Judiciary, and Related Agencies in FY 1988.**

NOTE: Compromise provisions of the bill were contained in H.J. Res. 395, the Continuing Resolution, which became Public Law 100-202, approved December 22, 1987.

H.R. 2763: Vote No. 333.

RESULT: **BILL PASSED**

YEAS (82)

Democrats
(49 or 96%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Biden
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Hollings
Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans
(33 or 83%)

Bond
Boschwitz
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Grassley
Hatch
Hatfield
Hecht
Heinz
Kasten
Lugar
McCain
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Packwood
Pressler
Quayle
Rudman
Simpson
Specter
Stafford
Stevens
Thurmond
Trible
Warner
Weicker
Wilson

NAYS (9)

Democrats
(2 or 4%)

Conrad
Proxmire

Republicans
(7 or 18%)

Armstrong
Garn
Gramm
Helms
Humphrey
Roth
Wallop

NOT VOTING (9)

Democrats (3)

Gore—2
Metzenbaum—2
Simon—2

Republicans (6)

Chafee—2
Evans—2
Karnes—2
Kassebaum—4
McClure—2
Symms—2

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 96%
Republicans— 83%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (82)
Democrats— 49 or 60%
Republicans— 33 or 40%

Against (9)
Democrats— 2 or 22%
Republicans— 7 or 78%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

MAJOR PROVISIONS

Department of Commerce—$2,536,233,933: Contains $214.3 million for the Economic Development Administration (EDA), $1.2 billion for the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration, and $161.95 million for the International Trade Administration which includes $15.8 million for the Trade Adjustment Assistance Program and $1.5 million for SEMATECH; authorizes an EDA loan guarantee program of up to $150 million.

Department of Justice—$5,303,943,000: Contains $1.4 billion for the FBI, $517.8 million for the Drug Enforcement Administration, $1.2 billion for legal activities, $815.3 million for the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS), $970.97 million for the Federal Prison System, and $238.8 million for Justice Assistance programs.

Requires INS to use sealed bid or competitive proposal procedures to secure a nationwide telephone verification system; delays, until October 1, 1988, implementation of a new rule on temporary visas.

Prohibits use of funds to require any person to perform, or facilitate in any way the performance of, an abortion.

Department of State—$2,457,726,000: Contains $2.03 billion for administration of foreign affairs, $370.6 million for international organizations and conferences, and $29.8 million for international commissions; establishes a commission to determine the proper U.S. contribution to international agencies; includes $17.8 million for the National Endowment for Democracy of which $250,000 is for the free press, free radio, and peaceful civic opposition in Nicaragua.

Prohibits further obligation of funds for construction of the new U.S. embassy in Moscow, except as necessary to demolish the upper eight floors; prohibits the Soviets from occupying their new chancery in Washington, D.C., until a new office building is available to the U.S. in Moscow and the Soviets have reimbursed the U.S. for damages resulting from the present building in Moscow; requires the State Department to develop a plan to establish essential parity in numbers, types, and quality of building in capital cities; calls for a hiatus on new embassy construction until the management of overseas embassy construction is organized under an Under Secretary of State responsible for the Office of Foreign Missions and the Bureau of Diplomatic Security; directs the Secretary to submit to Congress by February 15, 1988, a plan to complete a new office building in Moscow ready for occupancy by December 31, 1990; requires that all work be performed by U.S. citizens, and, if the building is not ready by that date due to Soviet failure to provide prompt and full support to the State Department in carrying out these provisions, to evict the Soviets from their current chancery in Washington and relocate them to a facility with physical standards essentially equivalent to the present chancery occupied by the U.S. in Moscow.

The Judiciary—$1,405,108,000 for the Courts of Appeals, District Courts, Administrative Office, and judicial services.

Related Agencies—$2,525,703,000: Contains $80.2 million for the Maritime Administration, $467.4 million for SBA; $104.9 million for the FCC, $310.0 million for the Legal Services Corporation (LSC) with each line item earmarked, $215.0 million for the Board for International Broadcasting, and $819.8 million for the U.S. Information Agency (USIA); contains a new appropriation of $200,000 for a Commission on the Preservation of America's Heritage Abroad.

Prohibits the FCC from repealing, retroactively restricting, or continuing pending re-examination of longstanding rules to promote the ownership of broadcasting licenses by minority group members and women; prohibits diminution in the number of VHF channel assignments for noncommercial television stations.

Restates LSC language provisions contained in the FY 1987 Act with the exception of the restriction affecting the LSC regulation governing legislative and administrative advocacy which has been amended to prevent LSC from implementing or enforcing the regulations imposing restrictions on the use of private funds by legal services programs which go beyond funding restrictions imposed under the LSC Act.

Requires USIA and the Voice of America to purchase American-manufactured materials and equipment in carrying out the facilities modernization program.

Prohibits the sale to third parties of disaster assistance direct loans and SBA-guaranteed debentures issued by certified development companies and small business investment companies which were held by the Federal Financing Bank on September 30, 1987; prohibits SBA from implementing any new or additional user fees, guaranty fees, or examination fees beyond those which were in effect on September 1, 1987.

Prohibits the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission from enforcing its regulation permitting employees to waive their rights under the Age Discrimination in Employment Act during FY 1988.

Cuban Political Prisoners and Immigrants: Directs INS to process current and former Cuban political prisoners who have served any amount of time in Cuban jails as refugees for entry into the U.S., and reinstitutes normal immigration from Cuba and third countries regardless of the disposition of the Mariels now in the U.S.

Indochinese Refugees: Gives responsibility for Indochinese refugee processing to State Department consular officers at the Secretary's discretion; sets annual Indochinese refugee admissions from first asylum countries at 28,000 in FY 1988-90, plus 8,500 for the Orderly Departure Program; allocates 9,000 admissions annually in FY 1988-90 for persons who have been in camps 3 or more years; requires the Attorney General to admit at least 150 nonfamily reunification, humanitarian parole cases from Southeast Asia in FY 1988-90; authorizes $5 million annually in FY 1988-89 for education programs for refugees who will not be resettled and who live along the Thai-Lao and Thai-Cambodian borders; provides in FY 1988-89 $5 million for the Thai village assistance program and $1 million to train protection rangers along the Thai border; expresses Senate favor for a 24 hour presence of international relief personnel in a Cambodian border camp called site 2.

Polish Nationals: Permits those Polish nationals who fled Poland after martial law was imposed and are on record with INS as having continuously resided in the U.S. before July 21, 1984, to be adjusted to permanent resident status.

Budget Authority Considered

1987 Appropriations	$13,459,625,007
1988 Budget Estimate	14,815,903,000
Approved by House	13,896,501,000
Approved by Senate	14,228,813,933
Enacted	13,891,705,933

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 334

100th Congress
1st Session

October 16, 1987, 9:17 a.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-14429

SENATE PROCEDURE
(ATTENDANCE)

SUBJECT: **Byrd motion to instruct the Sergeant at Arms to request the attendance of absent Senators.**

Vote Nos. 22, 23, 32, 50, 258, 261, 306, 316, 319, 322, 334, 381, 388, 391, 394.

RESULT: **MOTION FOR ATTENDANCE AGREED TO**

YEAS (63)

Democrats
(51 or 100%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Biden
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Hollings

Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans
(12 or 29%)

Armstrong
Cochran
Grassley
Hatfield
Heinz
Humphrey
Packwood
Roth
Rudman
Stevens
Thurmond
Warner

NAYS (29)

Democrats
(0 or 0%)

Republicans
(29 or 71%)

Bond
Boschwitz
Chafee
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Garn
Gramm
Hatch
Hecht
Helms
Karnes
Kasten
Lugar
McCain
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Pressler
Quayle
Specter
Symms
Trible
Wallop
Weicker
Wilson

NOT VOTING (8)

Democrats (3)

Gore—2
Mikulski—2
Simon—2

Republicans (5)

Evans—2
Kassebaum—4
McClure—2
Simpson—2
Stafford—2

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 100%
Republicans— 71%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (63)
Democrats— 51 or 81%
Republicans— 12 or 19%

Against (29)
Democrats— 0 or 0%
Republicans— 29 or 100%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 335

100th Congress
1st Session

October 16, 1987, 10:57 a.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-14434

INDEPENDENT COUNSEL REAUTHORIZATION

BILL NO.: S. 1293 (H.R. 2939)

TITLE: "Independent Counsel Reauthorization Act of 1987"

SUBJECT: **Byrd motion to proceed to the consideration of the bill which provides a permanent reauthorization for the independent counsel process under Title VI of the Ethics in Government Act of 1979 and modifies the provision governing that process.**

NOTE: Proponents of the motion contended that there is an urgency to renewing and improving this law as the reported bill does. A year will probably elapse before Supreme Court action, and the Senate should be on record defending it. The Senate already has authorized its legal counsel to go to court to defend the law. The issue under debate as to its constitutionality concerns who appoints and controls the independent counsel, not whether the process should continue.

Opponents of the motion felt it premature to bring up the bill since there is a court case waiting to be decided by the Circuit Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia, and that decision will most likely be appealed to the Supreme Court.

S. 1293 (H.R. 2939): Vote Nos. 335, 363-365, 386.

RESULT: MOTION TO PROCEED AGREED TO

YEAS (65)			NAYS (28)		NOT VOTING (7)	
Democrats (52 or 100%)		Republicans (13 or 32%)	Democrats (0 or 0%)	Republicans (28 or 68%)	Democrats (2)	Republicans (5)
Adams	Inouye	Boschwitz		Armstrong	Gore—2AY	Evans—2
Baucus	Johnston	Cohen		Bond	Simon—2	Kassebaum—4
Bentsen	Kennedy	D'Amato		Chafee		McClure—2
Biden	Kerry	Dole		Cochran		Simpson—2
Bingaman	Lautenberg	Durenberger		Danforth		Stafford—2
Boren	Leahy	Hatfield		Domenici		
Bradley	Levin	Heinz		Garn		
Breaux	Matsunaga	Karnes		Gramm		
Bumpers	Melcher	Roth		Grassley		
Burdick	Metzenbaum	Rudman		Hatch		
Byrd	Mikulski	Specter		Hecht		
Chiles	Mitchell	Weicker		Helms		
Conrad	Moynihan	Wilson		Humphrey		
Cranston	Nunn			Kasten		
Daschle	Pell			Lugar		
DeConcini	Proxmire			McCain		
Dixon	Pryor			McConnell		
Dodd	Reid			Murkowski		
Exon	Riegle			Nickles		
Ford	Rockefeller			Packwood		
Fowler	Sanford			Pressler		
Glenn	Sarbanes			Quayle		
Graham	Sasser			Stevens		
Harkin	Shelby			Symms		
Heflin	Stennis			Thurmond		
Hollings	Wirth			Trible		
				Wallop		
				Warner		

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion	Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on	
	For (65)	*Against* (28)
Democrats— 100%	Democrats— 52 or 80%	Democrats— 0 or 0%
Republicans— 68%	Republicans— 13 or 20%	Republicans— 28 or 100%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 336

100th Congress
1st Session

October 16, 1987, 2:31 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-14508

VETERANS' TRAVEL PAYMENTS

BILL NO.: S. 1464 (H.R. 2327) AMENDMENT NO.: 1007

TITLE: "Veterans' Administration Beneficiary Travel Quality Assurance, and Readjustment Counseling Amendments of 1987"

SUBJECT: **Murkowski, et al., amendment (as a substitute for Title III of the bill) which extends for one year, until September 30, 1990, the date by which "storefront" readjustment centers for Vietnam veterans must be relocated to the VA medical centers and to require that recipients of such services submit their social security numbers to the Veterans' Administration.**

NOTE: Proponents contended that Title III should not be included in the bill because it circumvents the legislative process. Those who are critical of making Vietnam veterans' readjustment centers permanent, including a number of veterans' groups, DOD, and the VA, were not given the opportunity to testify since no hearings were held on Title III. The services provided by these centers should be shifted to the VA, they felt, where veterans can be certain of receiving professional care, and more efficient use can be made of limited medical resources. Maintaining the centers would perpetuate a segregated system of services for Vietnam veterans and the stereotype that they are incapable of resuming normal lives. Title III also would extend eligibility for readjustment counseling to active duty personnel, making over two million persons potentially eligible for certain medical care services, and to World War II and Korean War veterans, who need hosptial and nursing home care more than readjustment counseling.

Opponents countered that eliminating Title III would lead to an arbitrary and full termination of the veterans' centers, regardless of their importance in particular communities. Title III eliminates the statutory mandate for the transition of Vietnam-era readjustment counseling centers to VA facilities, and establishes a sensible case-by-case procedure to determine whether a particular closure should occur. These centers have provided invaluable assistance to veterans within their own communities, rather than at remote and sometimes inaccessible VA medical facilities. Demand for their services is growing. Closing the centers would not save the Federal government any money, according to GAO. While

(OVER)

S. 1464 (H.R. 2327): Vote Nos. 336, 337.

RESULT: AMENDMENT REJECTED

YEAS (33)

Democrats (2 or 4%)

Heflin
Proxmire

Republicans (31 or 82%)

Armstrong
Bond
Boschwitz
Chafee
Cochran
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Gramm
Hatch
Hatfield
Hecht
Heinz
Helms
Humphrey
Kasten
Lugar
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Packwood
Quayle
Roth
Rudman
Specter
Stevens
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Warner

NAYS (57)

Democrats (50 or 96%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Biden
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Graham
Harkin
Hollings
Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans (7 or 18%)

Cohen
Domenici
Durenberger
Grassley
McCain
Pressler
Weicker

NOT VOTING (10)

Democrats (2)

Gore—^{2}
Simon—^{2}

Republicans (8)

Evans—^{2}
Garn—^{2}
Karnes—^{2}
Kassebaum—^{4}
McClure—^{2}
Simpson—^{2}
Stafford—^{2}
Wilson—^{2AY}

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 96%
Republicans— 82%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (33)
Democrats— 2 or 6%
Republicans— 31 or 94%

Against (57)
Democrats— 50 or 88%
Republicans— 7 or 12%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

hearings were not held specifically on Title III, substantial support was received from the Vietnam Veterans of America. Those veterans' organizations that have been cited as opposed to Title III never supported the creation of the centers in the first place. With regard to readjustment counseling for active duty personnel, the Chairman of the Veterans' Affairs Committee indicated he would not insist on that provision in conference.

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 337

100th Congress
1st Session

October 16, 1987, 2:50 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-14509

VETERANS' TRAVEL PAYMENTS

BILL NO.: H.R. 2327 (S. 1464)

TITLE: "Veterans' Administration Beneficiary Travel Quality Assurance, and Readjustment Counseling Amendments of 1987"

SUBJECT: **Passage of the bill which restores beneficiary travel payments to certain individuals in connection with travel to and from VA facilities; establishes the Office of Medical Inspector General and the position of Assistant Inspector General for Health Care Quality Assurance Review within that office with responsibility for investigating reports of inadequate quality of care; establishes the position of Assistant Chief Medical Director for Quality Assurance within the Office of the Chief Medical Director; eliminates the requirement for a transition under which community-based Vet Centers would be moved to VA medical facilities; and provides standards and procedures for any closure or relocation of Vet Centers.**

H.R. 2327 (S. 1464): Vote Nos. 336, 337.

RESULT: BILL PASSED

YEAS (89)

Democrats
(51 or 98%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Biden
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Hollings
Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans
(38 or 100%)

Armstrong
Bond
Boschwitz
Chafee
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hatfield
Hecht
Heinz
Helms
Humphrey
Kasten
Lugar
McCain
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Packwood
Pressler
Quayle
Roth
Rudman
Specter
Stevens
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Warner
Weicker

NAYS (1)

Democrats
(1 or 2%)

Proxmire

Republicans
(0 or 0%)

NOT VOTING (10)

Democrats (2)

Gore—^{2}
Simon—^{2}

Republicans (8)

Evans—^{2}
Garn—^{2}
Karnes—^{2}
Kassebaum—^{4}
McClure—^{2}
Simpson—^{2}
Stafford—^{2}
Wilson—^{2AY}

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 98%
Republicans— 100%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (89)
Democrats— 51 or 57%
Republicans— 38 or 43%

Against (1)
Democrats— 1 or 100%
Republicans— 0 or 0%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

MAJOR PROVISIONS

Beneficiary Travel Program: Restores VA beneficiary travel reimbursements for travel to VA facilities by those veterans who receive benefits for a service-connected disability or VA pension benefits, those who seek compensation or pension examinations, and veterans whose income is below the income standard for VA pensions and who were eligible for beneficiary travel payments prior to the issuance on April 13, 1987, of VA regulations restricting eligibility; applies a $3.75 one-way deductible in connection with any beneficiary travel except for veterans traveling by special modes of transportation or any veteran traveling to receive compensation and pension examinations; places a $22.50 per month cap on the deductible for those veterans who are pre-approved as needing to travel on a frequent basis; permits the Administrator to waive the deductible if it would cause severe hardship on the veteran; allows VA facility directors, subject to the approval of the Chief Medical Director (CMD), to reduce or eliminate beneficiary travel reimbursements under certain circumstances; requires the Administrator to promote the establishment and maintenance of transportation networks, in conjunction with veterans' service organizations and the Secretary of Transportation, to promote local transportation for veterans to VA facilities.

Quality Assurance Program: Establishes an expanded and autonomous Office of the Medical Inspector General (MIG) directly accountable to the CMD, with specified support positions and funding and responsibility for investigating reports of inadequate quality of care; establishes the position of Assistant Chief Medical Director for Quality Assurance directly accountable to the CMD and responsible for VA's statutorily-mandated quality assurance program; establishes within the VA's Office of Inspector General (IG) an Assistant Inspector General for Health Care Quality Review, and support positions, responsible for comprehensive monitoring of the functioning of the MIG's operation as well as of the Department of Medicine and Surgery quality assurance and risk management programs; requires the MIG and IG to submit annual reports on their activities, findings, and recommendations for the preceding fiscal year to the CMD, to the VA Administrator and Veterans Affairs Committees.

Vietnam Veterans' Readjustment Counseling Programs: Eliminates the statutory mandate for the transition of the Vietnam era veteran readjustment counseling program from one conducted primarily through Vet Centers in community locations to one conducted primarily through VA medical facilities; permits the closure or relocation of a Vet Center in a general VA facility upon case-by-case determinations by the CMD after taking into account certain criteria ensuring the continued availability and effective provision of readjustment counseling services; requires that the veterans' committees be notified 60 days in advance of any relocation; protects for two years the budget and personnel ceiling for any Vet Center relocated to a VA medical facility, but allows the CMD to reduce the budget and ceiling after one year because of a reduced workload; provides for the closure or relocation in any fiscal year of ten percent or more of the Vet Centers in existence on July 1, 1987; extends entitlement for readjustment and counseling to veterans who have served in hostilities after May 7, 1975, the end of the Vietnam era; extends eligibility for readjustment counseling to active-duty personnel who served during the Vietnam era or in hostilities after May 7, 1975, and to World War II and Korean conflict veterans, with particular emphasis in the furnishing of counseling to those who served in combat; authorizes the provision of appropriate veterans' benefits and health services at Vet Centers; requires that all Vet Center personnel who have served satisfactorily and substantially continuously for two years be converted to career positions within 90 days of enactment.

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 338

100th Congress
1st Session

October 16, 1987, 3:01 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-14509

WAR POWERS

BILL NO.: S.J. Res. 194

SUBJECT: **Weicker motion to table the resolution which declares that the report described in section 4(a)(1) of the War Powers Resolution (requiring the submission of a report to Congress within 48 hours of the introduction of U.S. Armed Forces into "situations where imminent involvement in hostilities is clearly indicated by the circumstances") must be submitted to Congress not later than 48 hours after the attack on October 8, 1987, when an Iranian vessel fired on a patrolling U.S. military helicopter, necessitating an American response attack in the Persian Gulf.** (See also Vote Nos. 292, 296, 317, and 339-347.)

NOTE: By unanimous consent, the Senate agreed to vote on a motion to table the resolution and thereafter debate it. Most voting against the motion felt that debate on this matter had been postponed long enough. Others complained that there had not been an opportunity to discuss the Byrd-Warner substitute proposal for the resolution. (See Vote Nos. 292, 317, and 345 for arguments for and against the resolution.)

S.J. Res. 194: Vote Nos. 317, 338-347.

RESULT: MOTION TO TABLE FAILED

YEAS (3)

Democrats (3 or 6%)

Boren
DeConcini
Hollings

Republicans (0 or 0%)

NAYS (87)

Democrats (49 or 94%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Biden
Bingaman
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans (38 or 100%)

Armstrong
Bond
Boschwitz
Chafee
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hatfield
Hecht
Heinz
Helms
Humphrey
Kasten
Lugar
McCain
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Packwood
Pressler
Quayle
Roth
Rudman
Specter
Stevens
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Warner
Weicker

NOT VOTING (10)

Democrats (2)

Gore—2
Simon—2

Republicans (8)

Evans—2
Garn—2
Karnes—2
Kassebaum—4
McClure—2
Simpson—2
Stafford—2
Wilson—2

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 94%
Republicans— 100%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (3)
Democrats— 3 or 100%
Republicans— 0 or 0%

Against (87)
Democrats— 49 or 56%
Republicans— 38 or 44%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 339

100th Congress
1st Session

October 20, 1987, 11:36 a.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-14567

WAR POWERS
(CLOTURE)

BILL NO.: S.J. Res. 194

AMENDMENT NO.: 951

SUBJECT: **Byrd, et al., motion to close further debate on the Warner-Byrd amendment, in the nature of a substitute for the resolution, which states that the circumstances in the Persian Gulf region, including the incidents involving U.S. military forces on September 21, October 8, and October 19, 1987, justify an Administration report and a comprehensive congressional review of the use of U.S. military forces in that region; requires the President to report to Congress within 60 days of enactment a review of the range of U.S. commitments and military involvements in the Persian Gulf region including the duration of the reflagging and escort operation, and its objectives, costs, and impact; and provides for the expedited consideration, within 90 days of enactment, of a resolution dealing with U.S. policy and commitments in the Persian Gulf which may be introduced within three session days after Congress receives the President's report.**

NOTE: The cloture petition, presented on October 16, 1987, was signed by Senators Byrd, Warner, Graham, Nunn, Fowler, Cranston, Kerry, Bumpers, Harkin, Dixon, DeConcini, Wirth, Sanford, Rockefeller, Mikulski, Matsunaga, Melcher, and Pell.

S.J. Res. 194: Vote Nos. 317, 338-347.

RESULT: CLOTURE MOTION AGREED TO, 3/5THS HAVING VOTED IN THE AFFIRMATIVE

YEAS (67)

Democrats (50 or 98%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Biden
Bingaman
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Hollings
Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Wirth

Republicans (17 or 39%)

Boschwitz
Cohen
Durenberger
Grassley
Hatfield
Heinz
Karnes
Kassebaum
Murkowski
Packwood
Roth
Specter
Stafford
Stevens
Trible
Warner
Weicker

NAYS (28)

Democrats (1 or 2%)

Boren

Republicans (27 or 61%)

Armstrong
Bond
Cochran
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Garn
Gramm
Hatch
Hecht
Helms
Humphrey
Kasten
Lugar
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Nickles
Pressler
Quayle
Rudman
Simpson
Symms
Thurmond
Wallop
Wilson

NOT VOTING (5)

Democrats (3)

Gore—2
Simon—2
Stennis—2

Republicans (2)

Chafee—2
Evans—2

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

Party Cohesion	*For* (67)	*Against* (28)
Democrats— 98%	Democrats— 50 or 75%	Democrats— 1 or 4%
Republicans— 61%	Republicans— 17 or 25%	Republicans— 27 or 96%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 340

100th Congress
1st Session

October 20, 1987, 3:14 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-14578

WAR POWERS

BILL NO.: S.J. Res. 194

AMENDMENT NO.: 1022

SUBJECT: **Helms perfecting amendment (to the Helms amendment—Vote No. 341) which states that "nothing in the Resolution should be interpreted or construed in any manner which is inconsistent with the proposition that the U.S., as a maritime power, has preeminent interest in the freedom of the seas and in taking such actions as are necessary to maintain such freedom."**

NOTE: Proponents felt that no one could argue with the intent of the amendment, and it affords an opportunity to show that support for invoking the War Powers Act does not exclude support for the current Gulf actions. It in no way indicates a lack of fervor for American soldiers and sailors or a lack of patriotism. While supporting a U.S. presence in the Gulf to guarantee the free flow of commerce in international waters, some expressed serious reservations about the reflagging and convoy policy.

S.J. Res. 194: Vote Nos. 317, 338-347.

RESULT: AMENDMENT AGREED TO

YEAS (93)

Democrats
(49 or 98%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Biden
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Graham
Harkin
Heflin

Hollings
Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Wirth

Republicans
(44 or 98%)

Armstrong
Bond
Boschwitz
Chafee
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hecht
Heinz
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes
Kassebaum
Kasten

Lugar
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Packwood
Pressler
Quayle
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Specter
Stafford
Stevens
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Warner
Weicker
Wilson

NAYS (2)

Democrats
(1 or 2%)

Matsunaga

Republicans
(1 or 2%)

Hatfield

NOT VOTING (5)

Democrats (4)

Gore—2
Sanford—2
Simon—2
Stennis—2

Republicans (1)

Evans—2

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 98%
Republicans— 98%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (93)
Democrats— 49 or 53%
Republicans— 44 or 47%

Against (2)
Democrats— 1 or 50%
Republicans— 1 or 50%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 341

100th Congress
1st Session

October 20, 1987, 3:34 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-14578

WAR POWERS

BILL NO.: S.J. Res. 194

AMENDMENT NO.: 1014

SUBJECT: **Helms amendment (as amended—Vote No. 340) which states that nothing in this resolution shall prohibit the U.S. Navy "from sinking any Iranian vessel, destroying any Iranian missile battery, or neutralizing any Iranian installation which threatens the safe passage of any American warship or of any other vessel known to have on board any U.S. citizen," and states that "nothing in the Resolution should be interpreted or construed in any manner which is inconsistent with the proposition that the U.S., as a maritime power, has a preeminent interest in the freedom of the seas and in taking such actions as are necessary to maintain such freedom."** (See also Vote Nos. 270 and 281.)

NOTE: Proponents maintained that efforts in the Senate have been made for months to try to vote to undercut the President in the Persian Gulf. This amendment will make clear to all the world that regardless of what Congress says about the War Powers Act or the Byrd-Warner amendment, the U.S. Navy is authorized to continue protecting American interests in the Gulf.

Opponents contended that this blanket authorization by Congress was akin to the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution. That seemingly harmless, open-ended, and vaguely worded authorization was used to justify the full-fledged involvement of the U.S. in Vietnam. This amendment, they argued, is entirely unnecessary since Congress will certainly support an appropriate response commensurate to the threat.

S.J. Res. 194: Vote Nos. 317, 338-347.

RESULT: AMENDMENT AGREED TO

YEAS (82)

Democrats
(45 or 90%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Graham
Heflin
Hollings
Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Levin
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Wirth

Republicans
(37 or 88%)

Armstrong
Bond
Boschwitz
Cochran
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Garn
Gramm
Hatch
Hecht
Helms
Karnes
Kassebaum
Kasten
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Packwood
Pressler
Quayle
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Specter
Stafford
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Warner
Weicker
Wilson

NAYS (10)

Democrats
(5 or 10%)

Biden
Harkin
Leahy
Matsunaga
Pell

Republicans
(5 or 12%)

Chafee
Cohen
Hatfield
Lugar
Stevens

NOT VOTING (8)

Democrats (4)

Gore—2
Sanford—2
Simon—2
Stennis—2

Republicans (4)

Evans—2
Grassley—2AY
Heinz—2
Humphrey—2

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 90%
Republicans— 88%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (82)
Democrats— 45 or 55%
Republicans— 37 or 45%

Against (10)
Democrats— 5 or 50%
Republicans— 5 or 50%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 342

100th Congress
1st Session

October 20, 1987, 6:02 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-14587

WAR POWERS

BILL NO.: S.J. Res. 194

AMENDMENT NO.: 1027

SUBJECT: **Boren-Byrd-Dole, et al., modified amendment (to the Warner-Byrd amendment No. 951) which states the sense of the Senate that the Senate approves and supports the President's actions of October 19, 1987, making an appropriate and carefully considered response to the Iranian attack on a U.S. flagged ship in Kuwaiti waters on October 16, 1987, and strongly endorses these actions as a firm indication of the U.S.' resolve that the Iranian government cannot take military action against the U.S. with impunity.**

NOTE: Proponents contended it was vitally important that all parts of the government stand united on the action the President took in response to the unprovoked silkworm missile attack on an American-flagged tanker in Kuwaiti waters on October 16. The President acted with measured restraint so as not to imperil the lives of civilians in Iran, and this amendment sends a message of unified support of the President.

S.J. Res. 194: Vote Nos. 317, 338-347.

RESULT: AMENDMENT AGREED TO

YEAS (92)

Democrats (49 or 100%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Biden
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Hollings

Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Wirth

Republicans (43 or 98%)

Armstrong
Bond
Boschwitz
Chafee
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hecht
Heinz
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes
Kassebaum
Kasten
Lugar

McCain
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Packwood
Pressler
Quayle
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Specter
Stafford
Stevens
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Warner
Weicker
Wilson

NAYS (1)

Democrats (0 or 0%)

Republicans (1 or 2%)

Hatfield

NOT VOTING (7)

Democrats (5)

Dixon—2AY
Gore—2
Sanford—2
Simon—2
Stennis—2

Republicans (2)

Danforth—2
Evans—2

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 100%
Republicans— 98%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (92)
Democrats— 49 or 53%
Republicans— 43 or 47%

Against (1)
Democrats— 0 or 0%
Republicans— 1 or 100%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 343

100th Congress
1st Session

October 21, 1987, 9:34 a.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-14632

WAR POWERS

BILL NO.: S.J. Res. 194

AMENDMENT NO.: 1017

SUBJECT: **Dole-Byrd-D'Amato amendment (to the Byrd-Warner modified amendment No. 952—Vote Nos. 345-347) which states that "nothing in this resolution should be construed as limiting the President's Constitutional powers as Commander-in-Chief to utilize American military forces in self-defense operations, or as urging the withdrawal of American military forces from the Persian Gulf."**

S.J. Res. 194: Vote Nos. 317, 338-347.

RESULT: AMENDMENT AGREED TO

YEAS (94)

Democrats
(49 or 100%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Hollings
Inouye

Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Wirth

Republicans
(45 or 100%)

Armstrong
Bond
Boschwitz
Chafee
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Evans
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hatfield
Hecht
Heinz
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes
Kassebaum
Kasten

Lugar
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Packwood
Pressler
Quayle
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Specter
Stafford
Stevens
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Warner
Weicker
Wilson

NAYS (0)

Democrats
(0 or 0%)

Republicans
(0 or 0%)

NOT VOTING (6)

Democrats (5)

Biden—2
Dixon—2AY
Gore—2
Simon—2
Stennis—2

Republicans (1)

Danforth—2

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 100%
Republicans— 100%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (94)
Democrats— 49 or 52%
Republicans— 45 or 48%

Against (0)
Democrats— 0 or 0%
Republicans— 0 or 0%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 344

100th Congress
1st Session

October 21, 1987, 12:01 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-14646

WAR POWERS

BILL NO.: S.J. Res. 194

AMENDMENT NO.: 1028

SUBJECT: **Weicker modified amendment (to the Byrd-Warner modified amendment No. 952—Vote Nos. 345-347) which requires the Presidential report to Congress on the situation in the Persian Gulf to be submitted within 30 days (rather than 60 days) after enactment of the resolution.**

NOTE: Debate did not occur on this amendment.

S.J. Res. 194: Vote Nos. 317, 338-347.

RESULT: AMENDMENT AGREED TO

YEAS (59)

Democrats (47 or 90%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Biden
Bingaman
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Gore
Graham
Harkin
Hollings

Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Wirth

Republicans (12 or 27%)

Boschwitz
Cohen
Durenberger
Hatfield
Heinz
Murkowski
Packwood
Roth
Specter
Stafford
Warner
Weicker

NAYS (38)

Democrats (5 or 10%)

Boren
DeConcini
Heflin
Reid
Shelby

Republicans (33 or 73%)

Armstrong
Bond
Chafee
Cochran
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Evans
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hecht
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes

Kasten
Lugar
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Nickles
Pressler
Quayle
Rudman
Simpson
Stevens
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Wilson

NOT VOTING (3)

Democrats (2)

Simon—2
Stennis—2

Republicans (1)

Kassebaum—2

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 90%
Republicans— 73%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (59)
Democrats— 47 or 80%
Republicans— 12 or 20%

Against (38)
Democrats— 5 or 13%
Republicans— 33 or 87%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 345

100th Congress
1st Session

October 21, 1987, 12:24 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-14646

WAR POWERS

BILL NO.: S.J. Res. 194

AMENDMENT NOS.: 951, 952

SUBJECT: **Byrd-Warner modified second degree amendment and Warner-Byrd first degree modified amendment, en bloc, which states that the circumstances in the Persian Gulf region, including the incidents involving U.S. military forces on September 21, October 8, and October 19, 1987, justify an Administration report and a comprehensive congressional review of the use of U.S. military forces in that region; requires the President to report to Congress within 30 days of enactment a review of the range of U.S. commitments and military involvements in the Persian Gulf region, including the duration of the reflagging and escort operation and its objectives, costs, and impact; provides for the expedited consideration, within 90 days of enactment, of a resolution dealing with the U.S.' policy and commitments in the Persian Gulf which may be introduced within three session days after Congress receives the President's report; and states that nothing in these amendments shall be construed as complying with, modifying, or negating any provision of the War Powers Resolution.** (See also Vote No. 347 in which the Senate agreed to the amendments upon reconsideration.)

NOTE: Proponents of the amendments contended that they would satisfy the intent of the War Powers Act while avoiding many of its flaws. Unlike the War Powers Act or the earlier Byrd-Nunn amendment, the Byrd-Warner compromise amendment would not require termination of military involvement if Congress fails to enact a resolution supporting that involvement. This addresses the concern of many that the Senate should not put a deadline on the U.S. presence in the Gulf, thereby giving the Iranians or others too much initiative to dictate the duration of U.S. involvement. For six months, the Senate has been unable to express its position on Persian Gulf policy due to the inability to obtain 60 votes to overcome a filibuster. This amendment guarantees Congress an opportunity after the President submits his report to express support or reservations about the reflagging and escort policy. The U.S. commitment to this policy has resulted in U.S. forces being committed to defending Kuwaiti-owned tankers flying the American flag in international waters but not in port or not American-owned ships flying flags of convenience. This substitute will require that certain essential information is supplied to Congress as to the objectives of this policy, its duration, its costs, and its impact. Some felt it most important that the substitute included language which stated that it in no way could be interpreted as complying with, modifying, or negating the War Powers Resolution, and all further mention of the Act would be deleted from the substitute resolution.

(OVER)

S.J. Res. 194: Vote Nos. 317, 338-347.

RESULT: **AMENDMENTS REJECTED, EN BLOC**

YEAS (47)			NAYS (51)			NOT VOTING (2)	
Democrats (35 or 67%)		Republicans (12 or 26%)	Democrats (17 or 33%)	Republicans (34 or 74%)		Democrats (2)	Republicans (0)
Baucus	Levin	Cohen	Adams	Armstrong	Karnes	Simon—2	
Bentsen	Melcher	Durenberger	Biden	Bond	Kassebaum	Stennis—2	
Bingaman	Metzenbaum	Grassley	Boren	Boschwitz	Kasten		
Breaux	Mikulski	Heinz	Bradley	Chafee	Lugar		
Chiles	Mitchell	Murkowski	Bumpers	Cochran	McCain		
Conrad	Moynihan	Packwood	Burdick	D'Amato	McClure		
Dixon	Nunn	Roth	Byrd	Danforth	McConnell		
Dodd	Pell	Simpson	Cranston	Dole	Nickles		
Exon	Pryor	Specter	Daschle	Domenici	Pressler		
Ford	Reid	Stafford	DeConcini	Evans	Quayle		
Fowler	Riegle	Stevens	Harkin	Garn	Rudman		
Glenn	Rockefeller	Warner	Inouye	Gramm	Symms		
Gore	Sanford		Kennedy	Hatch	Thurmond		
Graham	Sarbanes		Kerry	Hatfield	Trible		
Heflin	Sasser		Leahy	Hecht	Wallop		
Hollings	Shelby		Matsunaga	Helms	Weicker		
Johnston	Wirth		Proxmire	Humphrey	Wilson		
Lautenberg							

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 67%
Republicans— 74%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (47)
Democrats— 35 or 74%
Republicans— 12 or 26%

Against (51)
Democrats— 17 or 33%
Republicans— 34 or 67%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

Opponents contended that the amendments would torpedo the War Powers Act. The amendments sacrifice important principles for the sake of political expediency. The law is clear that Congress has a legal obligation to become a full and equal partner in developing policies which place American Armed Forces at risk. This compromise relegates Congress to a subsidiary position, giving the President more power than he has under the law. In effect, it reverses the authority of the placement of troops in hostile situations, implying that the President's decision will stand unless revoked by Congress. Others favored no amendment and felt that the President should have unfettered rein to pursue the policy in the Gulf which he deemed appropriate. While hostilities obviously are occurring, the U.S. has taken no side in the war and is only helping guarantee the free flow of commerce in international waters.

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 346

100th Congress
1st Session

October 21, 1987, 2:05 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-14656

WAR POWERS

BILL NO.: S.J. Res. 194

AMENDMENT NOS.: 951, 952

SUBJECT: **Byrd motion to reconsider Vote No. 345 by which the Senate rejected the Warner-Byrd first degree modified amendment No. 951 and the Byrd-Warner modified second degree amendment No. 952 which state that the circumstances in the Persian Gulf region, including the incidents involving U.S. military forces on September 21, October 8, and October 19, 1987, justify an Administration report and a comprehensive congressional review of the use of U.S. military forces in that region; require the President to report to Congress within 30 days of enactment a review of the range of U.S. commitments and military involvements in the Persian Gulf region, including the duration of the reflagging and escort operation and its objectives, costs, and impact; provide for the expedited consideration, within 90 days of enactment, of a resolution dealing with U.S. policy and commitments in the Persian Gulf which may be introduced within three session days after Congress receives the President's report; and state that nothing in this amendment shall be construed as complying with, modifying, or negating any provision of the War Powers Resolution.**

NOTE: Proponents of reconsideration asserted that some had voted against the amendment under the mistaken impression that it negates, repeals, modifies, or even makes reference to the War Powers Act. This is not the case. The amendment requires the President to report to Congress as to the goals of the reflagging and convoy policy, its length of duration, costs, and impact. The elected representatives of the American people should not be denied this information so that the Senators will have a voice in that policy which could cost American lives. The Senate is unable to shut off a filibuster on the War Powers Act compliance resolution, but this compromise guarantees against a filibuster on the resolution that will be reported to the Senate in response to the information required to be supplied by the President. If this compromise fails to pass, no other viable vehicle is available, and the Senate will be indicating that it really does not want a say in the Perisan Gulf policy.

(OVER)

S.J. Res. 194: Vote Nos. 317, 338-347.

RESULT: MOTION TO RECONSIDER AGREED TO

YEAS (58)			NAYS (40)			NOT VOTING (2)	
Democrats (45 or 87%)		Republicans (13 or 28%)	Democrats (7 or 13%)	Republicans (33 or 72%)		Democrats (2)	Republicans (0)
Baucus	Johnston	Cohen	Adams	Armstrong	Karnes	Simon—2	
Bentsen	Kennedy	Durenberger	Biden	Bond	Kassebaum	Stennis—2	
Bingaman	Kerry	Grassley	Boren	Boschwitz	Kasten		
Bradley	Lautenberg	Heinz	Bumpers	Chafee	Lugar		
Breaux	Levin	Murkowski	DeConcini	Cochran	McCain		
Burdick	Matsunaga	Packwood	Leahy	D'Amato	McClure		
Byrd	Melcher	Roth	Proxmire	Danforth	McConnell		
Chiles	Metzenbaum	Simpson		Dole	Nickles		
Conrad	Mikulski	Specter		Domenici	Pressler		
Cranston	Mitchell	Stafford		Evans	Quayle		
Daschle	Moynihan	Stevens		Garn	Rudman		
Dixon	Nunn	Warner		Gramm	Symms		
Dodd	Pell	Weicker		Hatch	Thurmond		
Exon	Pryor			Hatfield	Trible		
Ford	Reid			Hecht	Wallop		
Fowler	Riegle			Helms	Wilson		
Glenn	Rockefeller			Humphrey			
Gore	Sanford						
Graham	Sarbanes						
Harkin	Sasser						
Heflin	Shelby						
Hollings	Wirth						
Inouye							

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion	Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on	
	For (58)	*Against* (40)
Democrats— 87%	Democrats— 45 or 78%	Democrats— [illegible] or 17.5%
Republicans— 72%	Republicans— 13 or 22%	Republicans— 33 or 82.5%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

Opponents of reconsideration (and the amendments) argued that any leader of Congress could request and get a report from the President and cited his letter and report of October 20. They questioned what sort of resolution would be reported in response to the report required of the President, and contended that it would be turned to political advantage, especially under procedures that deny the use of the filibuster, even if it is wrong. Others contended that the President has already complied with the spirit of the War Powers law, and the Senate should stand up to its responsibilities under that law. President Reagan used the same language when he submitted reports on Lebanon and Grenada, and Congress proceeded under the War Powers process then.

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 347

100th Congress
1st Session

October 21, 1987, 2:23 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-14656

WAR POWERS

BILL NO.: S.J. Res. 194

AMENDMENT NOS.: 951, 952

SUBJECT: **Reconsideration of Vote No. 345 by which the Senate rejected the Warner-Byrd first degree modified amendment No. 951 and the Byrd-Warner modified second degree amendment No. 952, en bloc, which state that the circumstances in the Persian Gulf region, including the incidents involving U.S. military forces on September 21, October 8, and October 19, 1987, justify an Administration report and a comprehensive congressional review of the use of U.S. military forces in that region; require the President to report to Congress within 30 days of enactment a review of the range of U.S. commitments and military involvements in the Persian Gulf region, including the duration of the reflagging and escort operation and its objectives, costs, and impact; provide for the expedited consideration, within 90 days of enactment, of a resolution dealing with U.S. policy and commitments in the Persian Gulf which may be introduced within three session days after Congress receives the President's report; and state that nothing in these amendments shall be construed as complying with, modifying, or negating any provision of the War Powers Resolution.** (Subsequently, the resolution was passed by voice vote.)

NOTE: Proponents of reconsideration asserted that some had voted against the amendment under the mistaken impression that it negates, repeals, modifies, or even makes reference to the War Powers Act. This is not the case. The amendment requires the President to report to Congress as to the goals of the reflagging and convoy policy, its length of duration, costs, and impact. The elected representatives of the American people should not be denied this information so that the Senators will have a voice in that policy which could cost American lives. The Senate is unable to shut off a filibuster on the War Powers Act compliance resolution, but this compromise guarantees against a filibuster on the resolution that will be reported to the Senate in response to the information required to be supplied by the President. If this compromise fails to pass, no other viable vehicle is available, and the Senate will be indicating that it really does not want a say in the Persian Gulf policy.

(OVER)

S.J. Res. 194: Vote Nos. 317, 338-347.

RESULT: AMENDMENTS AGREED TO, EN BLOC

YEAS (54)

Democrats
(41 or 79%)

Baucus
Bentsen
Bingaman
Bradley
Breaux
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Gore
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Hollings
Inouye
Johnston
Lautenberg
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Wirth

Republicans
(13 or 28%)

Cohen
Durenberger
Grassley
Heinz
Murkowski
Packwood
Roth
Simpson
Specter
Stafford
Stevens
Warner
Weicker

NAYS (44)

Democrats
(11 or 21%)

Adams
Biden
Boren
Bumpers
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Kennedy
Kerry
Leahy
Proxmire

Republicans
(33 or 72%)

Armstrong
Bond
Boschwitz
Chafee
Cochran
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Evans
Garn
Gramm
Hatch
Hatfield
Hecht
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes
Kassebaum
Kasten
Lugar
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Nickles
Pressler
Quayle
Rudman
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Wilson

NOT VOTING (2)

Democrats (2)

Simon—2
Stennis—2

Republicans (0)

292EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 79%
Republicans— 72%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (54)
Democrats— 41 or 76%
Republicans— 13 or 24%

Against (44)
Democrats— 11 or 25%
Republicans— 33 or 75%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

Opponents of reconsideration (and the amendments) argued that any leader of Congress could request and get a report from the President and cited his letter and report of October 20. They questioned what sort of resolution would be reported in response to the report required of the President, and contended that it would be turned to political advantage, especially under procedures that deny the use of the filibuster, even if it is wrong. Others contended that the President has already complied with the spirit of the War Powers law, and the Senate should stand up to its responsibilities under that law. President Reagan used the same language when he submitted reports on Lebanon and Grenada, and Congress proceeded under the War Powers process then.

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 348

100th Congress
1st Session

October 23, 1987, 2:11 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-15011

NOMINATION OF ROBERT H. BORK TO BE AN ASSOCIATE JUSTICE OF THE U.S. SUPREME COURT

POSITION: Associate Justice of the U.S. Supreme Court

SUBJECT: **Confirmation (rejected) of the nomination of Robert H. Bork, of the District of Columbia, to be an Associate Justice of the U.S. Supreme Court.**

NOTE: Proponents of the nomination asserted that Judge Bork is a respected legal scholar whose actions place him within the mainstream of American legal thinking. As Solicitor General of the U.S., he fought for a broad interpretation of the Voting Rights Act, urged the Supreme Court to outlaw discriminatory employment tests and seniority systems, and argued that the civil rights laws prevented private schools from denying admission to black students. Of the 19 amicus briefs involving civil rights which he filed with the Supreme Court, 17 urged the Court to construct the law broadly to favor the minority interest. He opposed expansion of the pocket veto and persuaded President Ford to restrict its use. As a judge on the U.S. Court of Appeals, for which the Senate approved him unanimously, his decisions ranked with the majority 95 percent of the time. He voted 98 percent of the time with Justice Scalia and 82 percent of the time with Judge Mikva, his philosophical opposite. None of the more than 400 opinions he wrote or joined in has been reversed by the Supreme Court. In the six cases where he dissented and the Supreme Court reviewed the case, the Court agreed with Bork every time. Of the ten cases that involved review by Justice Powell, Powell agreed with Bork nine times. President Ford, former Chief Justice Burger, and eight former presidents of the ABA support the nominee. The ABA gave him its highest rating for a Supreme Court nominee.

Opponents of the nomination contended that a lifetime position on the Supreme Court is too important to risk on a person who has exhibited a tendency for extremism. Despite his strong belief in the Constitution, Judge Bork's judicial philosophy seems to ignore the compassion for the individual embodied in the Constitution and does not permit the Constitution to meet the needs of a changing society. His notion of original intent leads him to conclude that the 14th amendment offers little—if

(OVER)

Vote No. 348.

RESULT: NOMINATION REJECTED

ADMINISTRATION POSITION: YEA

YEAS (42)

Democrats (2 or 4%)

Boren
Hollings

Republicans (40 or 87%)

Armstrong
Bond
Boschwitz
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Evans
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hatfield
Hecht
Heinz
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes
Kassebaum
Kasten
Lugar
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Pressler
Quayle
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Stevens
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Wilson

NAYS (58)

Democrats (52 or 96%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Biden
Bingaman
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Gore
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Simon
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans (6 or 13%)

Chafee
Packwood
Specter
Stafford
Warner
Weicker

NOT VOTING (0)

Democrats (0)

Republicans (0)

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 96%
Republicans— 87%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (42)
Democrats— 2 or 5%
Republicans— 40 or 95%

Against (58)
Democrats— 52 or 90%
Republicans— 6 or 10%

any—protection from intrusions by the State into the private lives of Americans, and he believes that the 9th amendment, which places all rights not enumerated in the Constitution in the hands of the people, has little meaning. He has criticized the Constitution's one person/one vote requirement and cases that have expanded the rights of individuals. His views on stare decisis suggest that he does not feel bound by precedent. While he testified that he would respect precedents that are settled in the lives of the American people, it is questionable how he would proceed with regard to precedents for which he cannot find a constitutional basis and which he has criticized in the past; having to uphold laws that he feels are constitutionally shaky may tempt him to further his own goals and "play havoc" with these decisions. While the Senate voted unanimously to appoint him to the U.S. Court of Appeals, that vote does not absolve him from more critical consideration when being appointed to the Nation's highest court.

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 349

100th Congress
1st Session

October 27, 1987, 9:27 a.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-15086

MILITARY CONSTRUCTION APPROPRIATIONS, 1988

BILL NO.: H.R. 2906

SUBJECT: **Passage of the bill which appropriates $8,280,698,000 in budget authority for DOD military construction programs in FY 1988.**

NOTE: Compromise provisions of the bill were contained in H.J. Res. 395, the Continuing Resolution, which became Public Law 100-202, approved December 22, 1987.

H.R. 2906: Vote No. 349.

RESULT: BILL PASSED

YEAS (93)

Democrats
(49 or 100%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Biden
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Hollings
Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans
(44 or 100%)

Armstrong
Bond
Boschwitz
Chafee
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Evans
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hatfield
Hecht
Heinz
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes
Kassebaum
Kasten
Lugar
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Pressler
Quayle
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Specter
Stafford
Stevens
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Warner
Weicker
Wilson

NAYS (0)

Democrats
(0 or 0%)

Republicans
(0 or 0%)

NOT VOTING (7)

Democrats (5)

Dixon—2
Dodd—2
Gore—2
Riegle—2
Simon—2

Republicans (2)

Cochran—2
Packwood—2

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 100%
Republicans— 100%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (93)
Democrats— 49 or 53%
Republicans— 44 or 47%

Against (0)
Democrats— 0 or 0%
Republicans— 0 or 0%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

MAJOR PROVISIONS

Family Housing: Contains $36.5 billion for construction activities and $15.5 billion for family housing operations.

NATO Burden Sharing: Requires the Secretary of Defense to submit a report by February 15, 1988, outlining specific actions that will be taken during the fiscal year to encourage improved burden sharing by member NATO nations and Japan.

NATO Infrastructure: Contains $378 million for the NATO infrastructure program; expresses the sense of the Congress that any facility construction cost associated with moving the 401st Tactical Fighter Wing based in Spain to another country should be paid for by NATO, and prohibits funds appropriated to the Air Force for facility construction to relocate the 401st.

West Germany: Includes $51.4 million for construction of facilities at Vilseck, West Germany, and $4.5 million for wartime host nations support.

Persian Gulf: Includes $36.2 million for construction of regional facilities in Diego Garcia and Oman.

Japan: Contains funding for security and quality of life projects for the Marines on Okinawa, Japan.

Philippines: Contains funding only for those projects in the Philippines that are of an urgent, operational, or safety nature.

Navy Homeporting: Provides the full budget request for the Navy strategic homeporting initiative; the Kings Bay Trident Base, Georgia; the Army's Light Infantry Division at Fort Drum, New York; and Fort Wainwright, Arkansas; and the Air Force's beddown of the advanced technology bomber at Whiteman Air Force Base, Missouri.

Pentagon Annex: Prohibits the use of funds to initiate design on the proposed Pentagon II complex.

Premobilization Construction: Permits the Secretary to authorize up to $100 million for construction to support a mobilization and requires the Secretary to report to the Appropriations Committees within 24 hours of invoking this authority and to include a copy of the President's determination, the amount and source of funds to be utilized, and the location and purpose of the construction.

Expired Funds: Permits expired or lapsed funds to be used to pay the cost of supervision, inspection, and overhead, engineering and design, and claims for any project completed in its entirety with the funds.

Minor Construction: Continues notification procedures established in FY 1986 on unspecified minor construction projects and increases the maximum amount for an unspecified minor construction project from $1 million to $2 million, subject to certain specified conditions.

Budget Resubmission: Directs DOD to resubmit the FY 1989 military construction budget and to insure that future budget submissions do not contain lump sum requests for new construction.

Foreign Services Prohibition: Prohibits the use of funds for projects in the United States that use engineering, architectural, and construction services from foreign countries which do not provide the U.S. access to its markets for such services.

Budget Authority Considered

1987 Appropriations	$8,155,774,000
1988 Budget Estimate	9,851,957,000
Approved by House	8,079,000,000
Approved by Senate	8,280,698,000
Enacted	8,500,000,000

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 350

100th Congress
1st Session

October 27, 1987, 4:38 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-15120

MEDICARE CATASTROPHIC ILLNESS COVERAGE

BILL NO.: S. 1127 (H.R. 2470) AMENDMENT NO.: 1044

TITLE: "Medicare Catastrophic Loss Prevention Act of 1987"

SUBJECT: **Heinz-Mitchell, et al., modified amendment which phases in, from January 1990 to January 1993, medicare prescription drug coverage; establishes a $600 deductible for prescription drug coverage in 1990, after which it will be increased to reflect increases in the average beneficiary's total spending for drugs; provides for medicare payments of 80 percent of drug costs above the deductible; provides for coverage of 50 percent of medicare prescription drug program costs by medicare part B premium increases with the remainder to be paid for from a supplemental premium payment based on income tax liability; and caps premium costs through 1993, which shall be indexed thereafter to reflect the average beneficiary's spending on drugs.**

NOTE: Proponents asserted that this program would alleviate the severe financial burden that prescription drug costs present to a significant number of senior citizens by creating a voluntary program fully paid for by the elderly. A $600 deduction ensures that only catastrophic expenses are covered, and requiring recipients to absorb 20 percent of the prescription cost would discourage unnecessary expenditures. This program would be more cost efficient than anything the private sector could offer, which it currently does not. Covering catastrophic prescription drug costs is consistent with the President's initial call for catastrophic health care legislation for the elderly. If the Senate does not address the burden of prescription drug costs, the health of those seniors unable to afford prescription drugs will deteriorate and, consequently, the cost of other forms of medical care will be driven up. The program would be phased in to allow medicare time to prepare administratively for full coverage of prescription drugs.

(OVER)

S. 1127 (H.R. 2470): Vote Nos. 350-353.

RESULT: AMENDMENT AGREED TO

YEAS (88)

Democrats (50 or 98%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Biden
Bingaman
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Hollings
Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans (38 or 83%)

Bond
Boschwitz
Chafee
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Evans
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hatfield
Hecht
Heinz
Karnes
Kasten
Lugar
McCain
McConnell
Murkowski
Packwood
Pressler
Quayle
Rudman
Simpson
Specter
Stafford
Stevens
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Warner
Weicker
Wilson

NAYS (9)

Democrats (1 or 2%)

Boren

Republicans (8 or 17%)

Armstrong
Helms
Humphrey
Kassebaum
McClure
Nickles
Roth
Symms

NOT VOTING (3)

Democrats (3)

Dodd—2
Gore—2
Simon—2

Republicans (0)

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 98%
Republicans— 83%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (88)
Democrats— 50 or 57%
Republicans— 38 or 43%

Against (9)
Democrats— 1 or 11%
Republicans— 8 or 89%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

Opponents countered that the full cost of this program has been significantly underestimated. In 1993, when all drugs would be eligible, the program's cost would skyrocket, they claimed. Since only 15 percent of those under medicare would qualify for this program, the cost would be carried by the remaining 85 percent, who would receive nothing in return. The costs could rise even more in response to political pressure to lower the 20 percent cost share or reduce the deductible to allow more people to participate. They were particularly apprehensive of costs in connection with AZT treatment for AIDS victims, which now totals approximately $10,000 per year for each patient. The Secretary of HHS effectively would be given the power to raise taxes by this amendment, since it would be his/her responsibility to determine the level of the surcharge for the program after 1988. Surcharge figures are not included for the years after 1988 because no one knows how much the program will cost. In addition, the program does not have a proper means test.

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 351

100th Congress
1st Session

October 27, 1987, 7:35 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-15149

MEDICARE CATASTROPHIC ILLNESS COVERAGE

BILL NO.: S. 1127 (H.R. 2470)

AMENDMENT NO.: 1052

TITLE: "Medicare Catastrophic Loss Prevention Act of 1987"

SUBJECT: **Wallop-Helms amendment which permits voluntary participation in the catastrophic program, rather than including catastrophic care as a medicare part B benefit (thereby necessitating a substantial premium increase to keep the program self-sustaining).**

NOTE: Proponents asserted that the catastrophic health program is not really voluntary because a senior who chooses not to enroll must withdraw from medicare part B coverage altogether. It is also a flawed program: it helps a very small number of senior citizens because the majority are either enrolled in MediGap insurance programs, or receive medicare and medicaid. The program does nothing about expenses not already covered by medicare or MediGap insurance—such as nursing home care. The amendment would make the catastrophic program truly voluntary by requiring anyone who desired to participate to elect coverage.

Opponents countered that decoupling catastrophic health care from medicare part B would more than double the premium because younger, healthier, and wealthier seniors would not enroll. The Senate has combined catastrophic health care with the variety of other coverages in part B in order to encourage greater participation and bring the cost to a level affordable to seniors with relatively modest income, which is exactly what a company in the private sector would do. Beneficiaries would pay less for both the catastrophic health coverage and the prescription drug program (Vote No. 350) than for similar coverage from a private insurance company. This is the approach that the Administration favors.

S. 1127 (H.R. 2470): Vote Nos. 350-353.

RESULT: AMENDMENT REJECTED

YEAS (18)

Democrats
(0 or 0%)

Republicans
(18 or 39%)

Armstrong
Dole
Garn
Gramm
Hatch
Hecht
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes
Lugar
McClure
Nickles
Quayle
Roth
Simpson
Symms
Thurmond
Wallop

NAYS (77)

Democrats
(49 or 100%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Biden
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Hollings
Inouye
Johnston
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans
(28 or 61%)

Bond
Boschwitz
Chafee
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Domenici
Durenberger
Evans
Grassley
Hatfield
Heinz
Kassebaum
Kasten
McCain
McConnell
Murkowski
Packwood
Pressler
Rudman
Specter
Stafford
Stevens
Trible
Warner
Weicker
Wilson

NOT VOTING (5)

Democrats (5)

Dodd—2
Gore—2
Kennedy—2
Nunn—2
Simon—2

Republicans (0)

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 100%
Republicans— 61%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (18)
Democrats— 0 or 0%
Republicans— 18 or 100%

Against (77)
Democrats— 49 or 64%
Republicans— 28 or 36%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 352

100th Congress
1st Session

October 27, 1987, 9:09 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-15167

MEDICARE CATASTROPHIC ILLNESS COVERAGE
(INCOME TAXES)

BILL NO.: S. 1127 (H.R. 2470) AMENDMENT NO.: 1055

TITLE: "Medicare Catastrophic Loss Prevention Act of 1987"

SUBJECT: **Bentsen motion to table the Helms amendment stating the sense of the Senate that, notwithstanding perceived economic problems associated with trade imbalances and budget deficits, Federal tax rates should not be increased in any manner, direct or indirect, and no Federal taxes should be created, and providing that any budget discussions between the President and Congress should not entertain any propositions which increase individual or corporate tax rates or add any new tax.**

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment claimed that the Senate does not fully realize the amount of Federal spending that will result from this legislation. They felt that this lack of understanding concerning program costs has led to misinterpretations regarding the source of the current deficits, which lies not in the Reagan tax cuts, but in spending increases that originated in the Carter Administration. They denied that the amendment would prevent the Senate from closing loopholes.

Opponents of the amendment agreed that no one likes having to raise taxes but noted that even the President's budget includes $6 billion in new taxes. If the Senate were to take the extreme position presented by this amendment, a negative signal would be sent to the rest of the world with regard to the willingness of the U.S. to deal realistically with its economic problems, and the stock market would be thrown into chaos. Despite assertions to the contrary, the language of the amendment clearly does not permit the Senate to close loopholes, which the Senate should not be denied from doing.

S. 1127 (H.R. 2470): Vote Nos. 350-353.

RESULT: MOTION TO TABLE AGREED TO

YEAS (65)

Democrats
(48 or 94%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Biden
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
Dixon
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Graham
Hollings
Inouye
Johnston

Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans
(17 or 37%)

Boschwitz
Chafee
Cohen
Danforth
Domenici
Durenberger
Evans
Hatfield
Heinz
Kassebaum
Lugar
Packwood
Rudman
Specter
Stafford
Stevens
Weicker

NAYS (32)

Democrats
(3 or 6%)

DeConcini
Harkin
Heflin

Republicans
(29 or 63%)

Armstrong
Bond
Cochran
D'Amato
Dole
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hecht
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes
Kasten
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Pressler
Quayle
Roth
Simpson
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Warner
Wilson

NOT VOTING (3)

Democrats (3)

Dodd—2
Gore—2
Simon—2

Republicans (0)

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 94%
Republicans— 63%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (65)
Democrats— 48 or 74%
Republicans— 17 or 26%

Against (32)
Democrats— 3 or 9%
Republicans— 29 or 91%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 353

100th Congress
1st Session

October 27, 1987, 9:32 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-15182

MEDICARE CATASTROPHIC ILLNESS COVERAGE

BILL NO.: H.R. 2470 (S. 1127)

TITLE: "Medicare Catastrophic Loss Prevention Act of 1987"

SUBJECT: **Passage of the bill which provides protection for medicare beneficiaries from catastrophic expenses associated with covered medicare services; automatically enrolls all medicare part B participants in the catastrophic insurance program; establishes an annual limit of $1,700 on out-of-pocket expenses incurred under part A or B individually or combined for medicare-covered services; and indexes the out-of-pocket expenses cap to the annual social security COLA's.**

H.R. 2470 (S. 1127): Vote Nos. 350-353.

RESULT: BILL PASSED

YEAS (86)

Democrats
(50 or 98%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Biden
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans
(36 or 78%)

Bond
Boschwitz
Chafee
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Evans
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hatfield
Hecht
Heinz
Kasten
Lugar
McCain
McConnell
Murkowski
Packwood
Pressler
Quayle
Rudman
Simpson
Specter
Stafford
Stevens
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Warner
Weicker
Wilson

NAYS (11)

Democrats
(1 or 2%)

Hollings

Republicans
(10 or 22%)

Armstrong
Garn
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes
Kassebaum
McClure
Nickles
Roth
Symms

NOT VOTING (3)

Democrats (3)

Dodd—2
Gore—2AY
Simon—2

Republicans (0)

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 98%
Republicans— 78%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (86)
Democrats— 50 or 58%
Republicans— 36 or 42%

Against (11)
Democrats— 1 or 9%
Republicans— 10 or 91%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

MAJOR PROVISIONS

Part A Benefits: Eliminates all hospital coinsurance and the current limit on the number of hospital days; limits beneficiary liability to one hospital deductible annually and maintains the indexation of the deductible; increases medicare coverage of skilled nursing facility (SNF) days from 100 days per benefit period to 150 days per calendar year; modifies the SNF coinsurance to require beneficiaries to pay coinsurance equal to 15 percent of the national average medicare SNF cost per day for the first 10 days of covered services each year (currently, beneficiaries pay coinsurance of one-eighth of the hospital deductible for days 21-100, or $65 per day in 1987); eliminates the three-day prior hospitalization requirement for SNF care, effective January 1, 1988; increases, from 21 to 45 days, the period during which beneficiaries may receive daily home health care if they have been in a hospital or a skilled nursing facility within 30 days of the beginning of the home health care; specifies that all homebound beneficiaries are eligible for 21 days of daily care regardless of prior hospital or SNF days or catastrophic coverage; eliminates the 210-day limit on hospice coverage for all beneficiaries regardless of catastrophic coverage; eliminates the "spell of illness" benefit period and repeals the inpatient psychiatric carryover restrictions for part B enrollees; exempts beneficiaries who pay a hospital deductible in December from paying another deductible in the following January.

Part B Benefits: Counts the beneficiary costs for immunosuppressive drugs, mammography, and colorectal examinations toward the catastrophic expense cap; permits selected screenings for health problems to be counted toward the medicare cap if a catastrophic illness should occur within 12 months.

Prescription Drugs: Phases in, from January 1990 to January 1993, medicare prescription drug coverage; establishes a $600 deductible for prescription drug coverage in 1990, after which it will be increased to reflect increases in the average beneficiary's total spending for drugs; provides for medicare payments of 80 percent of drug costs above the deductible; provides for coverage of 50 percent of medicare prescription drug-program costs by medicare part B premium increases with the remainder to be paid for from a supplemental premium payment based on income tax liability; caps premium costs through 1993, which shall be indexed thereafter to reflect the average beneficiary's spending on drugs; permits the Secretary to reduce the deductible and premiums if the cost is lower than the revenue raised; allows retirees who worked for social security-exempt entities to equalize their retirement annuities for the purpose of calculating the supplemental benefit; reduces premium rates for medicare-eligible Federal annuitants enrolled in the Federal Employee Health Benefits Program.

Financing: Finances the catastrophic benefits through a combination of a basic monthly premium of $4 per month and an income-related supplemental premium; indexes the premiums to increases in the per capita costs of the catastrophic benefits; after 1988, provides a hold harmless so that the basic monthly premium increase for any beneficiary would not exceed his/her social security benefit cost-of-living increase; establishes a monthly supplemental premium of $1.02 per month of part B enrollment for every $150 of Federal income tax liability for taxable years beginning before 1989; caps the supplemental premium at $800 in 1988, increasing $50 annually to $1,000 in 1992, after which the premium is capped at 65 percent of the excess of the value of the medicare part B coverage over the total part B monthly premium; and provides for collection of the supplemental premium by the IRS.

Spousal Protection: Protects the assets of an individual's spouse who must have long-term nuring home care before medicare will assist by providing for the equal division of community property between the two spouses at the time of institutionalization.

Annual Medicare Benefits Notification: Requires the Secretary of HHS to notify medicare beneficiaries annually of available benefits, categories of health care not covered under medicare, and the differences in coverage for those enrolled in part B who therefore have catastrophic coverage.

Medigap: Makes effective one year after adoption, any revisions to the MediGap policy standards adopted by the National Association of Insurance Commissioners within 90 days of enactment; requires the Secretary of HHS to issue revised standards, to become effective in one year, for States that do not amend their standards within the 90-day period; modifies current standards to expand the free look period for policies sold by agents and to require States to adopt report standards relating to loss ratios; and requires the Secretary to provide consumer information relating to MediGap policies and medicare benefits.

Medicaid: Requires the Secretary of HHS to estimate the amount of savings which each State medicaid program will accrue from expanded Medicare coverage and requires States to use accrued savings to expand coverage of medicare beneficiaries with low incomes or to support spousal impoverishment initiatives.

Long-Term Care and Drug Studies: Requires the Secretary of HHS to request an Institute of Medicine study of (1) public and private options for the long-term care of Americans of all ages and various funding approaches, and (2) appropriate medicare coverage of prescription drugs or the possibility of counting drug costs toward the catastrophic expense; and requires the Treasury Secretary to study tax incentives for long-term care insurance.

Case Management Demonstration Projects: Authorizes $2 million for six one-year case management demonstration projects for medicare beneficiaries with catastrophic illnesses to determine how catastrophic illness cases should be managed under the medicare program; provides that services be managed by the Peer Review Organization; and requires each project to submit an interim report after six months of operation.

Health Maintenance Organizations (HMO's): Makes technical modifications to conform medicare HMO rules to the new benefit package; states that an HMO can go out of business at any time leaving enrollees without coverage; imposes monetary penalties and actions on an HMO which fails to provide medically necessary items and services that adversely affect the individual enrollee, charges a greater premium than permitted, expels or refuses to rehire an enrollee for medical reason, or engages in any practice that denies or encourages an individual whose medical history or condition indicates a need for future medical services.

Repeal of Authority to Administer Proficiency Exams: Repeals the Secretary of HHS' authority to administer proficiency exams to qualify certain technicians and technologists for purposes of medicare reimbursement, effective October 1, 1987.

Adult Day Care: Directs the Secretary to report on adult day care services provided throughout the U.S.

Benefits and Appeals Counseling: Authorizes the Secretary to train volunteers to provide medicare benefits and appeals counseling and assistance to help medicare beneficiaries get the full benefit of the catastrophic coverage.

Commission on Comprehensive Health Care: Establishes a Bipartisan Commission on Comprehensive Health Care to develop legislative recommendations for long-term health care.

Senate Conferrees: Expresses the sense of the Senate that Senate conferees take all necessary steps to ensure that this bill has [illegible] premiums beneficiaries pay are fair and as low as possible.

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 354

100th Congress
1st Session

October 28, 1987, 10:07 a.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-15247

AIRPORT CAPACITY EXPANSION
(BUDGET WAIVER)

BILL NO.: S. Res. 242

SUBJECT: **Passage of the resolution to waive section 303(a) of the Budget Act (which creates a point of order against legislation providing new budget authority for a fiscal year for which the budget resolution has not been adopted) to allow consideration of the Airport and Airway Capacity Expansion bill. (See also Vote Nos. 355 and 356.)**

S. Res. 242: Vote No. 354.
H.R. 2310 (S. 1184): Vote No. 355, 356.

RESULT: RESOLUTION AGREED TO

YEAS (92)

Democrats
(49 or 96%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Biden
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Exon
Ford
Glenn
Graham
Harkin
Hollings
Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans
(43 or 93%)

Armstrong
Bond
Boschwitz
Chafee
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Evans
Garn
Gramm
Hatch
Hatfield
Hecht
Heinz
Humphrey
Karnes
Kassebaum
Lugar
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Packwood
Pressler
Quayle
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Specter
Stafford
Stevens
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Warner
Weicker
Wilson

NAYS (5)

Democrats
(2 or 4%)

Fowler
Heflin

Republicans
(3 or 7%)

Grassley
Helms
Kasten

NOT VOTING (3)

Democrats (3)

Dodd—2
Gore—2
Simon—2

Republicans (0)

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 96%
Republicans— 93%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (92)
Democrats— 49 or 53%
Republicans— 43 or 47%

Against (5)
Democrats— 2 or 40%
Republicans— 3 or 60%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 355

100th Congress
1st Session

October 28, 1987, 1:13 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-15274

AIRPORT CAPACITY EXPANSION

BILL NO.: S. 1184 (H.R. 2310)

AMENDMENT NO.: 1072

TITLE: "Airport and Airway Capacity Expansion Act of 1987"

SUBJECT: **Pressler motion to table the Kassebaum amendment (as a substitute for the Exon-Baucus, et al., amendment No. 1068) which reauthorizes the Essential Air Service Program through September 30, 1990; and requires the Secretary of Transportation to report to Congress by September 30, 1989, on the desirability and feasibility of extending the program and to make recommendations on possible program modifications.**

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment contended that the essential air service subsidies have not been successful in fulfilling the air travel needs of rural America, which is evident by the decline in rural air travel that has occurred since the program went into effect. Rather than arbitrarily extending and expanding the program, the amendment would provide a simple two-year reauthorization, and require DOT to conduct a study to determine the desirability and feasibility of modifying the program. In addition, rural communities should be required to consider more creative means of addressing the problems of rural transportation since the Essential Air Service Program has not met these needs.

Opponents of the amendment countered that an efficient and reliable air link is vital to every State's economic development and industrial expansion. Without adequate air service it is almost impossible to attract businesses to locate in an area. The uncertainty created by a two-year extension would make it difficult to convince businesses to locate or remain in rural communities. The program is even more important in light of the havoc created by deregulation. In addition to maintaining a reliable air link in rural communities, the Essential Air Service Program is also vital to those urban areas that need access to rural communities.

S. 1184 (H.R. 2310): Vote Nos. 355, 356.
S. Res. 242: Vote No. 354.

RESULT: MOTION TO TABLE AGREED TO

YEAS (57)

Democrats
(46 or 92%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Biden
Bingaman
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Hollings
Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans
(11 or 25%)

Boschwitz
Domenici
Durenberger
Grassley
Hecht
Karnes
McConnell
Murkowski
Pressler
Stevens
Wallop

NAYS (37)

Democrats
(4 or 8%)

Bradley
Lautenberg
Pell
Proxmire

Republicans
(33 or 75%)

Armstrong
Bond
Chafee
Cochran
Cohen
Danforth
Evans
Garn
Gramm
Hatch
Hatfield
Heinz
Helms
Humphrey
Kassebaum
Kasten
Lugar
McCain
McClure
Nickles
Packwood
Quayle
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Specter
Stafford
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Warner
Weicker
Wilson

NOT VOTING (6)

Democrats (4)

Boren—^{2}
Dodd—^{2}
Gore—^{2AY}
Simon—^{2}

Republicans (2)

D'Amato—^{2}
Dole—^{2}

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 92%
Republicans— 75%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (57)
Democrats— 46 or 81%
Republicans— 11 or 19%

Against (37)
Democrats— 4 or 11%
Republicans— 33 or 89%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 356

100th Congress
1st Session

October 28, 1987, 4:09 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-15303

AIRPORT CAPACITY EXPANSION

BILL NO.: H.R. 2310 (S. 1184)

TITLE: "Airport and Airway Capacity Expansion Act of 1987"

SUBJECT: **Passage of the bill which authorizes, from the Airport and Airway Trust Fund, funding for the following FAA programs in FY 1988-90 as follows (in millions):**

	FY 1988	FY 1989	FY 1990
Airport Improvement Program (AIP)	**$1,600**	**$1,700**	**$1,800**
Facilities and Equipment (NAS)	**1,500**	**1,500**	**1,750**
Research and Development	**200**	**200**	**225**
Operations and Maintenance	**1,600**	**1,700**	**1,800**

Earmarks $25 million annually of the R&D funds for projects relating to airport capacity improvements; makes revisions to the formulas for apportioning funds under the Airport Improvement Program (AIP); extends the Essential Air Service Program through 1989; extends the Airport and Airway Trust Fund taxes through 1991; and requires the FAA to hire an additional 1,000 air traffic controllers by September 30, 1988.

NOTE: The Senate agreed to the conference report on December 17 by voice vote. H.R. 2310 became Public Law 100-223, approved December 30, 1987.

H.R. 2310 (S. 1184): Vote Nos. 355, 356.
S. Res. 242: Vote No. 354.

RESULT: BILL PASSED

YEAS (96)

Democrats
(51 or 98%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Biden
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Hollings
Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Simon
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans
(45 or 100%)

Armstrong
Bond
Boschwitz
Chafee
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Domenici
Durenberger
Evans
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hatfield
Hecht
Heinz
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes
Kassebaum
Kasten
Lugar
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Packwood
Pressler
Quayle
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Specter
Stafford
Stevens
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Warner
Weicker
Wilson

NAYS (1)

Democrats
(1 or 2%)

Proxmire

Republicans
(0 or 0%)

NOT VOTING (3)

Democrats (2)

Gore—2AY
Sanford—2

Republicans (1)

Dole—2

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 98%
Republicans— 100%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (96)
Democrats— 51 or 53%
Republicans— 45 or 47%

Against (1)
Democrats — 1 or 100%
Republicans— 0 or 0%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

MAJOR PROVISIONS

Retains, with minor changes, the statutory provisions designed to encourage full funding of the Air Improvement Program (AIP) and the Facilities and Equipment account by establishing proportions of funding for FAA capital and operating programs from the Trust Fund.

Makes the following revisions to the apportionment formulas under AIP: establishes a three percent set-aside for airports serving as hubs for all-cargo air service and annually having at least 100 million pounds landed weight of all such aircraft, and an annual set-aside of at least $250 million for critical capacity expansion projects at primary and reliever airports; increases the minimum percentage of total AIP funds to be made available for noise abatement projects from eight to ten percent; and reduces the minimum percentage of total AIP funds apportioned to nonprimary commercial service airports from 5.5 percent to two percent, and the maximum apportionment for primary airports from 50 percent to 38 percent.

Modifies AIP as follows: allows primary ~~and~~ reliever airports to begin construction of a project in advance of funding, with eligible costs to be reimbursed by the Secretary, subject to certain specified conditions; reduces eligibility criteria for primary airports from 0.01 percent of all system-wide passenger enplanements (currently approximately 40,500 passengers) to 10,000 passengers enplaned annually; increases the minimum annual amount any primary airport can receive from $200,000 to $300,000 and the maximum the largest airports can receive from $12.5 million to $16 million; removes current limitations on the use of AIP enplanement funds for public-use, nonrevenue-producing portions of terminal development; denies AIP funds to any airport project using foreign materials or services if the foreign country does not allow fair and equitable market opportunities for U.S. bidders, unless such action would be determined not to be in the public interest; and requires the Secretary to propose implementing regulations governing the responsibilities of airport sponsors receiving funds under the AIP, including possible amendments to sponsor assurances to be included in grant agreements, with final regulations becoming effective within one year of enactment.

Makes permanent the low activity Level I air traffic control tower contract program administered by the FAA.

Requires the FAA to hire an additional 1,000 air traffic controllers by September 30, 1988.

Calls for a comprehensive review of special use airspace including their impact on the environment.

Directs the FAA to require all aircraft, flying near airports which have FAA radar to separate aircraft, to be equipped with altitude reporting transponders; establishes a timetable to ensure FAA certification and installation of airborne collision avoidance systems aboard most commercial aircraft.

Extends the Essential Air Service (EAS) Program for ten years, through 1998, and requires that EAS aircraft have at least 15 seats, two pilots, two engines, and pressurized cabins above 8,000 feet.

Requires FAA to disclose the impact of proposed tall structures on the Nation's airspace and to coordinate with the FCC on the review of broadcast license applications.

Extends for four years, through 1991, the Airport and Airway Trust Fund taxes and the authority to make expenditures from the Trust Fund; provides for a reduction in tax rates if the Fund's assets reach a certain level.

Directs the Secretary to conduct a study of the various methods of air traffic control that could be used at the Grand Canyon Airport, including the possibility of installing radar for air traffic control purposes.

Requires the Administrator of FAA to study noise abatement proposals under consideration by airport operators and local governments and identify those proposals which under existing law or administrative policy, are not currently eligible for Federal assistance and to include recommendations to make additional noise abatement programs eligible for Federal assistance.

Authorizes individuals to provide FAA with access to data in the National Driver Register in reviewing medical certification applications and allows FAA to use this information to verify the information provided by the pilots and to help evaluate whether the airmen meet FAA's minimum medical standards.

Requires the Secretary to issue a proposed rulemaking, within 30 days of enactment, requiring the installation and use of cockpit voice recorders and flight data recorders on all aircraft.

Increases from $1,000 to $10,000 the maximum civil penalty for safety violations by commercial air carriers, including commuter lines and charter operations; establishes a two-year demonstration program for DOT to use administrative hearings to hear civil penalty cases of less than $100,000; imposes a maximum civil penalty of $1,000 for failure to notify the FAA of proposed construction of structures which could be a hazard to air navigation; and makes unauthorized access to airport secure areas a Federal criminal offense.

Prohibits FAA from discriminating against operators of passenger aircraft having fewer than 61 seats in establishing criteria for airport control towers and navigational aids.

Requires the Secretary to issue regulations requiring adequate uniform life preservors, rafts, and flotation devices for passengers including small children and infants, and requires the Secretary, within 120 days of enactment, to begin a rulemaking to establish regulations requiring all seats on all air carrier aircraft to meet improved crashworthiness standards based upon the best available testing standards.

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 357

100th Congress
1st Session

October 29, 1987, 10:17 a.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-15395

DOT APPROPRIATIONS, 1988

BILL NO.: H.R. 2890

TITLE: "Department of Transportation and Related Agencies Appropriations Act, 1988"

SUBJECT: **Byrd motion to instruct the Sergeant at Arms to request the attendance of absent Senators.**

H.R. 2890: Vote Nos. 357, 358.

RESULT: **MOTION FOR ATTENDANCE AGREED TO**

YEAS (80)

Democrats
(51 or 98%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Biden
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Hollings
Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans
(29 or 66%)

Armstrong
Boschwitz
Cochran
Cohen
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Grassley
Hatch
Hatfield
Heinz
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes
Kassebaum
Lugar
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Packwood
Pressler
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Stevens
Thurmond
Trible
Warner

NAYS (16)

Democrats
(1 or 2%)

Proxmire

Republicans
(15 or 34%)

Bond
Chafee
Evans
Garn
Gramm
Hecht
Kasten
McCain
Nickles
Quayle
Specter
Symms
Wallop
Weicker
Wilson

NOT VOTING (4)

Democrats (2)

Gore—2
Simon—2

Republicans (2)

D'Amato—2
Stafford—2

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 98%
Republicans— 66%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (80)
Democrats— 51 or 64%
Republicans— 29 or 36%

Against (16)
Democrats— 1 or 6%
Republicans— 15 or 94%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 358

100th Congress
1st Session

October 29, 1987, 3:32 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-15427

DOT APPROPRIATIONS, 1988

BILL NO.: H.R. 2890

TITLE: "Department of Transportation and Related Agencies Appropriations Act, 1988"

SUBJECT: **Passage of the bill which appropriates $11,104,718,569 for the Department of Transportation and related agencies in FY 1988.**

NOTE: Compromise provisions of the bill were contained in H.J. Res. 395, the Continuing Resolution, which became Public Law 100-202, approved December 22, 1987.

H.R. 2890: Vote Nos. 357, 358.

RESULT: **BILL PASSED**

YEAS (84)

Democrats (49 or 94%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Biden
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Graham
Harkin
Hollings
Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans (35 or 83%)

Bond
Chafee
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Domenici
Durenberger
Evans
Grassley
Hatch
Hatfield
Hecht
Heinz
Karnes
Kassebaum
Kasten
Lugar
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Packwood
Pressler
Quayle
Rudman
Simpson
Specter
Stevens
Thurmond
Trible
Warner
Weicker
Wilson

NAYS (10)

Democrats (3 or 6%)

Conrad
Heflin
Proxmire

Republicans (7 or 17%)

Armstrong
Boschwitz
Garn
Gramm
Helms
Humphrey
Wallop

NOT VOTING (6)

Democrats (2)

Gore—2AY
Simon—2

Republicans (4)

Dole—2
Roth—2
Stafford—2
Symms—2

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 94%
Republicans— 83%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (84)
Democrats— 49 or 58%
Republicans— 35 or 42%

Against (10)
Democrats— 3 or 30%
Republicans— 7 or 70%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

MAJOR PROVISIONS

Contains $2.7 billion for the Coast Guard; $6.0 billion for the Federal Aviation Administration which includes a $1.3 billion obligation limitation on the use of contract authority for the Airport Grants program; $54.3 million for the Federal Highway Administration, with a $212.2 million limitation on general operating expenses, a $12.2 billion limitation on obligations from the Highway Trust Fund, and a $13.4 billion limitation on Trust Fund liquidation of contract authority; $89.9 billion for the National Highway Traffic Safety Administration; $683.7 million for the Federal Railroad Administration; $2.1 billion for the Urban Mass Transportation Administration (UMTA); $46.0 million for the Interstate Commerce Commission; and $459.2 million for the Panama Canal Commission of which $35.1 million is for the Commission's Capital Outlay Program.

Requires UMTA to publish grant announcements in the Federal Register within seven calendar days of obligation.

Establishes, effective four months after enactment, a three-year prohibition on smoking on scheduled domestic flights of two hours or less; imposes a civil penalty of up to $1,000 for each violation; prohibits tampering with or disabling smoke alarms and imposes a civil penalty of up to $2,000 for each violation; directs the Secretary to enforce these provisions by regulation.

Allows a 65 mph speed limit modification on highways that meet interstate standards that are not currently classified as interstates.

Permits the use of previously appropriated funds to pay for Conrail commuter train expenses and specifies the tax status of certain Amtrak activities.

Restricts FAA property transfers and additional funds for the Atlantic City Airport.

Ensures that grant applicants for airway science programs will not be penalized for having received funds in prior years.

Denies funds for transportation projects in the U.S. that use the engineering, architectural, and construction services of any foreign country that does not offer U.S. firms the same reciprocity with respect to bidding on projects in that country.

Budget Authority Considered

1987 Appropriations	$10,525,275,908
1988 Budget Estimate	8,498,492,569
Approved by House	10,921,461,408
Approved by Senate	11,104,718,569
Enacted	10,593,055,000

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 359

100th Congress
1st Session

October 29, 1987, 6:06 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-15442

AIR PASSENGER PROTECTION
(DRUG TESTING)

BILL NO.: S. 1485

AMENDMENT NO.: 1105

TITLE: "Air Passenger Protection Act of 1987"

SUBJECT: **Inouye motion to table the Danforth-Hollings, et al., amendment which requires, within 12 months of enactment, a program for air carriers to conduct mandatory pre-employment, periodically recurring, random, reasonable suspicion and post-accident testing of airmen, crew members, airport security screening personnel, and other safety-sensitive air employees for alcohol or any controlled substance; forbids any of these individuals from using, without lawful authority, alcohol or controlled substances on or off the job; provides that employees who test positive shall not be permitted to retain their current position and shall be given one chance for rehabilitation; gives the Secretary of Transportation discretionary authority to disqualify or rehabilitate individuals who test positive in other instances; requires similar programs for all railroad employees responsible for safety-sensitive functions and for commercial motor vehicle operators; and directs the Secretary, within 15 months of enactment, to implement a pilot test program in four States that volunteer to participate for the purpose of randomly testing commercial motor vehicle operators.** (Subsequently, the amendment was agreed to by voice vote.)

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment noted that a bill encompassing these provisions had been reported by the Commerce Committee by a 19-1 vote. They cited statistics showing an alarming increase in rail accidents in which drugs or alcohol were "directly affecting" causes. Substance abuse clearly leads to impaired memory, lethargy, and reduced coordination. Delayed response by a person in a safety-sensitive position can result in loss of life. Those who work in these areas must realize that they have the highest obligation to uphold the safety of passengers and have to give up certain rights in order to assure public safety. The amendment contains lab testing protections to ensure testing privacy as well as accuracy.

(OVER)

S. 1485: Vote Nos. 359, 360, 361.

RESULT: **MOTION TO TABLE FAILED**

YEAS (7)

Democrats (7 or 14%)

Adams
Cranston
Inouye
Kerry
Matsunaga
Melcher
Pell

Republicans (0 or 0%)

NAYS (83)

Democrats (43 or 86%)

Baucus
Bentsen
Biden
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Hollings
Johnston
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Wirth

Republicans (40 or 100%)

Armstrong
Bond
Boschwitz
Chafee
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Domenici
Durenberger
Evans
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatfield
Hecht
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes
Kassebaum
Kasten
Lugar
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Packwood
Pressler
Quayle
Rudman
Simpson
Specter
Stevens
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Warner
Weicker
Wilson

NOT VOTING (10)

Democrats (4)

Gore—2
Kennedy—2
Simon—2
Stennis—2

Republicans (6)

Dole—2
Hatch—2
Heinz—2
Roth—2
Stafford—2
Symms—2

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 86%
Republicans— 100%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (7)
Democrats— 7 or 100%
Republicans— 0 or 0%

Against (83)
Democrats— 43 or 52%
Republicans— 40 or 48%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

Opponents of the amendment expressed concern about the fairness of mandatory random drug testing for approximately 300,000 employees involved with public transportation services. They felt that preemployment and post-accident testing and testing after reasonable suspicion provides adequate testing. No U.S. Court of Appeals has yet upheld random drug testing on a massive scale. The government's interest in random testing is not compelling enough to justify invading the privacy of all employees without reasonable suspicion. There is a high probability that this provision would be found unconstitutional as a grave invasion of privacy. It certainly would result in countless lawsuits. Some noted that the bill as reported covered issues that still had not been resolved. Pilots presently undergo urine tests every six months, they pointed out, and no airline crash had ever been attributed to drug abuse. As the provisions are written, a safety-sensitive transportation employee could not drink a beer while off duty without risking his job.

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 360

100th Congress
1st Session

October 30, 1987, 9:31 a.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-15523

AIR PASSENGER PROTECTION

BILL NO.: S. 1485 (H.R. 3051) AMENDMENT NO.: 1107

TITLE: "Air Passenger Protection Act of 1987"

SUBJECT: **Adams amendment (as a substitute for the Adams amendment No. 1106) which contains the provisions of S. 724, the Airline Merger Transfer Act of 1987, which provides for the early sunset of the existing authority of the Secretary of Transportation over airline mergers, acquisitions, consolidations, and interlocking directorates, including the authority to exempt such transactions from the antitrust laws; provides that proceedings begun at DOT prior to April 1, 1987, or pursuant to final orders adopted by the Secretary prior to the effective date of termination, will be administered by DOT (thus the standard for determination of the USAir-Piedmont merger application pending before DOT would not be affected); makes airline mergers and acquisitions subject to the same substantive standards as those in unregulated industries; requires the Secretary of Labor to determine whether a merger would tend to reduce employment or adversely affect the wages and working conditions, including seniority and, upon making a positive determination, to impose labor protection provisions designed to mitigate adverse consequences, including binding arbitration; and provides that no labor protection provisions would be imposed if proponents of the transactions satisfy the burden of proof that the cost of the labor protection provisions would exceed the financial benefits of the transactions.**

NOTE: Proponents asserted that the amendment reaffirms the labor protection provisions that were part of the Airline Deregulation Act of 1978, but which DOT has failed to follow. Historically, labor protection provisions have provided a reasonable means of reducing the hardships caused by mergers. The amendment transfers the responsibility of administering the labor protection provisions from DOT to the Labor Department—which has the necessary expertise in labor matters—and authority over mergers from DOT to the Justice Department—which exercises the same authority over other industries. Although DOT assumed authority in these two areas when the Civil Aeronautics Board was sunsetted,

(OVER)

S. 1485 (H.R. 3051): Vote Nos. 359, 360, 361.

RESULT: AMENDMENT AGREED TO

YEAS (64)

Democrats (50 or 98%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Biden
Bingaman
Boren
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Hollings
Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Wirth

Republicans (14 or 34%)

Boschwitz
D'Amato
Danforth
Durenberger
Evans
Hatfield
McCain
Packwood
Pressler
Specter
Stevens
Trible
Warner
Weicker

NAYS (28)

Democrats (1 or 2%)

Stennis

Republicans (27 or 66%)

Armstrong
Chafee
Cochran
Cohen
Dole
Domenici
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hecht
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes
Kassebaum
Kasten
Lugar
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Quayle
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Thurmond
Wallop
Wilson

NOT VOTING (8)

Democrats (3)

Bradley—2
Gore—2
Simon—2

Republicans (5)

Bond—2
Hatch—2
Heinz—2AY
Stafford—2
Symms—2AN

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 98%
Republicans— 66%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (64)
Democrats— 50 or 78%
Republicans— 14 or 22%

Against (28)
Democrats— 1 or 4%
Republicans— 27 or 96%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

it is more logical that they be vested with the Departments of Labor and Justice. The amendment would reaffirm the Senate's commitment to reasonable levels of labor protection in an industry still struggling to deal with the effects of deregulation. DOT opposes the amendment because of a jurisdictional conflict it has with the Department of Labor that has nothing to do with the merits of the amendment.

Opponents countered that the Federal government should not be mandating costly provisions to keep airlines from taking actions that may enable them to survive, or interfering in the collective bargaining process. If it becomes unprofitable for stronger airlines to acquire floundering ones, potential mergers will be discouraged, and the number of bankruptcies and job losses will increase. This intervention is unnecessary because the airline industry is one of the fastest growing industries in the country. Employment, wages, and benefits have grown steadily. The recent dramatic changes in the industry have not been accompanied by a loss of jobs or wages, as has been the case in the steel and trucking industries. The Federal government does not mandate the Secretary of Labor to impose labor protection provisions in any other industry. Since the Justice Department and DOT already are involved in the review of mergers, introducing the Department of Labor into the process would only increase the bureaucratic confusion. The calculation that the Labor Secretary would be required to prepare would be an estimate and could cast uncertainty on the whole transaction. This special interest amendment is opposed by the Secretary of Transportation and risks a Presidential veto of the bill.

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 361

100th Congress
1st Session

October 30, 1987, 11:18 a.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-15530

AIR PASSENGER PROTECTION

BILL NO.: H.R. 3051 (S. 1485)

SUBJECT: **Passage of the bill which provides for the early sunset (from June 1, 1989, to the date of enactment of this Act) of the existing authority of the Secretary of Transportation over airline mergers, acquisitions, consolidations, and interlocking directorates, including the authority to exempt such transactions from the antitrust laws; requires the Secretary of Labor to determine whether a merger or similar transaction would reduce employment or adversely affect wages and working conditions and, upon making a positive determination, to impose labor protection provisions designed to mitigate adverse consequences; requires the Secretary to compile fares and frequency of service offered to or from any of the busiest 50 airports; requires air carriers to submit airline performance information relating to domestic air service to the Department of Transportation for public dissemination; requires the Administrator of the Federal Aviation Administration to establish minimum elapsed flight times; modifies regulations regarding computerized airline reservations systems; establishes a toll-free consumer hotline for air travelers; directs the Secretary of Transportation to establish an Advisory Committee to determine the appropriate level of capacity in the air traffic control system; and requires drug and alcohol dependency testing for certain air and railroad industry personnel and commercial motor vehicle operators.**

H.R. 3051 (S. 1485): Vote Nos. 359, 360, 361.

RESULT: **BILL PASSED**

YEAS (88)

Democrats (51 or 100%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Biden
Bingaman
Boren
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Hollings
Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans (37 or 88%)

Boschwitz
Chafee
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Evans
Garn
Grassley
Hatfield
Hecht
Humphrey
Karnes
Kassebaum
Kasten
Lugar
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Packwood
Pressler
Quayle
Roth
Simpson
Specter
Stafford
Stevens
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Warner
Weicker
Wilson

NAYS (5)

Democrats (0 or 0%)

Republicans (5 or 12%)

Armstrong
Gramm
Helms
Nickles
Rudman

NOT VOTING (7)

Democrats (3)

Bradley—2
Gore—2AY
Simon—2

Republicans (4)

Bond—2
Hatch—2
Heinz—2AY
Symms—2

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 100%
Republicans— 88%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (88)
Democrats— 51 or 58%
Republicans— 37 or 42%

Against (5)
Democrats— 0 or 0%
Republicans— 5 or 100%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

MAJOR PROVISIONS

Merger Transfer Authority: Provides for the early sunset (from June 1, 1989, to enactment of this act) of the existing authority of the Secretary of Transportation over airline mergers, acquisitions, consolidations, and interlocking directorates, including the authority to exempt these transactions from the antitrust laws, thus subjecting airline mergers to the same substantive standards as mergers in unregulated industries; provides that proceedings begun at DOT prior to April 1, 1987, or pursuant to final orders adopted by the Secretary prior to the effective date of termination, will be administered and, as necessary, adjudicated by DOT.

Labor Protection: Requires the Secretary of Labor to determine whether a merger or similar transaction would reduce employment or adversely affect wages and working conditions of air carrier employees and, upon making a positive determination, to impose labor protection provisions to mitigate adverse consequences, including procedures resulting in binding arbitration; imposes no labor protection provisions if proponents satisfy the burden of proof that the cost would exceed financial benefits.

Airline Fare Recordkeeping: Requires the Secretary of Transportation to compile, on a quarterly basis and retain for five years, the fares and frequency of service offered to or from any of the 50 busiest airports, in terms of annual passenger enplanements, at which one air carrier offers more than 50 percent of the service.

Domestic Air Service Reports: Requires the Secretary to issue, within 90 days of enactment, regulations requiring each air carrier to submit monthly reports to DOT for dissemination to the public on matters relating to domestic air service, including information concerning flight delays, lost baggage claims, cancelled flights, and the number of passengers involuntarily denied boarding; requires the Secretary to prohibit, except in certain specified circumstances, cancellation of flights for economic reasons unless airlines attempt to notify passengers at least 24 hours in advance of the cancellation and provide passengers similar service within a reasonable time.

Computer Reservation Systems: Requires airlines to submit to DOT, for inclusion in all schedules published in airline computer reservations systems, the average of the actual arrival times for each scheduled flight operating between U.S. airports, based on the actual arrival times for that flight during the previous month; requires the Secretary to prohibit any computer reservation system from penalizing a flight with a scheduled departure within 30 minutes of the requested departure time; prohibits vendors of computerized reservation systems from using information required to be reported to bias the display of flights or fare information.

Minimum Elapsed Flight Times: Requires the FAA Administrator, within 90 days of enactment, to establish minimum elapsed flight times for each domestic flight, taking into account certain specified factors, and prohibits air carriers from publishing a schedule reflecting a shorter elapsed time than the FAA standards.

Delayed Flights/Reduced Fares: Requires the Secretary to establish a standard definition of "Delayed Flight" and the specific causes of delays, a uniform designation symbol to identify flights provided by aircraft with 30 or fewer passenger seats, and system-wide standards to control the size and amount of carry-on baggage; requires that air carriers, when advertising a fare that does not apply to all seats on a flight, note the limited availability of seats and disclose the minimum percentage of seats available at the advertised price.

Frequent Flier Program: Prohibits carriers from changing the rules or requirements of a frequent flier program to the general detriment of the participants without reasonable notice, or from preventing a participant from using, during a reasonable period of time after the effective date of a change, credits accumulated under the old rules or requirements.

Bankrupt Airlines: Requires that a ticket holder of a bankrupt airline be provided transportation by another carrier on a stand-by basis at the regular coach fare with the price offset by the passenger's original ticket.

Consumer Hotline: Requires the Secretary to establish a 24-hour toll-free consumer hotline to provide information on air carrier performance and responsibilities and consumer rights, and to assist in resolving consumer/air carrier disputes; requires that information about the hotline be printed or stamped on each ticket jacket and displayed at airports.

Advisory Committee on Air Traffic Control System: Directs the Secretary to establish an Advisory Committee to report by December 31, 1988, its recommendations on the traffic levels which the air traffic control system is capable of handling safely and dependably for each of five years beginning January 1, 1989, the speed with which the system's capacity can be safely increased, and any additional resources which should be made available to assure maximum safety and system capacity.

Alcohol/Drug Testing: Requires, within 12 months of enactment, a program for air carriers to conduct mandatory pre-employment, periodically recurring, random, reasonable suspicion and post-accident testing of airmen, crew members, airport security screening personnel, and other safety-sensitive air employees for alcohol or any controlled substance; forbids any of these individuals from unlawfully using alcohol or controlled substances on or off the job; provides that employees who test positive shall not be permitted to retain their current position and shall be given one chance for rehabilitation; gives the Secretary discretionary authority to disqualify or rehabilitate individuals who test positive in other instances; requires similar programs for all railroad employees responsible for safety-sensitive functions and for commercial motor vehicle operators; and directs the Secretary, within 15 months of enactment, to implement a pilot test program in four States that volunteer to participate to conduct random testing of commercial motor vehicle operators.

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 362

100th Congress
1st Session

October 30, 1987, 12:21 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-15539

FHA EXTENSION

BILL NO.: S.J. Res. 209 AMENDMENT NO.: 1113

SUBJECT: **Cranston motion to table the Armstrong-Shelby-Wilson amendment which provides for a permanent extension of FHA mortgage insurance programs.** (This provision is also included in the conference report on the Housing Authorization, S. 825. Subsequently, the resolution was passed by voice vote. See also Vote No. 392.)

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment asserted that FHA is among the Federal government's most successful programs and deserves to be given the status of legislative permanence. Currently, FHA receives short-term renewals to which Congress must continuously return. In 1986 alone, the program lapsed seven times. This situation creates instability in housing markets, makes it difficult for people trying to buy and sell homes, and causes unnecessary hardship and turmoil.

Opponents of the amendment pointed out that if the Senate passes the amendment, the House will remove it and send the simple extension back to the Senate, since a number of House members fear that enactment of permanent FHA authority on this legislation will lead to a veto of the Housing Authorization bill. The Senate would gain nothing, and FHA would lose several days of operations, hurting the home industry. Thousands of mortgage lenders and home buyers would be thrown into uncertainty. The housing bill, which is in House-Senate conference, contains a provision that not only gives FHA permanent authority but makes other statutory changes to strengthen FHA and make it more useful to people in high cost areas.

S.J. Res. 209 became Public Law 100-154, approved November 5, 1987.

S.J. Res. 209: Vote No. 362.

RESULT: MOTION TO TABLE AGREED TO

YEAS (64)

Democrats (48 or 96%)

Adams
Bentsen
Biden
Bingaman
Boren
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Graham
Harkin
Hollings
Inouye

Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans (16 or 38%)

Boschwitz
Chafee
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Grassley
Lugar
McConnell
Murkowski
Pressler
Roth
Simpson
Specter
Stafford
Stevens
Weicker

NAYS (28)

Democrats (2 or 4%)

Heflin
Shelby

Republicans (26 or 62%)

Armstrong
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Evans
Garn
Gramm
Hatfield
Hecht
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes
Kassebaum
Kasten
McCain
McClure
Nickles
Packwood
Quayle
Rudman
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Warner
Wilson

NOT VOTING (8)

Democrats (4)

Baucus—2
Bradley—2
Gore—2AY
Simon—2

Republicans (4)

Bond—2
Hatch—2
Heinz—2AY
Symms—2

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 96%
Republicans— 62%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (64)
Democrats— 48 or 75%
Republicans— 16 or 25%

Against (28)
Democrats— 2 or 7%
Republicans— 26 or 93%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 363

100th Congress
1st Session

November 3, 1987, 2:15 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-15632

INDEPENDENT COUNSEL REAUTHORIZATION

BILL NO.: S. 1293 (H.R. 2939) AMENDMENT NO.: 1120

TITLE: "Independent Counsel Reauthorization Act of 1987"

SUBJECT: **Hatch amendment which extends the current independent counsel statute until December 31, 1989, instead of providing a five-year authorization with several major modifications, as reported.**

NOTE: Proponents contended that a two-year reauthorization should be enacted in order to give the courts sufficient time to decide on the constitutionality of the law. It is important, they maintained, that Congress have definitive guidance on the constitutional issue before it seeks to correct or improve current law.

Opponents noted that many legal scholars testified that the Act is constitutional. The improvements contained in the reported bill should not go to waste. Extensive hearings on the matter brought certain problems to light and they should be addressed now, not two years hence. While this statute has been challenged in court by individuals who are the subject of independent counsel investigations, this should in no way keep Congress from acting.

S. 1293 (H.R. 2939): Vote Nos. 335, 363-365, 386.

RESULT: AMENDMENT REJECTED

YEAS (23)

Democrats
(2 or 4%)

Heflin
Shelby

Republicans
(21 or 48%)

Armstrong
D'Amato
Dole
Domenici
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hecht
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes
McClure
Murkowski
Nickles
Simpson
Stevens
Symms
Thurmond
Wallop
Warner

NAYS (72)

Democrats
(49 or 96%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Biden
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Graham
Harkin
Hollings
Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Proxmire
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans
(23 or 52%)

Boschwitz
Chafee
Cochran
Cohen
Danforth
Evans
Hatfield
Heinz
Kassebaum
Kasten
Lugar
McCain
McConnell
Packwood
Pressler
Quayle
Roth
Rudman
Specter
Stafford
Trible
Weicker
Wilson

NOT VOTING (5)

Democrats (3)

Gore—^{2}
Pryor—^{2}
Simon—^{2}

Republicans (2)

Bond—^{2}
Durenberger—^{2}

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 96%
Republicans— 52%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (23)
Democrats— 2 or 9%
Republicans— 21 or 91%

Against (72)
Democrats— 49 or 68%
Republicans— 23 or 32%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 364

100th Congress
1st Session

November 3, 1987, 3:04 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-15642

INDEPENDENT COUNSEL REAUTHORIZATION

BILL NO.: S. 1293 (H.R. 2939) **AMENDMENT NO.:** 1121

TITLE: "Independent Counsel Reauthorization Act of 1987"

SUBJECT: **Cohen motion to table the Armstrong, et al., amendment which makes the independent counsel statute applicable to Members of Congress, thereby removing the Attorney General's authority under current law to prosecute Members.**

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment contended that Members of Congress should not be held to a different standard of liability than members of the executive branch. The amendment only adds Members of Congress to the list of those to whom the Act applies. The main purpose of this reauthorization is to assure the public that investigations of criminal activities in the government would be pursued without fear of improper influence. The public should rest assured that Congress is not excluded.

Opponents of the amendment noted that the Attorney General presently has the authority to prosecute Members of Congress. The amendment would give that authority to an independent counsel. Since there is no conflict of interest in allowing the Attorney General (who is appointed by the President) to investigate Members of Congress (who are elected by the people), an independent counsel is unnecessary. The Independent Counsel statute was created during Watergate to address the conflict which arose when the Attorney General had the responsibility for investigating top executive branch, presidentially-appointed officials. The amendment would create the impression that Congress wants to insulate itself against investigation and possible prosecution by the Justice Department—the agency created to look into allegations of wrongdoing. Members of Congress are, of course, held to the same standard of criminal law as any member of the executive branch, but the process of investigation and prosecution necessarily differs. The amendment would increase coverage from 180 top executive officials to some 635 persons. The limited authority given the court to make appointment of independent counsels may be so expanded by this increased coverage as to weaken its constitutionality and violate the separation of powers. In addition, it would drive up costs significantly.

S. 1293 (H.R. 2939): Vote Nos. 335, 363-365, 386.

RESULT: **MOTION TO TABLE AGREED TO**

YEAS (49)

Democrats (39 or 76%)

Adams
Baucus
Biden
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dodd
Ford
Glenn
Graham
Harkin
Hollings
Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Metzenbaum
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans (10 or 23%)

Chafee
Cochran
Cohen
Danforth
Heinz
Kassebaum
Lugar
Packwood
Rudman
Stafford

NAYS (46)

Democrats (12 or 24%)

Bentsen
Bingaman
Bumpers
Conrad
Dixon
Exon
Fowler
Heflin
Melcher
Mikulski
Proxmire
Shelby

Republicans (34 or 77%)

Armstrong
Boschwitz
D'Amato
Dole
Domenici
Evans
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hatfield
Hecht
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes
Kasten
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Pressler
Quayle
Roth
Simpson
Specter
Stevens
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Warner
Weicker
Wilson

NOT VOTING (5)

Democrats (3)

Gore—2AY
Pryor—2
Simon—2

Republicans (2)

Bond—2AN
Durenberger—2

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 76%
Republicans— 77%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (49)
Democrats— 39 or 80%
Republicans— 10 or 20%

Against (46)
Democrats— 12 or 26%
Republicans— 34 or 74%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 365

100th Congress
1st Session

November 3, 1987, 3:34 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-15646

INDEPENDENT COUNSEL REAUTHORIZATION

BILL NO.: H.R. 2939 (S. 1293)

TITLE: "Independent Counsel Reauthorization Act of 1987"

SUBJECT: **Passage of the bill which reauthorizes for five years the independent counsel statute under Title VI of the Ethics in Government Act of 1978, and clarifies and modifies certain provisions governing the independent counsel process.**

H.R. 2939 (S. 1293): Vote Nos. 335, 363-365, 386.

RESULT: **BILL PASSED**

YEAS (85)

Democrats
(51 or 100%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Biden
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Hollings

Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Proxmire
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans
(34 or 77%)

Boschwitz
Chafee
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Evans
Garn
Grassley
Hatch
Hatfield
Hecht
Heinz
Karnes
Kassebaum
Kasten

Lugar
McCain
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Packwood
Pressler
Quayle
Roth
Rudman
Specter
Stafford
Thurmond
Trible
Warner
Weicker
Wilson

NAYS (10)

Democrats
(0 or 0%)

Republicans
(10 or 23%)

Armstrong
Cochran
Gramm
Helms
Humphrey
McClure
Simpson
Stevens
Symms
Wallop

NOT VOTING (5)

Democrats (3)

Gore—2AY
Pryor—2
Simon—2

Republicans (2)

Bond—2
Durenberger—2

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 100%
Republicans— 77%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (85)
Democrats— 51 or 60%
Republicans— 34 or 40%

Against (10)
Democrats— 0 or 0%
Republicans— 10 or 100%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

MAJOR PROVISIONS

Reauthorizes for five years the independent counsel statute of the Ethics in Government Act of 1978.

Clarifies that the Attorney General is to proceed under the statute upon receiving information that a person covered by the Act "may have violated" Federal criminal law, rather than when he/she receives information that the person "has committed" a violation; directs the Attorney General, in deciding whether to conduct a preliminary investigation, to consider only the specificity of the information received and the credibility of its source; requires the Attorney General to file an explanatory report with the court if he/she fails to decide whether to initiate a preliminary investigation within 90 days of receiving the information, applicable only if the Department of Justice (DOJ) conducts a threshold inquiry for more than 30 days; codifies case law by explicitly limiting the Federal court's authority to overrule an Attorney General's decision not to conduct a preliminary investigation; clarifies that the 90-day period, beyond which a preliminary investigation may not extend without the special court's permission, begins on the date that the DOJ receives the information which gives rise to the case; requires the Attorney General, prior to the 90-day deadline, to notify the special court of a decision not to seek an independent counsel; and clarifies that Congress has the authority to petition the Attorney General to initiate a preliminary investigation as well as to request an independent counsel's appointment.

Increases, from two to five years, the Act's period of applicability; clarifies that it applies to campaign officials on the national level only; specifies that it applies during the campaign period and the elected President's incumbency; and clarifies that independent counsel proceedings may be initiated for other persons, than those specifically covered, whose investigation by DOJ might result in a conflict of interest.

Prohibits the Attorney General from refusing to conduct a preliminary investigation or to apply for an independent counsel's appointment based solely on the subject's state of mind unless there is "clear and convincing evidence" that the subject "lacked the state of mind" required to prove a criminal violation.

Requires the Attorney General to consider recusal in every independent counsel case; requires recusal whenever information received under the Act "involves" the Attorney General or person(s) with whom he/she has a current or recent personal or financial relationship; requires that the recusal decision be in writing and specify the facts and reasons that were considered in reaching the decision.

Instructs the Attorney General, in deciding whether to request an independent counsel's appointment, to consider (1) only the need for "further investigation" rather than the need for "further investigation or prosecution," and (2) DOJ policies pertaining to the conduct of criminal investigations rather than its criminal law enforcement policies.

Requires the Attorney General to supply certain congressional committees with basic information about cases which have become public, including whether proceedings are taking place under this Act and whether a decision has been reached not to initiate a preliminary investigation in a particular matter.

Directs the special court to appoint independent counsels who have "appropriate prosecutorial experience" and will conduct their activities in "a prompt, responsible, and cost-effective manner," and deletes the prohibition on the selection of persons who recently held Federal office; clarifies that a counsel's jurisdiction automatically includes the authority to investigate and prosecute Federal crimes which may arise out of the investigation or prosecution; clarifies that the special court should ensure that the independent counsel is given adequate authority to fully investigate the case; and prohibits the special court from modifying the Attorney General's decision not to appoint an independent counsel or to investigate matters as requested by a sitting independent counsel, but may remand the matter to the Attorney General for further explanation.

Requires independent counsels to comply with established DOJ criminal law enforcement policies; permits independent counsels to refer possible violations of Federal ethical standards to the Office of Government Ethics, and any other appropriate Federal agency or office; and requires that an independent counsel report to the special court within 30 days of appointment and every 60 days thereafter, as well as file a final report.

Prohibits the special court from granting an independent counsel's request for expanded jurisdiction without the Attorney General's approval; requires independent counsels to present all such requests to the Attorney General, who must investigate the new matter, for up to 30 days, after which he/she must decide to (1) grant the request and refer the matter to the existing independent counsel, (2) request the appointment of a new independent counsel, or (3) close the matter; requires the Attorney General to accord "great weight" to the sitting independent counsel's recommendations; and permits a majority of the Judiciary Committee's majority or minority party members to request that the Attorney General apply to the court to expand an independent counsel's investigation.

Clarifies that any person may file a motion to view special court filings and that special consideration should be given to document requests from congressional committees with jurisdiction over the independent counsel process; specifies that the documents which the Attorney General must give to Congress include staff memoranda, applicable to any case closed since the law was first enacted; and grants DOJ access to non-grand jury materials requested for ongoing law enforcement activities.

Establishes Federal standards of conduct for independent counsels and their staffs and allows 90 days from the date of enactment for all persons to comply.

Clarifies that an independent counsel cannot be removed for failure to follow a Presidential order which would compromise the independence of proceedings under the act.

Makes the act effective upon enactment and explicitly states that, if a court finds any portion of the statute invalid, the remainder of the statute stays in effect.

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 366

100th Congress
1st Session

November 4, 1987, 9:29 a.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-15722

SEMICONDUCTOR CHIP PROTECTION EXTENSION

BILL NO.: S. 442

SUBJECT: **Leahy motion to concur in the House amendments to the bill which extend from November 8, 1987, until July 1, 1991, the authority of the Secretary of Commerce to issue interim orders providing protection in the U.S. to semiconductor chip designs first commercially exploited outside the U.S., thereby granting certain nations additional time to finalize their mechanisms protecting conductor chip designs; requires the Secretary of Commerce, in consultation with the Register of Copyrights, to report to Congress by July 1990 on the status of international laws protecting semiconductor chips; and codifies the authority of the President to suspend, revise, or revoke proclamations issued pursuant to the Semiconductor Chip Protection Act of 1984.**

NOTE: Proponents asserted that the bill as amended by the House protects U.S. semiconductor manufacturers from foreign companies who copy U.S. chip designs, thus allowing U.S. companies to maintain this Nation's technological lead. Protection is extended to foreign manufacturers to the extent that they provide reciprocal protection for U.S. chip designs. The House amendments add findings that support the need to extend the Secretary of Commerce's interim authority; indicate that most industrial nations have made progress toward enacting laws protecting chips, making them eligible for interim protection; encourage an international treaty to foster the protection of chip designs; and affirm that a Presidential proclamation issued pursuant to this bill should be revoked if the level of protection afforded U.S. chips in a foreign country changes. It was noted that the U.S. will host a conference in 1988 to work toward an international treaty to protect chips, which, if successful, would permit free trade with other nations in semiconductor chips, making an additional extension of the protection in this bill unnecessary. The bill is supported by the Administration and the semiconductor industry.

S. 442 became Public Law 100-159, approved November 9, 1987.

S. 442: Vote No. 366.

RESULT: **MOTION AGREED TO**

YEAS (96)

Democrats (52 or 100%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Biden
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Gore
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Hollings
Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Proxmire
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans (44 or 100%)

Armstrong
Boschwitz
Chafee
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Evans
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hatfield
Hecht
Heinz
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes
Kassebaum
Kasten
Lugar
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Packwood
Pressler
Quayle
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Specter
Stafford
Stevens
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Warner
Weicker
Wilson

NAYS (0)

Democrats (0 or 0%)

Republicans (0 or 0%)

NOT VOTING (4)

Democrats (2)

Pryor—2
Simon—2

Republicans (2)

Bond—2
Wallop—2

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats—100%
Republicans—100%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (96)
Democrats—52 or 54%
Republicans—44 or 46%

Against (0)
Democrats—0 or 0%
Republicans—0 or 0%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 367

100th Congress
1st Session

November 4, 1987, 7:48 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-15796

ENERGY-WATER APPROPRIATIONS, 1988

BILL NO.: H.R. 2700 **AMENDMENT NO.:** 1123

TITLE: "Energy and Water Development Appropriations Act of 1988"

SUBJECT: **Johnston motion to table the Adams-Reid amendment (to the first Committee amendment) which adds the texts of the remaining Committee amendments except for the amendment incorporating the text of S. 1668, the Nuclear Waste Policy Act Amendments of 1987, as reported to the Senate on September 1, 1987.**

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment which strikes S. 1668 from the bill asserted that the proposed modifications to the Nuclear Waste Policy Act of 1982 (NWPA) are so extensive that it is inappropriate to consider this legislation on an appropriations bill. Not only does this procedure bypass the authorizing committees, but it denies the Senate the opportunity to consider other proposals to amend the act. S. 1668 removes many of the checks and balances designed to prevent DOE from cutting corners and weakening safety concerns. In modifying the procedures for the selection of a permanent high-level waste site, DOE would be allowed to designate a single preferred site for full characterization, rather than simultaneously characterizing all three final sites, as required under current law. Full characterization of a site requires five to six years of data collection and the sinking of a huge exploration shaft, which could have a negative impact on a locality and possibly cause a disaster when penetrating the water table. This change would reduce the amount of information available before selecting a final waste site and add significantly to the cost of the program if the preferred site proved unsuitable. There have been no improvements in the actions of DOE to justify a weakening of NWPA, they claimed, and the agency's assertion that the three sites in Nevada, Texas, and Washington are all suitable is suspect. None of these sites was selected on the basis of solid scientific data. Surface characterization—a prerequisite to full characterization—has not been completed at any site and insufficient data has been collected to justify proceeding with full characterization, according to the NRC.

(OVER)

H.R. 2700: Vote Nos. 367, 372, 374, 375, 377, 382, 383.

RESULT: **MOTION TO TABLE AGREED TO**

YEAS (55)

Democrats (21 or 47%)

Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Daschle
Dixon
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Inouye
Johnston
Lautenberg
Melcher
Mitchell
Nunn
Pell
Shelby
Wirth

Republicans (34 or 85%)

Armstrong
Boschwitz
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Evans
Garn
Grassley
Hatch
Hatfield
Heinz
Humphrey
Karnes
Kasten
Lugar
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Packwood
Pressler
Roth
Specter
Stevens
Symms
Trible
Wallop
Warner
Weicker
Wilson

NAYS (30)

Democrats (24 or 53%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Biden
Breaux
Burdick
Byrd
Conrad
Cranston
DeConcini
Hollings
Kerry
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Mikulski
Moynihan
Proxmire
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser

Republicans (6 or 15%)

Chafee
Gramm
Hecht
Kassebaum
Simpson
Thurmond

NOT VOTING (15)

Democrats (9)

Bumpers—2
Chiles—2
Dodd—2
Gore—2
Kennedy—2
Metzenbaum—2
Pryor—2
Simon—2
Stennis—2

Republicans (6)

Bond—2
Durenberger—2
Helms—2
Quayle—2
Rudman—2
Stafford—2

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 53%
Republicans— 85%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (55)
Democrats— 21 or 38%
Republicans— 34 or 62%

Against (30)
Democrats— 24 or 80%
Republicans— 6 or 20%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

Opponents of the amendment countered that S. 1668 saves $3.9 billion over the existing program for site selection without evading the requirements of the NWPA. After months of hearings, this legislation was overwhelmingly supported by the Energy and the Appropriations Committees. It is supported by the National Academy of Sciences, NRC, and EPA. S. 1668 retains money to fully characterize three sites, as required under current law, and includes funds for the development of an eastern site to provide a regional balance to the waste disposal problem. Because of continued resistance by the States to accept a waste site, no matter how well researched, the program remains susceptible to political pressure to postpone it, which only increases its cost. The only way to determine whether a site is suitable is to perform full characterization. If the amendment to strike S. 1668 succeeds, then support for the benefits incentive package for States that ultimately will host a waste site will be weakened, and the package may be lost in conference.

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 368

100th Congress
1st Session

November 5, 1987, 9:47 a.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-15849

MARINE POLLUTION CONVENTION—ANNEX V

TREATY DOC. NO.: 100-3, "Annex V, Regulations for the Prevention of Pollution by Garbage from Ships, an Optional Annex to the 1978 Protocol Relating to the International Convention for the Prevention of Pollution From Ships, 1973 (MARPOL 73/78)"

SUBJECT: **Adoption of the resolution of ratification, as amended, of Annex V of the MARPOL Convention (International Convention on the Prevention of Marine Pollution) which prohibits disposal into the sea of all plastics, including synthetic ropes and fishing nets; requires disposal of other nonplastic garbage beyond 25 miles and of food wastes, paper products, rags, glass, metal, and crockery beyond 12 miles; prohibits garbage disposal from fixed platforms; and contains an understanding that the U.S. government shall make every reasonable effort to have the Gulf of Mexico designated a special garbage free area.**

NOTE: Annex V will enter into force 12 months after the date on which not less than 15 States, the combined fleets of which constitute not less than 50 percent of the gross tonnage of the world's merchant shipping, have become parties to it.

Treaty Doc. 100-3: Vote No. 368.

RESULT: **RESOLUTION OF RATIFICATION AGREED TO, 2/3RDS HAVING VOTED IN THE AFFIRMATIVE**

ADMINISTRATION POSITION: YEA

YEAS (93)

Democrats (48 or 100%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Biden
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Hollings
Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mitchell
Nunn
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Wirth

Republicans (45 or 100%)

Armstrong
Boschwitz
Chafee
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Evans
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hatfield
Hecht
Heinz
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes
Kassebaum
Kasten
Lugar
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Packwood
Pressler
Quayle
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Specter
Stafford
Stevens
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Warner
Weicker
Wilson

NAYS (0)

Democrats (0 or 0%)

Republicans (0 or 0%)

NOT VOTING (7)

Democrats (6)

Gore—2AY
Matsunaga—2
Mikulski—2
Moynihan—2
Simon—2
Stennis—2

Republicans (1)

Bond—2

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 100%
Republicans— 100%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (93)
Democrats— 48 or 52%
Republicans— 45 or 48%

Against (0)
Democrats— 0 or 0%
Republicans— 0 or 0%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 369

100th Congress
1st Session

November 5, 1987, 3:42 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-15881

IRAN/CONTRA COMMITTEE REPORT

BILL NO.: H. Con. Res. 195 **AMENDMENT NO.:** 1129

SUBJECT: **Inouye motion to table the Helms amendment stating the sense of the Congress that it is not in the national security interests of the U.S. to indict or otherwise prosecute or try any individual (Lt. Col. Oliver North) who appeared before the select committees investigating the Iran arms sales and the Contra fund diversions for any activity related to the subject matter before those committees unless such activities resulted in their clear personal and illegal financial gain or their perjury.**

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment (voting nay) contended that since Lt. Col. North and others acted in a way they thought was good for the country, they should not be further investigated. To continue this controversey would not serve the best interests of the Nation. As a sense of the Senate amendment, it is entirely proper, they insisted, to state that the prosecution should not be pursued in order to serve the best interests of the people.

Opponents of the amendment (voting yea) asserted that it directly contradicts the principle of the separation of powers between the three branches of government. It is inappropriate for the Senate to intervene directly into the matter pending before Independent Counsel Walsh. Whether or not there will be a criminal prosecution is not a decision made by public opinion polls. The Independent Counsel has evidence on these matters that is unavailable to anyone else. Since the Senate is not privy to all the facts, it is not in a position to tell him not to indict someone.

H. Con. Res. 195: Vote No. 369.

RESULT: MOTION TO TABLE AGREED TO

YEAS (91)

Democrats (51 or 100%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Biden
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Hollings
Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans (40 or 91%)

Armstrong
Boschwitz
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Evans
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatfield
Heinz
Humphrey
Karnes
Kassebaum
Kasten
Lugar
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Packwood
Pressler
Quayle
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Specter
Stafford
Stevens
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Warner
Weicker
Wilson

NAYS (4)

Democrats (0 or 0%)

Republicans (4 or 9%)

Hatch
Hecht
Helms
Symms

NOT VOTING (5)

Democrats (3)

Gore—2
Matsunaga—2
Simon—2

Republicans (2)

Bond—2
Chafee—2

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 100%
Republicans— 91%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (91)
Democrats— 51 or 56%
Republicans— 40 or 44%

Against (4)
Democrats— 0 or 0%
Republicans— 4 or 100%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 370

100th Congress
1st Session

November 5, 1987, 5:45 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-15907

RAILROAD SAFETY, 1988-89

BILL NO.: S. 1539

SUBJECT: **Passage of the bill which reauthorizes the Federal rail safety program at $40.6 million in FY 1988 and at $41.9 million in 1989; makes certain modifications to improve the effectiveness and enforcement of programs under the Federal Railroad Safety Act; requires written certifications by inspectors of train safety apparatus that the equipment was tested and is working properly; requires the use of event recorders on freight trains; and requires the use of automatic train control on trains operating in the Northeast Corridor.**

S. 1539: Vote No. 370.

RESULT: BILL PASSED

YEAS (93)

Democrats
(49 or 100%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Biden
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Glenn
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Hollings
Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans
(44 or 100%)

Armstrong
Boschwitz
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Evans
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hatfield
Hecht
Heinz
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes
Kassebaum
Kasten
Lugar
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Packwood
Pressler
Quayle
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Specter
Stafford
Stevens
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Warner
Weicker
Wilson

NAYS (0)

Democrats
(0 or 0%)

Republicans
(0 or 0%)

NOT VOTING (7)

Democrats (5)

Fowler—[2]
Gore—[2]
Matsunaga—[2]
Pell—[2]
Simon—[2]

Republicans (2)

Bond—[2]
Chafee—[2]

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 100%
Republicans— 100%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (93)
Democrats— 49 or 53%
Republicans— 44 or 47%

Against (0)
Democrats— 0 or 0%
Republicans— 0 or 0%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

MAJOR PROVISIONS

Reauthorizes the Federal rail safety program for two years, at $40,649,000 in FY 1988 and $41,868,470 in 1989.

Authorizes the Federal Railroad Administration (FRA) to sanction and penalize individuals for violations of Federal safety laws.

Increases the current maximum civil penalty of $2,500 per day per violation to $10,000 per day per violation.

Requires the FRA to conduct a rulemaking and implement a program within 18 months to ensure proper training and qualifications of individuals who operate trains.

Provides access to the National Driver Register for railroad employers, prospective employers, and the FRA, but prohibits carriers from sanctioning an employee because of information contained in the Registry where the employee has successfully completed a rehabilitation program subsequent to the revocation or suspension of his/her drivers license.

Expedites consideration of grievance claims and authorizes supplemental damages, including punitive damages, of not to exceed $10,000 for harassment of an employee for reporting safety violations.

Makes certain safety-related improvements on Amtrak eligible for funding under the Northeast Corridor Improvement Project.

Specifies FRA's jurisdiction over the safety of high-speed rail systems.

Specifies that FRA's subpoenas and orders are enforceable in Federal courts.

Requires the FRA to study and report to Congress on a proposal to assess user fees to cover the costs of the Federal rail safety and railroad noise control programs.

Directs the Secretary of Transportation to require the engineer or whoever performs the inspection of automatic train stop, train control, or cab signal apparatus to certify in writing that the test was properly performed and that the equipment is functioning; requires the use of automatic train control on trains in the Northeast Corridor by December 31, 1990, and requires the Secretary to report to Congress by January 1, 1989, on the progress of installation; requires the installation and use of event recorders on freight trains within one year of enactment; establishes a committee to determine ways to improve safety in the Northeast Corridor; and requires the Secretary to work with corridor users to reduce through freight traffic on passenger lines.

Provides for the initiation of safety measures and other programs at rail grade crossings near densely populated college campuses.

Eliminates the statutory cap on the compensation of the president and other officers of the National Railroad Passenger Corporation (Amtrak).

Requires the FRA to issue: standards for the protection of maintenance-of-way workers, including standards for bridge safety equipment such as nets, walkways, handrails, and safety lines; requirements relating to instances where boats would be used; and standards addressing the living conditions of these workers when they are required to work away from home.

Modernizes the jurisdictional and penalty provisions of older railroad safety laws to make them consistent with those of the 1979 Federal Railroad Safety Act.

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 371

100th Congress
1st Session

November 6, 1987, 10:00 a.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-15954

TUNA TREATY

TREATY DOC. NO.: 100-5, "The Treaty on Fisheries Between the Governments of Certain Pacific Island States and the Government of the United States of America, with Annexes and Agreed Statement, Signed on April 2, 1987"

SUBJECT: **Adoption of the resolution of ratification of the Fisheries Treaty with Certain Pacific Island States which establishes a mechanism under which regional fishing licenses will be provided to the U.S. tuna industry.**

NOTE: The Treaty will enter into force for any State ratifying or acceding on the 30th day following the date on which its instrument of ratification or accession is received by the depositary.

Vote No. 371.

RESULT: RESOLUTION OF RATIFICATION AGREED TO, 2/3RDS HAVING VOTED IN THE AFFIRMATIVE

ADMINISTRATION POSITION: YEA

YEAS (89)

Democrats (49 or 100%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Biden
Bingaman
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Hollings
Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Nunn
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans (40 or 100%)

Armstrong
Boschwitz
Chafee
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Evans
Gramm
Grassley
Hatfield
Hecht
Heinz
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes
Kassebaum
Kasten
Lugar
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Packwood
Pressler
Quayle
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Specter
Stevens
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Warner
Weicker
Wilson

NAYS (0)

Democrats (0 or 0%)

Republicans (0 or 0%)

NOT VOTING (11)

Democrats (5)

Boren—2
Gore—2AY
Matsunaga—2
Moynihan—2
Simon—2

Republicans (6)

Bond—2
Cochran—2
Garn—2
Hatch—2
Stafford—2
Wallop—2

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 100%
Republicans— 100%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (89)
Democrats— 49 or 55%
Republicans— 40 or 45%

Against (0)
Democrats— 0 or 0%
Republicans— 0 or 0%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 372

100th Congress
1st Session

November 10, 1987, 9:09 a.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-16038

ENERGY-WATER APPROPRIATIONS, 1988
(CLOTURE)

BILL NO.: H.R. 2700

AMENDMENT NO.: 1125

TITLE: "Energy and Water Development Appropriations Act of 1988"

SUBJECT: **Johnston, et al., motion to close further debate on the Johnston modified perfecting amendment (to the first committee amendment) which consolidates all committee amendments; requires a study to evaluate the need for a monitored retrievable storage facility as part of a national nuclear waste management system; provides protection for property owners in Texas whose property may be acquired by DOE; requires the National Academy of Sciences to create an oversight board to evaluate DOE activities; requires the EPA to promulgate revised standards for the disposal of radioactive waste by January 1, 1990; terminates funding for research on granite as a possible medium for a nuclear waste repository; requires DOE, upon determining that crystalline rock sites are suitable for characterization, to consider disqualifying factors such as seasonal increases in population and proximity of drinking water; and requires additional surface-based testing at the two candidate repository sites that are not selected for characterization on January 1, 1988.**

NOTE: The cloture petition, presented on November 5, 1987, was signed by Senators Johnston, Bumpers, McClure, Heinz, Hatfield, Exon, Armstrong, Heflin, Bingaman, Dixon, Symms, Byrd, Garn, Dole, Glenn, Rudman, Weicker, Nunn, Evans, and Kassebaum.

H.R. 2700: Vote Nos. 367, 372, 374, 375, 377, 382, 383.

RESULT: CLOTURE MOTION AGREED TO, 3/5THS HAVING VOTED IN THE AFFIRMATIVE

YEAS (87)

Democrats
(47 or 100%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Biden
Bingaman
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Hollings

Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Sanford
Sarbanes
Shelby
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans
(40 or 100%)

Armstrong
Bond
Boschwitz
Chafee
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Durenberger
Evans
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hatfield
Hecht
Heinz
Helms
Humphrey
Kassebaum
Kasten

Lugar
McCain
McClure
Murkowski
Nickles
Packwood
Pressler
Quayle
Roth
Simpson
Specter
Stafford
Stevens
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Warner
Weicker
Wilson

NAYS (0)

Democrats
(0 or 0%)

Republicans
(0 or 0%)

NOT VOTING (13)

Democrats (7)

Boren—2
Daschle—2
Gore—2
Metzenbaum—2
Rockefeller—2AY
Sasser—2
Simon—2

Republicans (6)

Cochran—2
Dole—2
Domenici—2AY
Karnes—2
McConnell—2
Rudman—2

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 100%
Repubicans— 100%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (87)
Democrats— 47 or 54%
Republicans— 40 or 46%

Against (0)
Democrats— 0 or 0%
Republicans— 0 or 0%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 373

100th Congress
1st Session

November 12, 1987, 1:01 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-16168

OLDER AMERICANS

BILL NO.: H.R. 1451

TITLE: "Older Americans Act Amendments of 1987"

SUBJECT: **Adoption of the conference report on the bill which authorizes $1.5 billion in FY 1988, $1.6 billion in 1989, $1.7 billion in 1990, and $1.7 billion in 1991 for the Older Americans Act programs and authorizes such sums as necessary for programs under the Native American Program Act; creates new authorizations for in-home, health promotion, and ombudsman services for older Americans; requires the Secretary of Labor to develop a consumer price index which reflects the impact of inflation on elderly Americans; makes adult day care centers eligible to participate in food programs under the National School Lunch Act; authorizes a White House Conference on Aging in 1991; and includes $2 million in FY 1988 for clinical trials on drugs for the treatment of Alzheimer's disease.**

NOTE: H.R. 1451 became Public Law 100-175, approved November 29, 1987.

H.R. 1451: Vote Nos. 229, 373.

RESULT: CONFERENCE REPORT AGREED TO

YEAS (93)

Democrats
(50 or 100%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Biden
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Hollings
Johnston
Kennedy
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans
(43 or 100%)

Armstrong
Boschwitz
Chafee
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Evans
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hatfield
Hecht
Heinz
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes
Kassebaum
Kasten
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Packwood
Pressler
Quayle
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Specter
Stafford
Stevens
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Warner
Weicker

NAYS (0)

Democrats
(0 or 0%)

Republicans
(0 or 0%)

NOT VOTING (7)

Democrats (4)

Gore—2
Inouye—2
Kerry—2AY
Simon—2

Republicans (3)

Bond—2
Lugar—2
Wilson—2AY

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 100%
Republicans— 100%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (93)
Democrats— 50 or 54%
Republicans— 43 or 46%

Against (0)
Democrats— 0 or 0%
Republicans— 0 or 0%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

MAJOR PROVISIONS

Federal Council and Administration on Aging: Authorizes $210,000 in FY 1988, $221,000 in 1989, $232,000 in 1990, and $234,000 in 1991 for the continued operation of the Federal Council on Aging and requires that the majority of its members be older Americans; requires the Commissioner on Aging to annually publish and disseminate goals to State and area agencies; creates an Office for American Indian, Alaskan Native, and Hawaiian Native Programs within the Administration on Aging to be headed by an Associate Commissioner who shall be responsible for programs operated under title VI for Native Americans and for chairing the interagency task force related to older Indians; elevates the status of the Commissioner on Aging to report directly to the Secretary.

Title III Supportive Services and Other Activities: Authorizes Title III programs as follows: supportive services—$380 million in FY 1988, $399 million in 1989, $418 million in 1990, and $439 million in 1991; nutrition services (congregate nutrition centers and home-delivered nutrition programs)—$494 million in FY 1988, $518 million in 1989, $545 million in 1990, and $572 million in 1991; and surplus commodities programs—$151 million in FY 1988, $166 million in 1989, $183 million in 1990, and $201 million in 1991; increases the percentage of Title III funding that may be used by area agencies on aging for administrative expenses from 8.5 to 10 percent; expands the area plan requirements to include coordination of certain programs with local services for elderly Alzheimer's disease victims; requires area agencies to disseminate information on the availability of tuition-free post-secondary education in their area.

Authorizes $20 million in FY 1988 and such sums as necessary in 1989-91 for ombudsman programs and strengthens the program requirements at the State level; requires the Commissioner to submit a report to Congress on services and problems with the States' long-term care ombudsman which includes a study of ombudsman activities on behalf of residents in board and care facilities and on the effectiveness of utilizing volunteer ombudsmen.

Requires that area and State plans document the minority population within service areas and how their needs were met in the previous fiscal year; provides further direction in targeting services to those in greatest need; requires area agencies to consider the number of older Native Americans with low incomes in planning and conducting outreach activities and places increased emphasis on minority elderly, especially Indians, in Title IV research and training programs; establishes an interagency task force to identify ways to facilitate and improve services to older Indians and requires the Commissioner to report on the availability and quality of services to older Indians.

Modifies the provisions for a reduction in a State's allotment by the percentage decline in State expenditures to reflect the average change over the previous three years rather than the decline in the immediately preceding year; requires State agencies to establish a minimum percentage of Part B funds which each agency must spend on access, legal, and in-home services; authorizes $25 million for new programs for nonmedical in-home services for frail older individuals; authorizes $5 million for preventive health screening, health education, and promotion services; authorizes $25 million for State programs to meet special needs; authorizes $5 million in FY 1988 for programs to prevent abuse of older individuals.

Demonstration Grants: Authorizes $10 million annually in FY 1988-90 for grants to State and area agencies on aging to demonstrate and evaluate effective methods to provide outreach and application assistance for SSI, Medicaid, and Food Stamps to elderly individuals who are eligible for, but not receiving this assistance; authorizes $1 million in FY 1989 for grants to States to demonstrate and evaluate cooperative projects between State long-term care ombudsman programs and State protection and advocacy systems; authorizes grants to demonstrate effective methods for assuring that home care services provided under the Act are of high quality; authorizes $33 million in FY 1988, $35 million in 1989, $36 million in 1990, and $38 million in 1991 for Title IV training, research and discretionary projects; requires the Commissioner to fund the establishment or support the development of comprehensive systems for long-term care.

Community Service Employment: Authorizes $387 million in FY 1988, $406 million in 1989, $426 million in 1990, and $448 million in 1991 for Title V Community Service Employment; freezes the cap on administrative costs for employment projects at 13.5 percent and establishes specific criteria to be used for waiving the cap; excludes Title V wages from consideration as income in determining eligibility for Federally subsidized housing and Food Stamps; requires the Labor Department to provide Title V contractors with information about age discrimination to be distributed to program participants.

Elderly Americans CPI: Requires the Secretary of Labor to develop a consumer price index which reflects the impact of inflation on elderly Americans.

Home-Health Care Services: Amends the Public Health Service Act to authorize a two-part, three-year matching demonstration grant program to (1) expand home health care services for individuals who might otherwise require lengthy hospital stays or institutionalization, and (2) develop a range of innovative services for people with Alzheimer's disease as well as their family and care givers, and authorizes $5 million annually in FY 1988-90 for each part.

Food Assistance: Amends the National School Lunch Act to extend child care food assistance to adult day care centers.

Native American Programs: Makes Indians eligible for services under both Titles III and VI; creates a new Title VI Part B program for grants to public or non-profit organizations to provide services to Native Hawaiians; authorizes $13 million in FY 1988, $16 million in 1989, $19 million in 1990, and $22 million in 1991 with specific earmarks for both Parts A and B and an appropriations trigger for the Part B program.

White House Conference on Aging: Gives the President authority to call a White House Conference on Aging in 1991 and authorizes therefor such sums as necessary in FY 1989-91.

Alzheimer's Research: Authorizes $2 million in FY 1988 for the Director of the National Institute on Aging to conduct clinical trials on the use of promising therapeutic agents in treating Alzheimer's Disease.

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 374

100th Congress
1st Session

November 12, 1987, 1:33 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-16169

ENERGY-WATER APPROPRIATIONS, 1988

BILL NO.: H.R. 2700

TITLE: "Energy and Water Development Appropriations Act of 1988"

SUBJECT: **Excepted Committee amendments, en bloc, which reduce the President's budget request for the Nuclear Waste Program by $140 million and incorporate the provisions of S. 1668, as reported by the Energy Committee, which directs the Secretary of Energy to select by January 1, 1989, one of the three candidate nuclear waste repository sites now under consideration for "detailed site characterization work" and halt work on the other sites unless the one chosen proves unacceptable; suspends further site-specific work on a second repository in the eastern U.S. as required by the Nuclear Waste Policy Act of 1982; retains the 70,000 metric ton limit on the nuclear waste volume that may be placed in the first repository; requires a report by the year 2010 as to whether a second repository is needed; authorizes the construction of a monitored retrievable storage facility (MRS) and directs the Secretary to reconsider where it should be located; and authorizes benefit payments to host States of up to $100 million annually for a repository and $50 million annually for an MRS facility to be paid during the life of the facility.**

NOTE: Proponents asserted that the Nuclear Waste Policy Act of 1982 (NWPA) requires readjustment to assure safe, cost-effective, and timely selection of the Nation's first high-level nuclear waste site. The Senate purposely had made the 1982 Act ambiguous in reaction to political concerns. S. 1668 addresses these ambiguities by placing primary consideration on the costs of characterization, construction, operation, and site closure, and stressing health and safety concerns. It permits a site to be chosen as early as January 1989 in order to limit further politicization. It reduces the Nuclear Waste Program appropriation by $139 million by eliminating the Second Repository Program and calling for full characterization at only one site rather than at all three sites selected by DOE. The shift from the simultaneous characterization of three sites to sequential characterization will save billions of dollars. The Energy Committee held extensive hearings on the bill, and members of the Senate visited and

(OVER)

H.R. 2700: Vote Nos. 367, 372, 374, 375, 377, 382, 383.

RESULT: **AMENDMENTS AGREED TO, EN BLOC**

YEAS (63)			**NAYS (30)**	
Democrats (26 or 52%)	**Republicans (37 or 86%)**		**Democrats (24 or 48%)**	**Republicans (6 or 14%)**
Bingaman	Armstrong	Kasten	Adams	Chafee
Boren	Boschwitz	McCain	Baucus	Gramm
Bradley	Cochran	McClure	Bentsen	Hecht
Bumpers	Cohen	McConnell	Biden	Simpson
Chiles	D'Amato	Murkowski	Breaux	Stafford
Conrad	Danforth	Nickles	Burdick	Thurmond
Dixon	Dole	Packwood	Byrd	
Exon	Domenici	Pressler	Cranston	
Ford	Durenberger	Quayle	Daschle	
Fowler	Evans	Roth	DeConcini	
Harkin	Garn	Rudman	Glenn	
Heflin	Grassley	Specter	Graham	
Inouye	Hatch	Stevens	Hollings	
Johnston	Hatfield	Symms	Kennedy	
Lautenberg	Heinz	Trible	Leahy	
Matsunaga	Helms	Wallop	Levin	
Melcher	Humphrey	Warner	Metzenbaum	
Mitchell	Karnes	Weicker	Mikulski	
Moynihan	Kassebaum		Pell	
Nunn			Reid	
Proxmire			Riegle	
Pryor			Rockefeller	
Sasser			Sanford	
Shelby			Sarbanes	
Stennis				
Wirth				

NOT VOTING (6)

Democrats (3)	**Republicans (3)**
Gore—^{2}	Bond—^{2}
Kerry—^{2PN}	Lugar—^{2}
Simon—^{2}	Wilson—^{2AY}

LIVE PAIRS (1)

PRESENT AND GIVING:	**RECEIVING:**
Dodd (PY)	Kerry (PN)

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion	**Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on** *For* (63)	*Against* (30)
Democrats— 52%	Democrats— 26 or 41%	Democrats— 24 or 80%
Republicans— 86%	Republicans— 37 or 59%	Republicans— 6 or 20%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

studied the highly effective nuclear waste disposal sites in France and Sweden. It is overwhelmingly supported by the Energy and Appropriations Committees, and is substantially the same as the Environment Committee bill. While it is indisputable that DOE has made mistakes, the real fault for DOE's actions lies with Congress for permitting NWPA to be ambiguous in the first place, and for inadequately carrying out its oversight responsibilities.

Opponents expressed support for reform of the NWPA if it would protect the three finalist States from undue risk and assure that the final site selection would be made on a sound scientific basis. However, they strongly opposed S. 1668 and its consideration on an appropriations bill. Not only does this bill weaken the selection process and remove many of the requirements imposed on DOE, but this procedure excludes the committees of jurisdiction and those with the proper expertise. The bill would give DOE the responsibility for selecting a single site for full characterization by January, 1989, despite the lack of adequate scientific information to make that decision. The bill does not require DOE to complete surface characterization of the three sites before making the selection, or to have an EPA examination. DOE has performed so poorly in connection with the selection of a nuclear waste site that the Senate should not be weakening the requirements in the NWPA. While similarities have been cited between the Energy Committee and the Environment Committee bills, significant differences do exist which justify giving the latter full consideration. The Environment Committee bill requires completing surface characterization of all three sites before selecting a site for full characterization and should not be viewed as a way to balance the budget. It may not realize any savings since it includes a benefits package for States hosting a waste site which could cost up to $9 billion, and authorizes construction of an MRS at a cost of $3 billion.

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 375

100th Congress
1st Session

November 12, 1987, 2:26 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-16177

ENERGY-WATER APPROPRIATIONS, 1988

BILL NO.: H.R. 2700 **AMENDMENT NO.:** 1158

TITLE: "Energy and Water Development Appropriations Act of 1988"

SUBJECT: **Reid amendment which, notwithstanding any other provision of law or this Act, requires the Secretary of Energy, in selecting the preferred site for characterization as a permanent nuclear waste repository, to give primary consideration to potentially adverse impacts on the public health and safety of locating a repository at that site.**

NOTE: Proponents asserted that the most serious flaw in the Nuclear Waste Repository Program is that public health and safety are not recognized as the most important criteria for selecting the site of the Nation's first permanent nuclear waste repository. The selection criteria created by DOE place the same emphasis on public health and safety as it places on aesthetics and environmental concerns. This problem is compounded by the recent addition of the provisions of S. 1668 (Vote No. 374), which adds such considerations as ease of licensing and cost to this list. Rather than permit public safety and health concerns to be eroded, this amendment clarifies their overriding importance in selecting a final waste site. The amendment is not intended to discount other concerns, they claimed; however, matters such as cost should not be permitted to override a decision involving a very poisonous substance that could present a health hazard for thousands of years to come.

Opponents noted that S. 1668 already places public health and safety concerns among its primary criteria. If public health and safety concerns are made the primary concern above all others, however, it may result in the selection of a 100 percent safe site that has no possibility of being licensed or would be prohibitively expensive to develop. It is unreasonable to suggest, they argued, that Congress would permit the siting of a repository where there is any question that public health and safety might be adversely affected.

H.R. 2700: Vote Nos. 367, 372, 374, 375, 377, 382, 383.

RESULT: **AMENDMENT REJECTED**

YEAS (37)		NAYS (56)			NOT VOTING (7)	
Democrats (29 or 58%)	Republicans (8 or 19%)	Democrats (21 or 42%)	Republicans (35 or 81%)		Democrats (4)	Republicans (3)
Adams	Cohen	Bingaman	Armstrong	Kassebaum	DeConcini—^{2AY}	Lugar—^{2}
Baucus	Dole	Boren	Bond	Kasten	Gore—^{2}	McConnell—^{2}
Bentsen	Gramm	Byrd	Boschwitz	McCain	Kerry—^{2AY}	Wilson—^{2AN}
Biden	Hecht	Chiles	Chafee	McClure	Simon—^{2}	
Bradley	Nickles	Conrad	Cochran	Murkowski		
Breaux	Packwood	Cranston	D'Amato	Pressler		
Bumpers	Specter	Daschle	Danforth	Quayle		
Burdick	Stevens	Dodd	Domenici	Roth		
Dixon		Exon	Durenberger	Rudman		
Fowler		Ford	Evans	Simpson		
Glenn		Heflin	Garn	Stafford		
Graham		Hollings	Grassley	Symms		
Harkin		Johnston	Hatch	Thurmond		
Inouye		Levin	Hatfield	Trible		
Kennedy		Melcher	Heinz	Wallop		
Lautenberg		Nunn	Helms	Warner		
Leahy		Pell	Humphrey	Weicker		
Matsunaga		Proxmire	Karnes			
Metzenbaum		Shelby				
Mikulski		Stennis				
Mitchell		Wirth				
Moynihan						
Pryor						
Reid						
Riegle						
Rockefeller						
Sanford						
Sarbanes						
Sasser						

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:
1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:
AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion	Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on	
	For (37)	*Against* (56)
Democrats— 58%	Democrats— 29 or 78%	Democrats— 21 or 37.5%
Republicans— 81%	Republicans— 8 or 22%	Republicans— 35 or 62.5%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 376

100th Congress
1st Session

November 13, 1987, 10:00 a.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-16257

HOUSING AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT
(BUDGET WAIVER)

BILL NO.: S. 825

TITLE: "Housing and Community Development Act of 1987"

SUBJECT: **Cranston motion to waive the Budget Act in order to allow the consideration of the conference report on the bill.** (The waiver was necessary because total Federal outlay ceilings, as provided for in the Budget Resolution, had been reached. Any bill or conference report that involves outlays could be subject to a point of order. See also Vote Nos. 379 and 380.)

NOTE: Proponents of the motion stated that the problem was largely technical and would lie against virtually any bill coming to the floor involving outlays since September 30. The problem is created by timing and not by any budgetary problem in this bill. First, the Senate has not yet passed a reconciliation bill and realized its associated savings. Second, the continuing resolution is scored by the technicians as if it covered the whole year although it extends through December 16. Housing programs have been cut by 70 percent since 1980, and this conference report, which passed the House by a vote of 391-1, embodies many bipartisan compromises including a $600 million cut in cost. If all Federal programs had undergone the same discipline in the last seven years, the budget deficit would not exist today.

Opponents noted that the conference report violates both sections 302(f) and 402 of the Budget Act. They pointed to new programs being created at a time of serious budget difficulty. It makes no sense, they argued, to create new programs that do not help the poor but subsidize the nonpoor, the developer, and the builder. They criticized Federal housing and community programs which, they felt, have been good candidates for cuts for many years.

S. 825: Vote Nos. 45-49, 376, 379, 380.

RESULT: MOTION TO WAIVE BUDGET ACT REJECTED, 3/5THS NOT HAVING VOTED IN THE AFFIRMATIVE

YEAS (53)

Democrats (45 or 90%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Biden
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Hollings
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Nunn
Pell
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Stennis

Republicans (8 or 19%)

Chafee
Cohen
D'Amato
Durenberger
Heinz
Specter
Stafford
Weicker

NAYS (40)

Democrats (5 or 10%)

Byrd
Exon
Leahy
Proxmire
Wirth

Republicans (35 or 81%)

Armstrong
Bond
Boschwitz
Cochran
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Evans
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hatfield
Hecht
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes
Kassebaum
Kasten
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Packwood
Pressler
Quayle
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Stevens
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Warner

NOT VOTING (7)

Democrats (4)

Gore—^{2AY}
Inouye—^{2}
Moynihan—^{2}
Simon—^{2}

Republicans (3)

Lugar—^{2}
Wallop—^{2AN}
Wilson—^{2}

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 90%
Republicans— 81%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (53)
Democrats— 45 or 85%
Republicans— 8 or 15%

Against (40)
Democrats— 5 or 12.5%
Republicans— 35 or 87.5%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 377

100th Congress
1st Session

November 13, 1987, 1:53 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-16283

ENERGY-WATER APPROPRIATIONS, 1988

BILL NO.: H.R. 2700

AMENDMENT NO.: 1188

TITLE: "Energy and Water Development Appropriations Act of 1988"

SUBJECT: **Shelby modified amendment which prohibits, until October 1, 1988, the expenditure of funds by the Departments of Energy or Justice to prosecute any action or enforce any judgment against an individual, as an officer of a corporation (Citronelle-Mobile Gathering, Inc.), determined guilty of oil price overcharging and jointly and severally liable with the corporation for the overcharge by the Temporary Emergency Court of Appeals on May 7, 1987; and limits the individual's liability to the actual dollar amount personally received by the individual from the violation and any interest assessed on the amount.**

NOTE: Proponents asserted that the amendment seeks to prevent the government from enforcing a novel and unwarranted theory of personal liability against corporate shareholders, officers, or agents for nonintentional corporate violations of Federal statutes or regulations. Under this theory of liability, a corporate officer acting in "good faith" may be held personally liable for the full amount of the corporate violation—even if the individual did not receive any of the funds attributable to the violation. As an indication of the significance of this precedent in the Citronelle-Mobile Gathering, Inc. v. Herrington decision, the U.S. Chamber of Commerce and the American Corporate Council Association have filed an amicus brief with the Supreme Court urging that the decision be reversed. This amendment would prohibit further enforcement activity by the Department of Energy so that Congress would have time to consider the matter and decide if the decision was consistent with the intent of Congress. Enforcement of personal liability for corporate activity will cause hardship in the business community, especially on the small family-owned business.

Opponents made no statements.

H.R. 2700: Vote Nos. 367, 372, 374, 375, 377, 382, 383.

RESULT: AMENDMENT AGREED TO

YEAS (70)

Democrats (35 or 76%)

Adams
Baucus
Boren
Breaux
Burdick
Byrd
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Harkin
Heflin
Hollings
Inouye
Johnston
Leahy
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sasser
Shelby
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans (35 or 95%)

Armstrong
Bond
Boschwitz
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Durenberger
Evans
Gramm
Grassley
Hecht
Heinz
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes
Kassebaum
Kasten
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Packwood
Pressler
Quayle
Roth
Simpson
Specter
Stafford
Stevens
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Warner

NAYS (13)

Democrats (11 or 24%)

Bentsen
Biden
Bingaman
Bradley
Bumpers
Conrad
Graham
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Sarbanes

Republicans (2 or 5%)

Chafee
Weicker

NOT VOTING (17)

Democrats (8)

Chiles—2
Gore—2
Levin—2
Moynihan—2
Nunn—2
Pell—2AN
Sanford—2
Simon—2

Republicans (9)

Domenici—2
Garn—2
Hatch—2
Hatfield—2
Lugar—2
McCain—2
Rudman—2
Wallop—2
Wilson—2

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion	Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on	
	For (70)	*Against* (13)
Democrats— 76%	Democrats— 35 or 50%	Democrats— 11 or 85%
Republicans— 95%	Republicans— 35 or 50%	Republicans— 2 or 15%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 378

100th Congress
1st Session

November 17, 1987, 11:59 a.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-16340

INTERNATIONAL WHEAT AGREEMENT

TREATY DOC. NO.: 100-1, "The International Wheat Agreement, 1986, which was open for signature at the United Nations headquarters, New York, from May 1, 1986, through June 30, 1986, and signed on behalf of the United States on June 26, 1986; consisting of (1) the Wheat Trade Convention, 1986; and (2) the Food Aid Convention, 1986"

SUBJECT: **Adoption of the resolution of ratification of the International Wheat Agreement which consists of the Wheat Trade Convention, a consultative agreement designed to facilitate the exchange of information about the world grain market and to provide a forum for the discussion of grain trade issues, and the Food Aid Convention designed to achieve a target of at least 10 million metric tons of grain suitable for human consumption annually for developing countries.**

NOTE: Both conventions will enter into force with respect to the U.S. following the deposition of instruments of ratification to both Conventions.

Vote No. 378.

RESULT: RESOLUTION OF RATIFICATION AGREED TO, 2/3RDS HAVING VOTED IN THE AFFIRMATIVE

ADMINISTRATION POSITION: YEA

YEAS (94)

Democrats (49 or 100%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Biden
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Hollings
Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Stennis

Republicans (45 or 100%)

Armstrong
Bond
Boschwitz
Chafee
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Evans
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hatfield
Hecht
Heinz
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes
Kassebaum
Kasten
Lugar
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Packwood
Pressler
Quayle
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Specter
Stafford
Stevens
Symms
Trible
Wallop
Warner
Weicker
Wilson

NAYS (0)

Democrats (0 or 0%)

Republicans (0 or 0%)

NOT VOTING (6)

Democrats (5)

Dodd—2
Gore—2
Mikulski—2
Simon—2
Wirth—2

Republicans (1)

Thurmond—2

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 100%
Republicans— 100%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (94)
Democrats— 49 or 52%
Republicans— 45 or 48%

Against (0)
Democrats— 0 or 0%
Republicans— 0 or 0%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 379

100th Congress
1st Session

November 17, 1987, 3:07 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-16351

HOUSING AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT
(BUDGET WAIVER)

BILL NO.: S. 825

TITLE: "Housing and Community Development Act of 1987"

SUBJECT: **Byrd motion to reconsider Vote No. 376 by which the Senate failed to waive the Budget Act in order to allow the consideration of the conference report on the bill.** (The budget waiver was necessary because total Federal outlay ceilings, as provided for in the budget resolution, had been reached, and any bill or conference report that involves outlays would be subject to this point of order.)

NOTE: See Vote Nos. 376 and 380 for arguments for and against the waiver.

S. 825: Vote Nos. 45-49, 376, 379, 380.

RESULT: **MOTION TO RECONSIDER AGREED TO**

YEAS (99)

Democrats
(54 or 100%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Biden
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Gore
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Hollings
Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Simon
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans
(45 or 98%)

Armstrong
Bond
Boschwitz
Chafee
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Evans
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hatfield
Hecht
Heinz
Helms
Karnes
Kassebaum
Kasten
Lugar
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Packwood
Pressler
Quayle
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Specter
Stafford
Stevens
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Warner
Weicker
Wilson

NAYS (1)

Democrats
(0 or 0%)

Republicans
(1 or 2%)

Humphrey

NOT VOTING (0)

Democrats (0)

Republicans (0)

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 100%
Republicans— 98%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (99)
Democrats— 54 or 55%
Republicans— 45 or 45%

Against (1)
Democrats— 0 or 0%
Republicans— 1 or 100%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 380

100th Congress
1st Session

November 17, 1987, 4:22 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-16363

HOUSING AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT
(BUDGET WAIVER)

BILL NO.: S. 825

TITLE: "Housing and Community Development Act of 1987"

SUBJECT: **Reconsideration of Vote No. 376 by which the Senate failed to waive the Budget Act in order to allow the consideration of the conference report on the bill.**

NOTE: Proponents of the motion (and the conference report) pointed out that this conference report is the first major freestanding housing bill to be approved by Congress in seven years. In attempting to remove the need for a budget waiver, they offered to eliminate the $47 million for three items that were technically off budget, but opponents objected. The Budget Act, they insisted, should not be used as a roadblock against virtually any bill with any spending even if it contains a spending reduction. Some stated the real question was whether or not there was going to be any housing policy at all. This bipartisan compromise passed the House by a vote of 391-1. Since 1980, housing programs have been cut by 70 percent—more than any other area. There would be no deficit problem if spending in other areas had been so restrained.

Opponents insisted that the President would veto the conference report. They opposed it because it is a budget buster; renews and reauthorizes programs that have outlived their usefulness and are extravagant, like UDAG; continues programs that have failed, such as low-income rent programs; contains some ambitious and novel programs, such as the new antidisplacement program; and, most importantly, is the least timely measure to be considering when Congress and the President are meeting to get the budget deficit under control. It is expensive and opens up unlimited spending in the future.

A House-Senate compromise amendment was agreed to by the Senate on December 21 and by the House on December 22. S. 825 became Public Law 100-242, approved Feburary 5, 1988.

S. 825: Vote Nos. 45-49, 376, 379, 380.

RESULT: MOTION TO WAIVE BUDGET ACT REJECTED, 3/5THS NOT HAVING VOTED IN THE AFFIRMATIVE

YEAS (57)			NAYS (43)			NOT VOTING (0)	
Democrats (49 or 91%)		Republicans (8 or 17%)	Democrats (5 or 9%)	Republicans (38 or 83%)		Democrats (0)	Republicans (0)
Adams	Johnston	Chafee	Bingaman	Armstrong	Lugar		
Baucus	Kennedy	Cohen	Conrad	Bond	McCain		
Bentsen	Kerry	D'Amato	Exon	Boschwitz	McClure		
Biden	Lautenberg	Durenberger	Proxmire	Cochran	McConnell		
Boren	Leahy	Heinz	Wirth	Danforth	Murkowski		
Bradley	Levin	Specter		Dole	Nickles		
Breaux	Matsunaga	Stafford		Domenici	Packwood		
Bumpers	Melcher	Weicker		Evans	Pressler		
Burdick	Metzenbaum			Garn	Quayle		
Byrd	Mikulski			Gramm	Roth		
Chiles	Mitchell			Grassley	Rudman		
Cranston	Moynihan			Hatch	Simpson		
Daschle	Nunn			Hatfield	Stevens		
DeConcini	Pell			Hecht	Symms		
Dixon	Pryor			Helms	Thurmond		
Dodd	Reid			Humphrey	Trible		
Ford	Riegle			Karnes	Wallop		
Fowler	Rockefeller			Kassebaum	Warner		
Glenn	Sanford			Kasten	Wilson		
Gore	Sarbanes						
Graham	Sasser						
Harkin	Shelby						
Heflin	Simon						
Hollings	Stennis						
Inouye							

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion	Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on	
	For (57)	*Against* (43)
Democrats— 91%	Democrats— 49 or 86%	Democrats— 5 or 12%
Republicans— 83%	Republicans— 8 or 14%	Republicans— 38 or 88%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 381

100th Congress
1st Session

November 18, 1987, 9:17 a.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-16415

SENATE PROCEDURE
(ATTENDANCE)

SUBJECT: **Byrd motion to instruct the Sergeant at Arms to request the attendance of absent Senators.**

Vote Nos. 22, 23, 32, 50, 258, 261, 306, 316, 319, 322, 334, 381, 388, 391, 394.

RESULT: **MOTION FOR ATTENDANCE AGREED TO**

YEAS (70)

Democrats
(44 or 98%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Bingaman
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Hollings
Inouye
Johnston
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Metzenbaum
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans
(26 or 59%)

Armstrong
Boschwitz
Cochran
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Grassley
Hatch
Hatfield
Heinz
Humphrey
Karnes
Kassebaum
Lugar
McClure
Packwood
Pressler
Rudman
Simpson
Stafford
Stevens
Thurmond
Trible
Warner

NAYS (19)

Democrats
(1 or 2%)

Boren

Republicans
(18 or 41%)

Bond
Chafee
Evans
Garn
Gramm
Hecht
Helms
Kasten
McCain
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Quayle
Specter
Symms
Wallop
Weicker
Wilson

NOT VOTING (11)

Democrats (9)

Biden—2
Gore—2
Kennedy—2
Kerry—2
Melcher—2
Mikulski—2
Pell—2
Shelby—2
Simon—2

Republicans (2)

Cohen—2
Roth—2

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 98%
Republicans— 59%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (70)
Democrats— 44 or 63%
Republicans— 26 or 37%

Against (19)
Democrats— 1 or 5%
Republicans— 18 or 95%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd. Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 382

100th Congress
1st Session

November 18, 1987, 11:52 a.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-16429

ENERGY-WATER APPROPRIATIONS, 1988

BILL NO.: H.R. 2700

AMENDMENT NO.: 1197

TITLE: "Energy and Water Development Appropriations Act of 1988"

SUBJECT: **Breaux-Simpson motion to recommit the bill to the Appropriations Committee with instructions to report back forthwith with the Breaux-Simpson amendment which requires the Secretary of Energy to develop and conduct a surface-based testing plan at all three candidate nuclear waste sites (in Washington, Texas, and Nevada) examining whether or not "fatal flaws" are present at any site; waives the surface-based testing requirement if the testing time would extend beyond the selection date of January 1, 1991; requires the Secretary to prepare an environmental impact statement (EIS) on the selected preferred site; requires any monitored retrievable storage (MRS) facility to have license conditions that link capacity and the acceptance date for fuel to the progress in the repository's construction; removes the 70,000 ton waste limit on the first nuclear waste repository; requires the Secretary to consider the proximity of surface water for any second repository that may be needed; removes the provision on additional MRS facilities co-located with defense production facilities; and prohibits the construction of an MRS facility if found to be unnecessary by the MRS Commission, unless the construction is authorized by Congress.**

NOTE: Proponents of the motion and the Environment Committee amendment were concerned that the expedited procedures in the bill for selecting a preferred site for full characterization would compromise safety and force a final selection on the basis of inadequate technical information. Moreover, the Senate is being forced to consider these matters on an appropriations bill, denying the committees of jurisdiction their proper role. The procedures included in the bill were written in such a way that the site selected for full characterization would have to be the Nevada site: the site in Washington is

(OVER)

H.R. 2700: Vote Nos. 367, 372, 374, 375, 377, 382, 383.

RESULT: MOTION TO RECOMMIT REJECTED

YEAS (34)

Democrats (27 or 53%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Biden
Breaux
Burdick
Byrd
Cranston
DeConcini
Dodd
Exon
Glenn
Graham
Hollings
Kennedy
Kerry
Leahy
Levin
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Moynihan
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser

Republicans (7 or 16%)

Chafee
Gramm
Hecht
Simpson
Stafford
Thurmond
Wallop

NAYS (61)

Democrats (24 or 47%)

Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Bumpers
Chiles
Conrad
Daschle
Dixon
Ford
Fowler
Harkin
Heflin
Inouye
Johnston
Lautenberg
Matsunaga
Melcher
Mitchell
Nunn
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans (37 or 84%)

Armstrong
Bond
Boschwitz
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Evans
Garn
Grassley
Hatch
Hatfield
Heinz
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes
Kassebaum
Kasten
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Pressler
Quayle
Roth
Rudman
Specter
Stevens
Symms
Trible
Warner
Weicker
Wilson

NOT VOTING (5)

Democrats (3)

Gore—2AY
Shelby—2AN
Simon—2

Republicans (2)

Lugar—2
Packwood—2

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 53%
Republicans— 84%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (34)
Democrats— 27 or 79%
Republicans— 7 or 21%

Against (61)
Democrats— 24 or 39%
Republicans— 37 or 61%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

effectively excluded by requiring DOE to examine the cost of characterization; and Texas is excluded by requiring hydrology tests, which DOE has not begun and which would require 22 months to complete. If the Nevada site proves unsuitable after full characterization, the entire program would collapse, because it would be impossible to fall back on the Washington or Texas sites within any reasonable time frame. The instructions in the Breaux-Simpson amendment require surface-based testing at all three candidate sites before selecting a site for full characterization, an EIS on the selected site prior to full characterization, and a supplement when recommending the fully characterized site to the President. It also includes licensing conditions regarding the operation of an MRS to that the facility does not become a de facto repository. The instructions build upon the areas on which the Environment and Energy Committees agree: sequential rather than simultaneous characterization of the three candidate sites; postponement until the next century of the decision regarding construction of a second geologic repository; recognition of the necessity of building an MRS; and the desirability of providing benefits to any State which eventually will host a nuclear waste site or an MRS.

Opponents of the motion and the committee amendment countered that the instructions in the Breaux-Simpson amendment would add an additional $1.2 billion to the cost of selecting a final site, according to DOE. Moreover, it would delay implementation of the surface testing plan and the EIS by more than four years. The surface testing plan would require a formal comment period and public hearings, which lasts 21 months, followed by three years of surface testing, and culminating in the EIS (in addition to the statement already required in the bill), which would require an indeterminate amount of time. These additional delays would compound the problems of selecting a final waste site if the preferred site proves unsuitable and the entire process has to be repeated at another site. With nuclear waste accumulating at a rate of 3,000 metric tons a year, these delays are unacceptable. The approach taken by the Energy Committee and included in this bill is the product of 11 hearings, an examination of the nuclear waste facilities in Sweden and France, and ten years of legislative history in dealing with this matter.

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 383

100th Congress
1st Session

November 18, 1987, 12:27 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-16439

ENERGY-WATER APPROPRIATIONS, 1988

BILL NO.: H.R. 2700

TITLE: "Energy and Water Development Appropriations Act of 1988"

SUBJECT: **Passage of the bill which appropriates $15,919,912,000 in new budget authority for energy and water development for FY 1988; directs the Secretary of Energy to select by January 1, 1989, one of the three candidate nuclear waste repository sites now under consideration for "detailed site characterization work" and halt work on the other sites unless the one chosen proves unacceptable; and suspends further site-specific work on a second repository in the eastern U.S. as required by the Nuclear Waste Policy Act of 1982.**

H.R. 2700: Vote Nos. 367, 372, 374, 375, 377, 382, 383.

RESULT: **BILL PASSED**

YEAS (86)

Democrats (46 or 92%)

Baucus
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Hollings
Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans (40 or 89%)

Armstrong
Bond
Boschwitz
Chafee
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Evans
Garn
Grassley
Hatch
Hatfield
Heinz
Humphrey
Karnes
Kassebaum
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Packwood
Pressler
Quayle
Rudman
Simpson
Specter
Stafford
Stevens
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Warner
Weicker
Wilson

NAYS (9)

Democrats (4 or 8%)

Adams
Bentsen
Biden
Reid

Republicans (5 or 11%)

Gramm
Hecht
Helms
Kasten
Roth

NOT VOTING (5)

Democrats (4)

Dodd—2
Gore—2
Shelby—2AY
Simon—2

Republicans (1)

Lugar—2AY

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 92%
Republicans— 89%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (86)
Democrats— 46 or 53%
Republicans— 40 or 47%

Against (9)
Democrats— 4 or 44%
Republicans— 5 or 56%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

MAJOR PROVISIONS

Contains $4.2 billion for Federal water resources development programs, including projects and related activities of the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers–Civil, the Bureau of Reclamation, and the Tennessee Valley Authority.

Contains $7.7 billion for atomic energy defense activities; includes $3.8 billion for weapons activities and $1.8 billion for nuclear materials production; provides for a DOE acquisition strategy for the replacement of nuclear materials productions reactors; limits resources for DOE's SDI research to assure that the appropriate balance and priority of nuclear deterrence are addressed; prohibits restart of the N-Reactor at the Hanford Reservation, Washington.

Contains $2.06 billion for energy supply, research, development, and demonstration programs; includes $105.1 million for solar energy, $610.8 million for biological and environmental research, $345.6 million for magnetic fusion, $242.5 million for environmental research, and $526.8 million for basic energy sciences.

Contains $824.5 million for general science and research activities in life sciences, high energy physics, and nuclear physics.

Contains $425.2 million for various regulatory and independent agencies including the Appalachian Regional Commission, Nuclear Regulatory Commission, and the Delaware, Potomac, and Susquehanna River Basins Commissions.

Prohibits use of funds by the executive branch to study or select proposals to transfer facilities and functions of uranium supply and enrichment programs from Federal control unless specifically authorized by Congress.

Contains $360 million for DOE's Nuclear Waste Fund.

Directs the Secretary of Energy to select by January 1, 1989, one of the three candidate nuclear waste repository sites now under consideration for "detailed site characterization work" and halt work on the other sites unless the one chosen proves unacceptable; suspends further site-specific work on a second repository in the eastern U.S. as required by the Nuclear Waste Policy Act of 1982; retains the 70,000 metric ton limit on the nuclear waste volume that may be placed in the first repository; requires a report by the year 2010 as to whether a second repository is needed; authorizes construction of a monitored retrievable storage facility (MRS) and directs the Secretary to reconsider where it should be located; and authorizes benefit payments to host States of up to $100 million annually for a repository and $50 million annually for an MRS to be paid during the life of the facility.

Requires the Secretary to phase out funding for all existing research programs designed to evaluate the suitability of crystalline rock as a potential repository for nuclear waste and to enter into a contract with the National Academy of Sciences to establish an oversight board to review and evaluate the scientific and technical adequacy of crystalline rock repositories.

Provides for a study of reprocessing of spent fuel as a source of new fuel for light water reactors and disposal of the resultant nuclear wastes, and the direct disposal of spent fuel.

Authorizes funds to upgrade transportation facilities in the State affected by the siting of a nuclear waste repository.

Directs the Secretary to report to Congress on the amount of funds necessary annually over the next five years to conduct a detailed research program on the subseabed disposal of nuclear wastes, identify and assess potential impacts of subseabed disposal on human health and the marine environment, and develop preliminary designs for a subseabed disposal system, including estimated costs and institutional requirements; establishes an Office of Subseabed Disposal Research, responsible for carrying out R&D and demonstration activities on all aspects of subseabed disposal of high level radioactive waste and spent nuclear fuel.

Requires the Federal Energy Regulatory Commission to submit to the Committee, within three months of enactment, a report describing the policies followed in implementing its responsibilities under the National Environmental Policy Act.

Prohibits use of funds for Power Marketing Administrations or the TVA to pay procurement costs of extra high voltage power equipment not produced in the United States.

Budget Authority Considered

1987 Appropriations	$15,007,277,000
1988 Budget Estimate	17,662,797,000
Approved by House	16,149,498,000
Approved by Senate	15,919,912,000

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 384

100th Congress
1st Session

November 19, 1987, 5:47 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-16528

DOD AUTHORIZATION, 1988-89

BILL NO.: H.R. 1748 (S. 1174)

TITLE: "National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Years 1988 and 1989"

SUBJECT: **Adoption of the conference report on the bill which authorizes a two-tier level of defense spending in FY 1988 consistent with the FY 1988 Budget Resolution which reserved $7 billion pending enactment of certain deficit reduction legislation—a high tier of $296 billion and a low tier of $289 billion; funds procurement in FY 1988 at $79.8 billion ($77.1 billion at the low tier), RDT&E at $40.5 billion ($38.3 billion at the low tier), O&M at $84.8 billion ($83.9 billion at the low tier), military construction at $8.8 billion ($8.4 billion at the low tier), DOE at $7.8 billion for both tiers, and civil defense at $100 million for both tiers; contains an authorization of $144.1 billion for DOD in FY 1989 which would expire at the end of the 100th Congress if appropriations are not enacted; continues funding for the SDI, ASAT, and the Stealth programs; prescribes military personnel levels and for the first time waives the ceiling on civilian end strengths for FY 1988-89; and provides a three percent pay increase for all military personnel effective January 1, 1988.**

NOTE: H.R. 1748 became Public Law 100-180, approved December 4, 1987.

H.R. 1748 (S. 1174): Vote Nos. 112-114, 116, 240, 243-257, 259, 260, 263-271, 273, 275-278, 280-287, 292, 294-299, 300, 384.

RESULT: CONFERENCE REPORT AGREED TO

YEAS (86)

Democrats
(47 or 94%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Biden
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Cranston
Daschle
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans
(39 or 87%)

Bond
Boschwitz
Chafee
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Evans
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hecht
Heinz
Humphrey
Karnes
Kassebaum
Kasten
McCain
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Packwood
Pressler
Quayle
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Specter
Stafford
Stevens
Thurmond
Trible
Warner
Weicker
Wilson

NAYS (9)

Democrats
(3 or 6%)

Conrad
Hollings
Proxmire

Republicans
(6 or 13%)

Armstrong
Hatfield
Helms
McClure
Symms
Wallop

NOT VOTING (5)

Democrats (4)

DeConcini—^{2AY}
Gore—^{2}
Sanford—^{2}
Simon—^{2}

Republicans (1)

Lugar—^{3AY}

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 94%
Republicans— 87%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (86)
Democrats— 47 or 55%
Republicans— 39 or 45%

Against (9)
Democrats— 3 or 33%
Republicans— 6 or 67%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

MAJOR PROVISIONS

MX/ICBM: Authorizes $864 million to procure 12 MX missiles for operational testing, and provides $1.5 billion ($700 million at the low tier) for continued development of the small ICBM and $300 million ($100 million at the low tier) for continued research on the proposed rail-garrison basing concept for the MX; expresses the sense of the Senate that authorization of R&D funds for the small ICBM and the rail mobile basing mode for the MX does not constitute a commitment or intent to procure and deploy either or both.

Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI): Authorizes $3.9 billion for SDI of which $3.6 billion is for DOD and $279 million is for DOE; prohibits the award of R&D contracts in connection with the SDI program to foreign countries or firms, except for R&D which the Secretary of Defense certifies cannot be competently performed in the U.S., and any contract awarded to a foreign government or firm which agrees to fund a substantial portion of the total contract cost; requires human action as part of SDI C3 architecture; requires the President to submit a classified and unclassified report on the effect of no ABM Treaty limitations on the SDI programs; consolidates reporting requirements relating to the SDI program; sets forth conditions for the authorization of the establishment of a Federally-funded R&D center to support the SDI program; prohibits, for two-years, expenditure of funds to test or develop mobile/space-based ABM's (including ABMs using exotics) inconsistent with the testing and development described in the April 1987 SDIO report to Congress; prohibits deployment of any anti-ballistic system unless specifically authorized by law.

Space Defense Systems—Anti-Satellite (ASAT): Authorizes $200 million for the space defense program ($175 million at the low tier) of which $150 million (at both levels) is for the F-15 MHV programs; includes $46.6 million for the EMRLD (excimer, moderate power, Raman-shifted, laser device) program; continues the prohibition on MHV ASAT testing against objects in space until the President certifies to Congress that the Soviet Union has conducted such a test.

Chemical Weapons: Authorizes $125.1 million for the chemical demilitarization program; contains no funds for BIGEYE bomb procurement, transferring the $5 million contained in the Senate-passed bill to RDT&E for a study of the on range standoff alternatives; states congressional support for a policy that would link the removal and replacement of existing chemical munitions in Europe with binary chemical weapons.

Advanced Cruise Missile/Stealth: Reduces the full budget request (classified) for the advanced technology bomber (Stealth), and reduces the budget request (classified) for advanced Cruise missile procurement by $510.7 million.

B-1 Bomber: Authorizes $375.7 million for R&D in connection with the B-1 bomber with funds restricted to continuing the B-1 test program and procurement of spare parts for those parts of the aircraft that are not experiencing problems.

Nimitz-class Aircraft Carrier/Trident: Authorizes $644 million for advanced procurement of nuclear components for the first of two Nimitz-class nuclear powered aircraft carriers, and $797 million in FY 1989 for advance procurement; authorizes $1.9 billion for procurement and $1.1 billion in R&D for the Trident II missile program and provides $1.3 billion for the Trident submarine program; calls for a report by the Navy on the feasibility and desirability of developing a successor to the Trident II submarine as called for in the Scowcroft Commission report.

Nicaragua: Reaffirms the language contained in the FY 1986 DOD Authorization Act expressing the sense of the Congress that U.S. armed forces should not be introduced into or over Nicaragua for combat and states that this provision should not be construed as affecting the authority and responsibility of the President or Congress under the Constitution, statutes, or treaties.

U.S.-Soviet Arms Reduction Negotiations/ABM Treaty Compliance: States congressional support for the President's efforts to negotiate equitable and verifiable arms reduction treaties with the USSR; endorses the principle of mutuality and reciprocity in arms control negotiations with the Soviets and cautions that neither Congress nor the President should take actions which are unilateral concessions to the Soviets; urges the President to insure that no provisions are agreed to that are harmful to the U.S. or its allies; and expresses the sense of the Congress that the USSR is in violation of its legal obligation under the 1972 ABM Treaty.

Threshold Test Ban Treaty (TTBT) Reports: Directs the President to submit a report, within 30 days of enactment, discussing the current official U.S. method of estimating the yield of Soviet underground nuclear tests and the results of applying that method to past U.S. assessments of Soviet compliance with the 1974 TTBT, and directs the Secretary of Defense to submit a report on competitive strategies, in classified and unclassified versions, by January 15, 1988.

NATO: Requires the Secretary of Defense to report on NATO's ability to maintain its strategy of deterrence against, and flexible response in, a post Intermediate-Range Nuclear Treaty environment.

United Nations: Prohibits obligation of 50 percent of the U.S. assessed contributions to the U.N., until the President certifies to Congress that significant progress has been made in eliminating the use of "secondment" by member states.

Persian Gulf: Directs the Secretaries of Defense and Energy to develop contingency plans to deal with conditions created by significant disruptions in the production and transportation of crude oil from Persian Gulf nations.

Panama Military Assistance: Suspends shipments of military equipment and spare parts to Panama unless Panama has fulfilled several specified conditions, including the election of a nonmilitary transitional government and restoration of all constitutional guarantees, and states that the U.S. should assess whether imports of Panama sugars, syrups, or molasses should be prohibited.

Iranian Imports Ban: Prohibits the importation of all products into the U.S. from Iran; permits the President to delay the implementation of the prohibition for up to 180 days if he submits a report to Congress explaining his reasons for doing so and specifying how the national interest would be jeopardized by implementation; and provides that the prohibition would go into effect following this delay unless further extended by enactment of a joint resolution.

Pay Raise: Provides a three percent pay raise effective January 1, 1988, for all military personnel.

Religious Apparel: Permits members of the Armed Forces to wear an item of religious apparel while in uniform, if the item is worn as part of a religious observance of the member's faith and the respective Service Secretary determines that the item is neat and conservative and does not interfere with the performance of military duty.

Drug Testing: Authorizes a drug/alcohol dependency testing program prior to enlistment or reenlistment in the armed forces.

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 385

100th Congress
1st Session

November 20, 1987, 10:32 a.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-16616

NOMINATION OF FRANK C. CARLUCCI TO BE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE

POSITION: Secretary of Defense

SUBJECT: **Confirmation of the nomination of Frank C. Carlucci, of Virginia, to be Secretary of Defense.**

NOTE: The nomination was reported favorably by the Armed Services Committee by a unanimous vote of 20 yeas. Proponents asserted that Frank Carlucci is highly qualified in terms of both national security affairs experience, and policy-making and management skills. He has had a long and distinguished government career, and has been investigated thoroughly by the FBI. At his confirmation hearing, he spoke forcefully of the need to maintain a balance between modernization and readiness, without which the Nation's defenses could be reduced to a "hollow army." The recent charges linking him with Toshiba's sale of high technology to the Soviet Union while he was head of Sears World Trade, and with trying to block legislation to impose sanctions on Toshiba while he was Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs, were dismissed as not providing any basis for questioning his integrity.

The opponent of the nomination was critical of Mr. Carlucci's alleged "passiveness" while he was U.S. Ambassador to Portugal in the 1970's. During this period, which was characterized as "disastrous" for U.S. foreign policy (a position not shared by the intelligence community in general), the U.S. made decisions that included working with Communist and Socialist groups. While the nominee cannot be held personally responsible for these policies, there is no record of his disagreeing with foreign policy decisions that did not favor Democratic alternatives at every possible instance. This raises fears, it was argued, regarding how he would assess the United States' relationship with the Soviet Union in defense matters.

Vote No. 385.

RESULT: NOMINATION CONFIRMED

ADMINISTRATION POSITION: YEA

YEAS (91)				NAYS (1)		NOT VOTING (8)	
Democrats (50 or 100%)		Republicans (41 or 98%)		Democrats (0 or 0%)	Republicans (1 or 2%)	Democrats (4)	Republicans (4)
Adams	Inouye	Armstrong	Kassebaum		Helms	DeConcini—2AY	Simpson—2
Baucus	Johnston	Bond	Kasten			Gore—2	Trible—2
Bentsen	Kerry	Boschwitz	Lugar			Kennedy—2	Wallop—2AY
Biden	Lautenberg	Chafee	McCain			Simon—2	Wilson—2AY
Bingaman	Leahy	Cochran	McClure				
Boren	Levin	Cohen	McConnell				
Bradley	Matsunaga	D'Amato	Murkowski				
Breaux	Melcher	Danforth	Nickles				
Bumpers	Metzenbaum	Dole	Packwood				
Burdick	Mikulski	Domenici	Pressler				
Byrd	Mitchell	Durenberger	Quayle				
Chiles	Moynihan	Evans	Roth				
Conrad	Nunn	Garn	Rudman				
Cranston	Pell	Gramm	Specter				
Daschle	Proxmire	Grassley	Stafford				
Dixon	Pryor	Hatch	Stevens				
Dodd	Reid	Hatfield	Symms				
Exon	Riegle	Hecht	Thurmond				
Ford	Rockefeller	Heinz	Warner				
Fowler	Sanford	Humphrey	Weicker				
Glenn	Sarbanes	Karnes					
Graham	Sasser						
Harkin	Shelby						
Heflin	Stennis						
Hollings	Wirth						

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 100%
Republicans— 98%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (91)
Democrats— 50 or 55%
Republicans— 41 or 45%

Against (1)
Democrats— 0 or 0%
Republicans— 1 or 100%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 386

100th Congress
1st Session

November 20, 1987, 11:38 a.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-16620

INDEPENDENT COUNSEL REAUTHORIZATION

BILL NO.: H.R. 2939 (S. 1293)

TITLE: "Independent Counsel Reauthorization Act of 1987"

SUBJECT: **Adoption of the conference report on the bill which reauthorizes for five years the independent counsel statute under Title VI of the Ethics in Government Act of 1978, and clarifies and modifies certain provisions governing the independent counsel process.**

NOTE: H.R. 2939 became Public Law 100-191, approved December 15, 1987.

H.R. 2939 (S. 1293): Vote Nos. 335, 363-365, 386.

RESULT: CONFERENCE REPORT AGREED TO

YEAS (85)

Democrats
(50 or 100%)

Adams
Baucus
Biden
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Hollings
Inouye

Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans
(35 or 83%)

Bond
Boschwitz
Chafee
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Evans
Garn
Grassley
Hatch
Hatfield
Hecht
Heinz
Karnes
Kassebaum

Kasten
Lugar
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Packwood
Pressler
Quayle
Roth
Rudman
Specter
Stafford
Thurmond
Warner
Weicker

NAYS (7)

Democrats
(0 or 0%)

Republicans
(7 or 17%)

Armstrong
Cochran
Gramm
Helms
Humphrey
Stevens
Symms

NOT VOTING (8)

Democrats (4)

Bentsen—2
DeConcini—2AY
Gore—2AY
Simon—2

Republicans (4)

Simpson—2
Trible—2
Wallop—2
Wilson—2

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 100%
Republicans— 83%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (85)
Democrats— 50 or 59%
Republicans— 35 or 41%

Against (7)
Democrats— 0 or 0%
Republicans— 7 or 100%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

MAJOR PROVISIONS

Reauthorizes for five years the independent counsel statute of the Ethics in Government Act of 1978.

Clarifies that the Attorney General is to proceed under the statute upon receiving information that a person covered by the Act "may have violated" Federal criminal law, rather than when he/she receives information that the person "has committed" a violation; directs the Attorney General, in deciding whether to conduct a preliminary investigation, to consider only the specificity of the information received and the credibility of its source; limits to 15 days any threshold inquiries by the Attorney General; requires the Attorney General to notify the special court of the commencing date of a preliminary investigation (which may not exceed 90 days); requires the Attorney General to notify the special court, within the 90-day deadline, of a decision not to seek an independent counsel.

Increases, from two to three years, the Act's period of applicability; clarifies that it applies to campaign officials on the national level only and that it applies during the campaign period and the elected President's incumbency; clarifies that independent counsel proceedings may be initiated for persons other than those specifically covered whose investigation by the Department of Justice (DOJ) might result in a conflict of interest.

Requires recusal by the Attorney General from a case in which he/she is personally participating whenever information received under the Act "involves" the Attorney General or person(s) with whom he/she has a current or recent personal or financial relationship; requires that the recusal determination be in writing and specify the facts and reasons that were considered in reaching the decision.

Prohibits the Attorney General from closing a case prior to a preliminary investigation based upon a subject's state of mind, and allows the case to be closed after a preliminary investigation only if there is "clear and convincing evidence" that the subject lacked the state of mind required to prove a criminal violation.

Instructs the Attorney General, in deciding whether to request an independent counsel's appointment, to consider (1) only the need for "further investigation" rather than the need for "further investigation or prosecution," and (2) DOJ policies pertaining to criminal investigations rather than its criminal law enforcement policies.

Requires DOJ to respond within 15 days to a congressional inquiry on the status of cases being considered under the independent counsel statute.

Directs the special court to appoint independent counsels who have "appropriate experience" and will conduct their activities in "a prompt, responsible, and cost-effective manner"; deletes the prohibition on the selection of persons who recently held Federal office; specifies that a counsel's jurisdiction should include adequate authority to (1) fully investigate the subject matter of the case and all related matters, and (2) investigate and prosecute Federal crimes which may arise out of the investigation or prosecution.

Requires an independent counsel to file a status report with the special court every six months, as well as a final report.

Requires independent counsels to present any request for expanded jurisdiction to the Attorney General, who must investigate the new matter for up to 30 days, after which he/she must notify the special court whether there are reasonable grounds to expand the jurisdiction or appoint another independent counsel; requires the Attorney General to accord "great weight" to the sitting independent counsel's recommendations.

Prohibits the special court from modifying the Attorney General's decision not to appoint an independent counsel or to investigate matters as requested by a sitting independent counsel, but permits the special court to return the matter to the Attorney General for further explanation.

Explicitly states that nothing in the statute should be construed as authorizing DOJ or the special court to withhold information from Congress; and grants DOJ access to non-grand jury materials requested for ongoing law enforcement activities.

Establishes Federal standards of conduct for independent counsels and their staffs, and requires compliance within 90 days of enactment; explicitly states that independent counsels are separate from the DOJ for purposes of Federal criminal conflict of interest provisions.

Requires the Comptroller General to audit the expenditures of every independent counsel office.

Permits judicial review by the U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia of an independent counsel's removal from office and prohibits any member of the special court from participating in the review.

Makes the Act's provisions applicable to independent counsel proceedings initiated subsequent to enactment.

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 387

100th Congress
1st Session

November 30, 1987, 4:33 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-16760

NOMINATION OF JAMES H. BURNLEY IV TO BE SECRETARY OF TRANSPORTATION

POSITION: Secretary of Transportation

SUBJECT: **Confirmation of the nomination of James H. Burnley IV, of North Carolina, to be the Secretary of Transportation.**

NOTE: The nomination was reported favorably by the Commerce Committee by unanimous consent, without objection. Proponents of the nomination asserted that Mr. Burnley's experience and qualifications would allow him to step into the position of Secretary immediately and bring needed continuity to the agency. Mr. Burnley, a graduate of Yale University, was previously appointed by President Reagan to serve as a Director of Volunteers in VISTA, and served for a year as an Associate Deputy Attorney General at the Justice Department. He has been with DOT for more than four years, and is currently Deputy Secretary. While identifying strongly with the concept of deregulation, he emphasized DOT's responsibility for assuring that safety is not compromised in the transportation industry, and voiced concern about the impact that deregulation has had on rural America. Acknowledging problems that have persisted in areas of transportation over which the nominee held primary responsibility and his past difficulties in working constructively with Congress, Mr. Burnley gave personal assurances that he would seek to address these weaknesses.

Vote No. 387.

RESULT: NOMINATION CONFIRMED

ADMINISTRATION POSITION: YEA

YEAS (74)

Democrats (38 or 100%)

Adams
Baucus
Biden
Bradley
Breaux
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Glenn
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Hollings
Inouye
Johnston
Kerry
Lautenberg
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Mitchell
Moynihan
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Rockefeller
Sasser
Shelby
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans (36 or 100%)

Bond
Boschwitz
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Grassley
Hatch
Hecht
Helms
Humphrey
Kassebaum
Kasten
Lugar
McCain
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Packwood
Pressler
Quayle
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Specter
Stafford
Stevens
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Warner
Weicker

NAYS (0)

Democrats (0 or 0%)

Republicans (0 or 0%)

NOT VOTING (26)

Democrats (16)

Bentsen—2
Bingaman—2
Boren—2AY
Bumpers—2
Cranston—2
Fowler—2
Gore—2AY
Kennedy—2
Leahy—2
Metzenbaum—2
Mikulski—2AY
Nunn—2
Riegle—2
Sanford—2
Sarbanes—2
Simon—2

Republicans (10)

Armstrong—2
Chafee—2
Evans—2
Garn—2
Gramm—2
Hatfield—2
Heinz—2
Karnes—2
McClure—2
Wilson—2AY

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 100%
Republicans— 100%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (74)
Democrats— 38 or 51%
Republicans— 36 or 49%

Against (0)
Democrats— 0 or 0%
Republicans— 0 or 0%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 388

100th Congress
1st Session

December 1, 1987, 9:27 a.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-16775

SENATE PROCEDURE
(ATTENDANCE)

SUBJECT: **Byrd motion to instruct the Sergeant at Arms to request the attendance of absent Senators.**

Vote Nos. 22, 23, 32, 50, 258, 261, 306, 316, 319, 322, 334, 381, 388, 391, 394.

RESULT: MOTION FOR ATTENDANCE AGREED TO

YEAS (73)

Democrats (48 or 100%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Biden
Bingaman
Bradley
Breaux
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Gore
Graham
Harkin
Hollings
Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans (25 or 61%)

Armstrong
Boschwitz
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Durenberger
Grassley
Hatch
Hatfield
Heinz
Humphrey
Karnes
Kassebaum
Lugar
Packwood
Pressler
Roth
Simpson
Stafford
Stevens
Thurmond
Trible
Warner

NAYS (16)

Democrats (0 or 0%)

Republicans (16 or 39%)

Bond
Chafee
Garn
Gramm
Hecht
Helms
Kasten
McCain
McConnell
Nickles
Quayle
Specter
Symms
Wallop
Weicker
Wilson

NOT VOTING (11)

Democrats (6)

Boren—2
Bumpers—2
Heflin—2
Lautenberg—2
Metzenbaum—2
Simon—2

Republicans (5)

Domenici—2
Evans—2
McClure—2
Murkowski—2
Rudman—2

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 100%
Republicans— 61%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (73)
Democrats— 48 or 66%
Republicans— 25 or 34%

Against (16)
Democrats— 0 or 0%
Republicans— 16 or 100%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 389

100th Congress
1st Session

December 1, 1987, 12:02 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-16800

ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION
(DIAL-A-PORN)

BILL NO.: S. 373 (H.R. 5)

AMENDMENT NO.: 1203

TITLE: "Robert T. Stafford Elementary and Secondary Education Improvement Act of 1987"

SUBJECT: **Helms perfecting amendment (to the Symms modified amendment No. 1202) which expands current law to prohibit any person (not just minors under age 18 or nonconsenting adults) from having access to a "dial-a-porn" operation; eliminates the defense to prosecution that access to the prohibited communication was restricted to persons 18 years of age or older in accordance with the FCC regulations; and retains the current penalty of up to a $50,000 fine and/or six months in jail for violations.**

NOTE: Proponents noted that the amendment seeks to eliminate so-called "dial-a-porn" operations by deleting a few words in section 223(b) of the Communications Act of 1934 so as to make "dial-a-porn" criminal if it goes to anyone, regardless of age. Children have suffered psychological scarring and trauma from being exposed to obscene and licentious telephone messages that have encouraged sexual acts.

S. 373 (H.R. 5): Vote Nos. 389, 390.

RESULT: AMENDMENT AGREED TO

YEAS (98)

Democrats
(53 or 100%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Biden
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Gore
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Hollings
Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Simon
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans
(45 or 100%)

Armstrong
Bond
Boschwitz
Chafee
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Evans
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hatfield
Hecht
Heinz
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes
Kassebaum
Kasten
Lugar
McCain
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Packwood
Pressler
Quayle
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Specter
Stafford
Stevens
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Warner
Weicker
Wilson

NAYS (0)

Democrats
(0 or 0%)

Republicans
(0 or 0%)

NOT VOTING (2)

Democrats (1)

Bumpers—2

Republicans (1)

McClure—2

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 100%
Republicans— 100%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (98)
Democrats— 53 or 54%
Republicans— 45 or 46%

Against (0)
Democrats— 0 or 0%
Republicans— 0 or 0%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 390

100th Congress
1st Session

December 1, 1987, 2:59 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-16829

ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION

BILL NO.: H.R. 5 (S. 373)

TITLE: "Robert T. Stafford Elementary and Secondary Education Improvement Act of 1987"

SUBJECT: **Passage of the bill which authorizes, through FY 1993, the following Federal elementary and secondary education programs that expire in FY 1987, 1988, or 1989: Chapter 1 of the Education Consolidation and Improvement Act (ECIA), compensatory education for disadvantaged children (formerly Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act), Chapter 2 of ECIA, elementary and secondary education block grants to States, the Magnet Schools Assistance Program, the Impact Aid Program, the Adult Education Act, the Education for Economic Security Act, the Bilingual Education Act, Indian and native Hawaiians education programs, the Women's Educational Equity Act, and the Allen J. Ellender Fellowship Program, and the territorial assistance programs for the Virgin Islands; targets additional Chapter 1 funds to the pre-school and secondary school levels; creates new programs to address the needs of at-risk students, national priorities, and program quality and innovation; and prohibits "dial-a-porn" operations.**

H.R. 5 (S. 373): Vote Nos. 389, 390.

RESULT: BILL PASSED

YEAS (97)

Democrats
(52 or 100%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Biden
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Gore
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Hollings

Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Simon
Wirth

Republicans
(45 or 98%)

Armstrong
Bond
Boschwitz
Chafee
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Evans
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hatfield
Hecht
Heinz
Humphrey
Karnes
Kassebaum
Kasten

Lugar
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Packwood
Pressler
Quayle
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Specter
Stafford
Stevens
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Warner
Weicker
Wilson

NAYS (1)

Democrats
(0 or 0%)

Republicans
(1 or 2%)

Helms

NOT VOTING (2)

Democrats (2)

Bumpers—2
Stennis—2

Republicans (0)

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 100%
Republicans— 98%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (97)
Democrats— 52 or 54%
Republicans— 45 or 46%

Against (1)
Democrats— 0 or 0%
Republicans— 1 or 100%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

MAJOR PROVISIONS

Chapter 1: Reauthorizes chapter 1 through 1993; earmarks all chapter 1 appropriations between $4.3 and $4.7 billion, plus 10 percent of total chapter 1 appropriations over $4.7 billion, for additional grants to certain local education agencies (LEA's) with relatively high numbers or proportions of Chapter 1 participants; requires LEA's to use chapter 1 grants only in school attendance areas with high concentrations of low-income children; requires LEA's to involve the parents of educationally deprived children in planning and implementing chapter 1 services; triggers a new authorization for State education agency (SEA) program-improvement activities when chapter 1 appropriations reach $4.8 billion; increases the minimum State administrative allocation from $225,000 to $325,000; authorizes $400 million, $450 million, $500 million, and $550 million in FY 1990-93, respectively, for additional assistance to LEA's with high concentrations of low-income children for programs for secondary school basic skills improvement and school dropout prevention; reauthorizes grants to States for education services for neglected and delinquent children for which the State is responsible, migratory children, and handicapped children; earmarks $6 million or five percent of appropriations for migratory children's education grants for State programs to improve program coordination, contract for record transfer systems, and establish a national program of high school credit exchange and accrual; reduces an LEA's chapter 1 grant by the percentage by which it fails to maintain funding at 90 percent of its preceding year's expenditures; generally limits to 25 percent for FY 1989, and 15 percent for 1990 and beyond, the amount which a grantee may carry over to the subsequent fiscal year, unless supplemental chapter 1 funds are appropriated during the fiscal year; requires the Secretary to develop chapter 1 compliance regulations; authorizes $8 million, $8.4 million, $8.8 million, $9.2 million, and $9.7 million in FY 1989-93, respectively, for the Education Department (ED) to develop national standards for evaluating chapter 1 programs and to expand technical assistance to SEA's and LEA's.

Chapter 2: Authorizes $580 million in FY 1989, $610 million in 1990, $640 million in 1991, $672 million in 1992, and $706 million in 1993, for chapter 2 grants; targets chapter 2 assistance to programs for at-risk students including the educationally and economically disadvantaged and those with limited-English proficiency, secondary school basic skills instruction and literacy programs, programs for the gifted and talented and for personal excellence, library resources, and programs for school reform, innovation, and training, allows a consortia of LEA's to apply for chapter 2 grants; continues the six percent set-aside for the Secretary's Discretionary Fund for national programs and activities and authorizes $1.5 million for a new program to recognize excellence and quality in elementary and secondary education; deletes the drug abuse education provisions; reduces a State's chapter 2 allocation by the percentage by which it fails to maintain funding at 90 percent of its preceding year's expenditures; allows waiver of this requirement for one year under exceptional or uncontrollable circumstances; requires that chapter 2 funds be used only to supplement or increase non-Federal funding; allows private school students and educational personnel to participate in chapter 2 programs.

Special Programs for Education Innovation: Authorizes $25 million, $26.5 million, $27.5 million, $29 million, and $30.5 million in FY 1989-93, respectively, for grants to each: (1) Even Start family-centered education programs and (2) to promote school-level planning, improvement, and development and increase student achievement; reauthorizes the Women's Educational Equity Act at $5.3 million, $5.6 million, $5.9 million, $6.2 million, and $6.5 million in FY 1989-93, respectively; authorizes in FY 1989-93, respectively: $15 million, $15.8 million, $16.6 million, $17.4 million, and $18.3 million for Jacob K. Javits Gifted and Talented Students Education Act programs; $10.5 million, $10 million, $11 million, $12.5 million, and $14 million for demonstration grants to local family-school educational partnership activities; $3 million, $3.5 million, $4 million, $4.5 million, and $5 million for the Allen J. Ellender Fellowship Program; $5 million, $5.5 million, $6 million, $6.5 million, and $7 million for general public education assistance to the Virgin Islands; $15 million, $16 million, $17 million, $18 million, and $19 million for demonstration grants to certain local projects that increase attendance and achievement and parental involvement, offer innovative educational approaches, and provide a wider range of courses to disadvantaged children; $10 million, $10.5 million, $11 million, $12 million, and $13 million to establish and operate ten regional centers to improve the quality of education for Chapter 1 program participants in rural areas or small schools, and $20 million, $21 million, $22 million, $23 million, and $25 million to fund activities which demonstrate innovative approaches to improve elementary and secondary teaching.

Magnet Schools Assistance: Authorizes $115 million in FY 1989, $121 million in 1990, $127 million in 1991, $133 million in 1992, and $140 million in 1993 for magnet schools assistance; once appropriations reach $100 million, authorizes $35 million in FY 1989, $37 million in 1990, $39 million in 1991, $41 million in 1992, and $43 million in 1993 to assist agencies with significant percentages of minority students to implement magnet schools; and limits individual grants under this title to $4 million in any fiscal year.

Impact Aid and Disaster Assistance: Reauthorizes the Impact Aid Program at $821 million, $865 million, $905 million, $950 million, and $995 million in FY 1989-93, respectively; consolidates student assignments into two groups for entitlement purposes; establishes entitlement levels and a distribution formula for impact aid funds; reauthorizes the disaster assistance program at $25 million, $26 million, $27 million, $28 million, and $29 million in FY 1989-93, respectively, and establishes eligibility requirements.

Adult and Vocational Education: Reauthorizes the Adult Education Act (AEA) programs at $200 million in FY 1989, $210 million in 1990, $225 million in 1991, $235 million in 1992, and $245 million in 1993, plus an additional $2 million annually for national programs; reduces the Federal share of AEA programs from 90 to 75 percent; changes the maintenance of effort requirement from 100 percent to 90 percent of the previous year's expenditures; and requires that a minimum of ten percent of funds be used for educating institutionalized persons; authorizes $30 million in FY 1988, $31.5 million in 1989, and such sums as necessary in each 1990-93, for a new workplace literacy demonstration grant program and $25 million, $26.3 million, $27.6 million, $29 million, $30.5 million, and $32 million in FY 1988-93, respectively, for a new grant program to States for English literacy programs for adults with limited English proficiency.

Education for Economic Security: Reauthorizes the Mathematics and Science Education programs at $280 million, $295 million, $315 million, $355 million, and $405 million in FY 1989-93, respectively, and requires each State to distribute 75 percent to elementary and secondary activities and 25 percent to higher education activities; reauthorizes Partnerships in Education for Mathematics, Science, and Engineering at $20 million in FY 1988, and such sums as necessary in 1989-93; adds a new title authorizing $100 million in FY 1990-92 for the Star Schools Program of demonstration grants to telecommunication partnerships for improving math, science, and foreign language instruction; limits annual appropriations to $60 million and individual grants to $10 million; repeals the Excellence in Education Act; authorizes $21 million, $22 million, $23 million, $24 million, and $25 million in FY 1989-93, respectively, for matching grants for model local programs of elementary and secondary foreign language education.

Bilingual Education: Authorizes $168 million in FY 1989, $176.5 million in 1990, $185.3 million in 1991, $194.5 million in 1992, and $200.4 million in 1993 for Federal bilingual education; authorizes such sums as necessary in FY 1989-93 for grants for State bilingual education programs; prohibits any student from participating in a Federal bilingual education program for more than 5 years; directs that each SEA with an approved program receive a minimum of $50,000 in any fiscal year and a maximum of 5 percent of the total amount awarded within the State in the preceding fiscal year; requires the Secretary to establish at least 16 multifunctional resource centers, targeted to areas with relatively large numbers of individuals of limited English proficiency; establishes an ED Office of Bilingual Education and Minority Language Affairs.

School Dropout Problems/Basic Skills Instructions: Authorizes $50 million in each FY 1988-89 for the Federal share of School Dropout Demonstration Assistance Act programs alloted to LEA's based on student enrollment; authorizes $200 million in FY 1988-89 for Basic Skills Demonstration Assistance Act programs and makes eligible secondary school students who meet chapter 1 basic program eligibility requirements.

Educational Assesssment and Achievement: Reauthorizes the Office of Educational Research and Improvement through FY 1993 at such sums as necessary; requires that a minimum of $11.5 million in FY 1989, $17.7 million in 1990, $17.9 million in 1991, and $19.6 million in each 1992-93 be expended on the National Assessment of Educational Progress, expands the number of educational subjects and geographic areas to be assessed; authorizes $18 million in FY 1989, $18.9 million in 1990, $19.9 million in 1991, $21.0 million in 1992, and $22 million in 1993 for the Fund for the Improvement and Reform of Schools and Teaching and limits each grant to $5,000-$125,000 in any year.

Comprehensive Child Development Centers: Authorizes $25 million in each FY 1989-93 for multiyear grants to projects designed to encourage intensive, comprehensive support services to enhance the overall development of low-income children from birth to compulsory school age.

Native Hawaiians and Indian Education: Authorizes certain Native Hawaiians education programs through 1993; reauthorizes the Indian education programs of the ED through 1993, and modifies the statutes governing the operation of Bureau of Indian Affairs-funded schools.

General Provisions: Makes new spending authority under the Act effective only to the extent provided in appropriation acts; makes all provisions effective October 1, 1988, unless otherwise provided; and prohibits "dial-a-porn" operations.

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 391

100th Congress
1st Session

December 2, 1987, 10:16 a.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-16912

SENATE PROCEDURE
(ATTENDANCE)

SUBJECT: **Bentsen motion to instruct the Sergeant at Arms to request the attendance of absent Senators.**

Vote Nos. 22, 23, 32, 50, 258, 261, 306, 316, 319, 322, 334, 381, 388, 391, 394.

RESULT: MOTION FOR ATTENDANCE AGREED TO

YEAS (76)

Democrats (51 or 98%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Biden
Bingaman
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Hollings
Inouye

Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans (25 or 56%)

Armstrong
Boschwitz
Cochran
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Grassley
Hatch
Hatfield
Heinz
Humphrey
Kassebaum
Lugar
Packwood
Pressler
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Stafford
Stevens
Thurmond
Trible
Warner

NAYS (21)

Democrats (1 or 2%)

Boren

Republicans (20 or 44%)

Chafee
Cohen
Evans
Garn
Gramm
Hecht
Helms
Karnes
Kasten
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Quayle
Specter
Symms
Wallop
Weicker
Wilson

NOT VOTING (3)

Democrats (2)

Gore—2
Simon—2

Republicans (1)

Bond—2

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 98%
Republicans— 56%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (76)
Democrats— 51 or 67%
Republicans— 25 or 33%

Against (21)
Democrats— 1 or 5%
Republicans— 20 or 95%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 392

100th Congress
1st Session

December 2, 1987, 2:43 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-16943

FHA EXTENSION
(FHA PERMANENT EXTENSION)

BILL NO.: H.J. Res. 404

AMENDMENT NO.: 1219

SUBJECT: **Dixon motion to table the Armstrong-Gramm amendment which provides for a permanent extension of FHA mortgage insurance programs, thereby delaying the temporary extension.** (A permanent extension is contained in the Housing Authorization, S. 825. See also Vote No. 362. H.J. Res. 404 was subsequently passed by voice vote.)

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment asserted that in lieu of a two-week extension, the Senate should permanently extend FHA. This would avoid future shutdowns of the agency, assuring first-time home buyers the stability they desire and eliminating any need for the Senate to rush consideration of the comprehensive housing bill which is in conference. Additionally, a permanent extension would put an end to the practice of using FHA extensions as vehicles for other legislation.

Opponents of the amendment countered that House members have made it clear that because they fear a Presidential veto of the comprehensive housing authorization, they would not accept a permanent extension of FHA authority on this resolution. If the amendment is included in the Senate bill, the House will remove it and send it back to the Senate; nothing will be gained, and FHA operations will be shut down. In order to assure that FHA continues to operate uninterrupted, the resolution should be passed without amendment or delay. The housing authorization bill currently in conference provides FHA with a permanent extension, among other important changes. This sort of political posturing forced FHA to lapse for a total of 51 days in 1986, throwing mortgage closings and commitments into uncertainty. The major housing organizations strongly support passing this resolution without amendment.

H.J. Res. 404 became Public Law 100-179, approved December 3, 1987.

H.J. Res. 404: Vote No. 392.

RESULT: MOTION TO TABLE AGREED TO

YEAS (59)

Democrats (49 or 96%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Biden
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Graham
Harkin
Heflin

Hollings
Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans (10 or 22%)

Chafee
Cohen
D'Amato
Grassley
Heinz
Lugar
Pressler
Specter
Stafford
Weicker

NAYS (37)

Democrats (2 or 4%)

Proxmire
Shelby

Republicans (35 or 78%)

Armstrong
Bond
Boschwitz
Cochran
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Evans
Garn
Gramm
Hatch
Hatfield
Hecht
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes
Kassebaum

Kasten
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Packwood
Quayle
Roth
Simpson
Stevens
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Warner
Wilson

NOT VOTING (4)

Democrats (3)

Gore—2AY
Metzenbaum—2
Simon—2

Republicans (1)

Rudman—2

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 96%
Republicans— 78%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (59)
Democrats— 49 or 83%
Republicans— 10 or 17%

Against (37)
Democrats— 2 or 5%
Republicans— 35 or 95%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 393

100th Congress
1st Session

December 2, 1987, 5:01 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-16955

FARM CREDIT
(TAXATION OF INDIAN LAND)

BILL NO.: S. 1665 (H.R. 3030)

AMENDMENT NO.: 1211

TITLE: "Farm Credit Act Amendments of 1987"

SUBJECT: **Melcher motion to table the Inouye-Evans-McCain amendment which strikes the language in the bill that authorizes a State, county, or municipality to levy and collect taxes on real property taken into trust by the U.S. for the benefit of an Indian or Indian tribe.**

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment (voting nay) asserted that Indians should not be required under any circumstance to pay taxes on land held in trust by the Federal government. The bill would require that taxable lands placed in trust by the Secretary of the Interior would remain subject to taxation, contrary to the Nation's policy of not taxing land held in trust for Indian nations. The bill would not only compromise the concept of the trust but would raise questions as to whether owners of the land would be subject to other laws that apply to taxable lands, including foreclosure for failure to pay taxes. While moving land into a trust will reduce the local tax base and the availability of locally provided services, Indians receive many services at the Federal level. The Federal government pays the cost of educating Indian children in public schools and the State share of medicare and medicaid. Health, water, and sanitation services are paid for through the Indian Health Service. Since the bill deals only with land purchased with FmHA assistance, it would not prevent land from going off the tax rolls. An Indian nation using its own resources to buy land could assure that the land goes into a proper trust.

Opponents of the amendment (voting yea) countered that the assistance provided by FmHA in helping Indians obtain the title to privately-owned land should not be used to undermine the local tax base. This provision does not interfere with any Indian rights under current law, nor does it have any effect on present trust lands. Without protection of the local tax base, county tax rolls run the risk of being seriously eroded, resulting in a deterioration of the basic services on which both Indians and non-Indians depend. The Indian services provided by the Federal government cover only a portion of the cost.

S. 1665 (H.R. 3030): Vote No. 393, 397, 415.

RESULT: **MOTION TO TABLE AGREED TO**

YEAS (48)

Democrats (19 or 40%)

Baucus
Bentsen
Boren
Breaux
Bumpers
Chiles
Daschle
Dixon
Exon
Fowler
Heflin
Hollings
Johnston
Leahy
Melcher
Pell
Pryor
Shelby
Stennis

Republicans (29 or 69%)

Armstrong
Bond
Boschwitz
Chafee
Cochran
Danforth
Durenberger
Garn
Hatch
Hecht
Heinz
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes
Lugar
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Pressler
Quayle
Roth
Simpson
Specter
Stafford
Stevens
Symms
Thurmond
Wallop

NAYS (42)

Democrats (29 or 60%)

Adams
Biden
Bingaman
Burdick
Byrd
Conrad
Cranston
DeConcini
Dodd
Ford
Glenn
Graham
Harkin
Inouye
Kennedy
Kerry
Levin
Matsunaga
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Proxmire
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Wirth

Republicans (13 or 31%)

Cohen
D'Amato
Domenici
Evans
Grassley
Hatfield
Kassebaum
Kasten
McCain
Packwood
Trible
Warner
Weicker

NOT VOTING (10)

Democrats (6)

Bradley—2
Gore—2
Lautenberg—2
Metzenbaum—2
Mikulski—2
Simon—2

Republicans (4)

Dole—2
Gramm—2
Rudman—2
Wilson—2

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 60%
Republicans— 69%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (48)
Democrats— 19 or 40%
Republicans— 29 or 60%

Against (42)
Democrats— 29 or 69%
Republicans— 13 or 31%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 394

100th Congress
1st Session

December 3, 1987, 9:29 a.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-17079

SENATE PROCEDURE
(ATTENDANCE)

SUBJECT: **Byrd motion to instruct the Sergeant at Arms to request the attendance of absent Senators.**

Vote Nos. 22, 23, 32, 50, 258, 261, 306, 316, 319, 322, 334, 381, 388, 391, 394.

RESULT: MOTION FOR ATTENDANCE AGREED TO

YEAS (75)

Democrats
(49 or 98%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Biden
Bingaman
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Hollings
Inouye

Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Wirth

Republicans
(26 or 59%)

Armstrong
Boschwitz
Cochran
D'Amato
Danforth
Domenici
Durenberger
Grassley
Hatfield
Heinz
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes
Kassebaum
Lugar
Packwood
Pressler
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Stafford
Stevens
Thurmond
Trible
Warner
Wilson

NAYS (19)

Democrats
(1 or 2%)

Boren

Republicans
(18 or 41%)

Bond
Chafee
Cohen
Evans
Garn
Hatch
Hecht
Kasten
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Quayle
Specter
Symms
Wallop
Weicker

NOT VOTING (6)

Democrats (4)

Dodd—2
Gore—2
Simon—2
Stennis—2

Republicans (2)

Dole—2
Gramm—2

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 98%
Republicans— 59%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (75)
Democrats— 49 or 65%
Republicans— 26 or 35%

Against (19)
Democrats— 1 or 5%
Republicans— 18 or 95%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 395

100th Congress
1st Session

December 3, 1987, 12:54 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-17174

VETERANS' BENEFITS AND SERVICES
(RANDOM DRUG TESTING)

BILL NO.: S. 9 (H.R. 2616) AMENDMENT NO.: 1234

TITLE: "Omnibus Veterans' Benefits and Services Act of 1987"

SUBJECT: **Cranston motion to table the DeConcini, et al., amendment which strikes section 333 that prohibits the VA from conducting mandatory random drug testing of its employees for the use of illegal drugs as required under Executive Order No. 12564, and permits testing in three specific circumstances: when there is a reasonable suspicion that an employee uses illegal drugs, in an examination authorized by the VA regarding an accident or unsafe practice, or as part of counseling or rehabilitation for illegal drug use through an employee assistance program.** (Subsequently, the amendment was agreed to by voice vote.)

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment (voting nay) asserted that the VA should not be exempt from the President's Random Drug Testing Program, as section 333 of the committee bill would permit. The program is a fair, accurate, and confidential approach to the problem of drug abuse that will identify those individuals who are in critical need of counseling. The Federal government should serve as the standard for the war against drugs that the President wants it to be, and the Senate overwhelmingly supported when it approved section 503 of the Supplemental Appropriations bill. Drug testing in the VA is all the more important considering the growing problem of drug abuse among health care professionals in this country, and the number of malpractice suits currently filed against the VA, some of which may be drug-related. The cost of drug testing is insignificant if it will ensure a drug-free workforce in the VA.

Opponents of the amendment (voting yea) countered that the committee bill would permit the President's drug testing program to go forward as defined, except for random drug testing. A wide scale random drug testing program of the VA's 135,000 employees would divert already limited resources from legitimate health care needs, erode morale, and drive physicians, nurses, pharmacists, and other VA health professionals who are already in short supply into private sector hospitals, where many of them could earn more money. Rather than assume that all VA employees are guilty until proven innocent, the Federal government should require testing only when there is a good job-related reason to do so. The Veterans' Affairs Committee supported the provision by a vote of 8-3.

S. 9 (H.R. 2616): Vote Nos. 395, 396, 399, 400.

RESULT: MOTION TO TABLE FAILED

YEAS (29)

Democrats (20 or 39%)

- Adams
- Baucus
- Biden
- Boren
- Burdick
- Conrad
- Cranston
- Daschle
- Dodd
- Harkin
- Inouye
- Kennedy
- Leahy
- Matsunaga
- Melcher
- Metzenbaum
- Pell
- Sanford
- Sarbanes
- Wirth

Republicans (9 or 20%)

- Chafee
- Durenberger
- Heinz
- Murkowski
- Simpson
- Specter
- Stafford
- Stevens
- Weicker

NAYS (67)

Democrats (31 or 61%)

- Bentsen
- Bingaman
- Bradley
- Breaux
- Bumpers
- Byrd
- Chiles
- DeConcini
- Dixon
- Exon
- Ford
- Fowler
- Glenn
- Graham
- Heflin
- Hollings
- Johnston
- Kerry
- Lautenberg
- Levin
- Mikulski
- Mitchell
- Moynihan
- Nunn
- Proxmire
- Pryor
- Reid
- Riegle
- Rockefeller
- Sasser
- Shelby

Republicans (36 or 80%)

- Armstrong
- Bond
- Boschwitz
- Cochran
- Cohen
- D'Amato
- Danforth
- Domenici
- Evans
- Garn
- Gramm
- Grassley
- Hatch
- Hatfield
- Hecht
- Helms
- Humphrey
- Karnes
- Kassebaum
- Kasten
- Lugar
- McCain
- McClure
- McConnell
- Nickles
- Packwood
- Pressler
- Quayle
- Roth
- Rudman
- Symms
- Thurmond
- Trible
- Wallop
- Warner
- Wilson

NOT VOTING (4)

Democrats (3)

- Gore—2
- Simon—2
- Stennis—2

Republicans (1)

- Dole—2

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:
1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:
AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 61%
Republicans— 80%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (29)
Democrats— 20 or 69%
Republicans— 9 or 31%

Against (67)
Democrats— 31 or 46%
Republicans— 36 or 54%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 396

100th Congress
1st Session

December 3, 1987, 6:01 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-17198

VETERANS' BENEFITS AND SERVICES
(AIDS TESTING)

BILL NO.: S. 9 (H.R. 2616) — AMENDMENT NO.: 1246

TITLE: "Omnibus Veterans' Benefits and Services Act of 1987"

SUBJECT: **Cranston motion to table the Helms amendment which requires the VA to promulgate regulations under which it must offer to test each of the following categories of inpatients for infection with the AIDS virus: all veterans under age 40, intravenous drug abuse patients, patients receiving care for a disease associated with AIDS, and patients who are otherwise at high risk of infection with the AIDS virus; prohibits testing to be conducted without the prior informed and written consent of the patient; and requires pre- and post-test counseling on AIDS.** (Subsequently, the amendment was agreed to by voice vote.)

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment (voting nay) asserted that the VA should make AIDS testing available on a voluntary basis to all veteran patients under 40. Not only would such testing assist in the accurate diagnosis of a patient's condition, but it may prevent the spread of the disease. The Senate should permit veterans to decide whether they want to be tested, and if the VA cannot do it cost-effectively, then the Senate should review the agency's ability to deliver cost-effective health care. While the accuracy of the tests has been criticized, it is the laboratory conditions which are responsible for unreliable results, which can be remedied by raising quality control standards.

Opponents of the amendment (voting yea) contended that it would waste the VA's limited resources to provide AIDS testing for a group of veterans who are not considered high risk. Not only would tests for the 280,000 veterans under age 40 cost millions of dollars, but it is estimated that up to 90 percent of the positive test results obtained in a low risk population are false, creating severe emotional stress for many people for no justifiable reason. The committee bill already encourages testing for veterans in high risk groups and those who believe they were exposed to AIDS. The VA and veterans' groups do not support the sort of widespread testing required by this amendment. Legislation on the Senate calendar designed to deal with the research, educational, and training aspects of the AIDS crisis presents a more balanced approach.

S. 9 (H.R. 2616): Vote Nos. 395, 396, 399, 400.

RESULT: MOTION TO TABLE FAILED

YEAS (24)		NAYS (68)				NOT VOTING (8)	
Democrats (20 or 40%)	**Republicans (4 or 10%)**	**Democrats (30 or 60%)**		**Republicans (38 or 90%)**		**Democrats (4)**	**Republicans (4)**
Adams	Chafee	Baucus	Heflin	Armstrong	Lugar	Dodd—^{2}	Dole—^{2}
Biden	Hatfield	Bentsen	Hollings	Bond	McCain	Gore—^{2}	Evans—^{2}
Byrd	Packwood	Bingaman	Inouye	Boschwitz	McClure	Simon—^{2}	Kassebaum—^{2}
Cranston	Weicker	Boren	Johnston	Cochran	McConnell	Stennis—^{2}	Wilson—^{2}
Daschle		Bradley	Lautenberg	Cohen	Murkowski		
Glenn		Breaux	Levin	D'Amato	Nickles		
Graham		Bumpers	Mikulski	Danforth	Pressler		
Harkin		Burdick	Mitchell	Domenici	Quayle		
Kennedy		Chiles	Nunn	Durenberger	Roth		
Kerry		Conrad	Pryor	Garn	Rudman		
Leahy		DeConcini	Reid	Gramm	Simpson		
Matsunaga		Dixon	Sanford	Grassley	Specter		
Melcher		Exon	Sarbanes	Hatch	Stafford		
Metzenbaum		Ford	Sasser	Hecht	Stevens		
Moynihan		Fowler	Shelby	Heinz	Symms		
Pell				Helms	Thurmond		
Proxmire				Humphrey	Trible		
Riegle				Karnes	Wallop		
Rockefeller				Kasten	Warner		
Wirth							

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:
1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:
AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion	**Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on**	
	For (24)	*Against* (68)
Democrats— 60%	Democrats— 20 or 83%	Democrats— 30 or 44%
Republicans— 90%	Republicans— 4 or 17%	Republicans— 38 or 56%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 397

100th Congress
1st Session

December 4, 1987, 10:31 a.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-17258

FARM CREDIT

BILL NO.: H.R. 3030 (S. 1665)

TITLE: "Farm Credit Act Amendments of 1987"

SUBJECT: **Passage of the bill which revises the Farm Credit System (FCS) which provides credit to farmers, ranchers, and farm cooperatives; establishes the Farm Credit Assistance Board to provide financial assistance to FCS institutions and a related Financial Assistance Corporation (FAC) which would be authorized to sell up to $4 billion in 15-year obligations to raise funds for system assistance; provides for initial funding of the FAC through a one-time assessment on FCS institutions; requires the Farm Credit Administration to establish minimum capital adequacy levels for FCS institutions; provides for loan restructuring of FCS and FmHA loans; provides a Federal match of up to 50 percent for States which set up agricultural mediation programs, with an annual limit of $750,000 for any State; allows qualified agricultural and rural housing loans placed with agricultural mortgage marketing facilities to be pooled; and establishes credit rights for farmer-borrowers.**

H.R. 3030 (S. 1665): Vote Nos. 393, 397, 415.

RESULT: BILL PASSED

YEAS (87)

Democrats
(48 or 96%)

Adams
Baucus
Biden
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Hollings
Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans
(39 or 91%)

Armstrong
Bond
Boschwitz
Chafee
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Grassley
Hatch
Hatfield
Hecht
Heinz
Helms
Karnes
Kasten
Lugar
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Packwood
Pressler
Quayle
Roth
Simpson
Specter
Stafford
Stevens
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Warner
Weicker

NAYS (6)

Democrats
(2 or 4%)

Bentsen
Proxmire

Republicans
(4 or 9%)

Garn
Gramm
Humphrey
Rudman

NOT VOTING (7)

Democrats (4)

Dodd—2
Gore—2AY
Matsunaga—2
Simon—2

Republicans (3)

Evans—2
Kassebaum—2AY
Wilson—2AY

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 96%
Republicans— 91%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (87)
Democrats— 48 or 55%
Republicans— 39 or 45%

Against (6)
Democrats— 2 or 33%
Republicans— 4 or 67%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

MAJOR PROVISIONS

Financial Assistance Corporation (FAC): Replaces the FCS Capital Corporation with an FCS Assistance Board to authorize troubled FCS institutions to issue preferred stock for purchase by a newly created FAC; requires the distressed institutions to use the preferred stock sale proceeds to reduce interest rates and restore their economic viability; makes a troubled FCS institution eligible for aid when its stock is worth less than its par value; requires Board approval to issue preferred stock when its value drops to 75 percent of par unless the institution is to be liquidated; permits the Board to require FCS institutions receiving assistance to change their credit and interest rate policies, replace management, and reduce salaries.

Corporation Assistance Fund: Requires FAC to establish a Corporation Assistance Fund with the sale proceeds of up to $4 billion in 15-year obligations, guaranteed by the Treasury; gives the FCA the interim authority to perform the duties of the Assistance Board; authorizes use of the FCS Revolving Fund to provide immediate financial assistance; provides that interest on FAC bonds be paid by the Treasury for the first five years, shared equally by the Treasury and FCS institutions during the second five years, and paid by the FAC thereafter; limits the amount of assistance to be paid by the Treasury without repayment to $2 billion; requires each FCS institution, when financially viable, to repay a "fair and equitable" portion of the interest on debt obligations incurred by the Treasury.

Corporation Trust Fund: Requires the FAC to establish a Corporation Trust Fund consisting of Treasury securities purchased by the FAC with funds received from a one-time mandatory purchase of FAC stock by each FCS institution; allows District Boards, with the unanimous consent of the affected institutions, to reallocate the assessment within like associations or from the associations to the group's district bank; returns assessments previously imposed on banks and associations to purchase stock in the Capital Corporation; after 15 years, uses the Trust Fund to pay the bond principal due, with the remaining amount to be individually refinanced by institutions that received assistance without being guaranteed by the Treasury or any collateral requirement.

Loan Restructuring Policy: Requires that FCS banks and associations receiving assistance establish a policy for restructuring delinquent loans when it would be less costly than foreclosure; directs each FCS District that contains an institution certified to receive assistance to establish a Special Asset Group to administer its restructuring policy; and creates a National Special Asset Council to monitor compliance with the restructuring standards.

Restructuring the FCS: Requires the FCA to set up a Central Reserve Account in 1992 funded by annual assessments of FCS banks; guarantees borrower stock at par value; permits mergers of FCS institutions in the same District, and transfers of powers or assets, approved by the FCA Board, the boards of the affected institutions, and a majority of voting stockholders; requires accurate disclosure to shareholders of all relevant information before a merger vote; permits an institution to terminate its status as an FCS institution upon approval of the shareholders and the FCA Board if it pays into the Reserve Account the amount by which total capital exceeds six percent of assets.

Capitalization: Requires the FCA to establish minimum capital adequacy standards for all FCS institutions which will have five years to comply; requires each bank and association to establish bylaws setting forth a capital structure based on the adequacy standards; establishes the cost of voting stock at a minimum of the lesser of $1,000, or two percent of the loan amount.

Borrowers' Rights: Provides borrowers' rights to farmers, including the right to advance written notice of certain proposed adverse actions, loan information, and first refusal to repurchase or lease land that has been foreclosed on by an FCS institution; requires banks and associations to use Credit Review Committees to review denials of new loans and restructuring of distressed loans; requires that distressed loans of family farmers be restructured if it would cost less than foreclosure; prohibits FCS institutions from requiring any borrower who is current on his/her loan to provide additional collateral; requires that monies deposited into advanced payment or prepayment accounts be applied against the borrower's loan prior to an FCS institution's insolvency.

State Mediation Program: Provides a Federal match of up to 50 percent for States which set up agricultural mediation programs, with an annual limit of $750,000 for any State; makes existing mediation programs eligible if certain basic requirements are met.

FmHA: Requires establishment of a program to modify delinquent FmHA loans to the maximum extent possible to avoid losses (with emphasis on the writing-down of principal, interest, and debt set-aside); requires the Secretary to notify each FmHA borrower who is 180 days delinquent on his/her loan of all available loan services before taking any adverse foreclosure action; gives FmHA 45 days to approve or deny a loan servicing request; requires FmHA to establish a national appeals division; gives farmers priority in the purchase or lease of their farmland acquired by FmHA through foreclosure; establishes a demonstration program to allow FmHA borrowers to buy up to $250 million of land owned by an FCS institution at a discounted interest rate; directs the Secretary to establish a secondary market program for the guaranteed portions of FmHA loans; permits FmHA borrowers to use the same collateral to secure two or more direct or guaranteed real estate loans; requires FmHA to apply its regulations uniformly and take into account each applicant's individual yield situation; requires the Secretary to approve homestead protection for borrowers who meet the eligibility criteria and allows any applicant who, due to circumstances beyond his/her control, is off his/her property for less than one cumulative year during a six-year period to still meet the residency requirements; directs the Secretary to establish target participation rates for minority farmers to receive FmHA ownership loans and land inventory sales.

Secondary Market: Creates a secondary market for agricultural and rural housing loans by placing qualified loans with agricultural mortgage marketing facilities for pooling; establishes a 15-member Mortgage Corporation to oversee the operations and guarantee securities backed by these pools, create underwriting standards, and administer the standards under which FCS institutions, banks, insurance companies, and other entities may become qualified marketing facilities; requires that loan applicants be informed that pooled loans are not subject to the borrowers' rights provisions and allowed to refuse to have the loan pooled; and authorizes the Treasury to loan the Corporation up to $1.5 billion, subject to appropriation, to carry out this title.

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 398

100th Congress
1st Session

December 4, 1987, 12:26 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-17302

HAITI ELECTION COLLAPSE

BILL NO.: S. Res. 336

SUBJECT: **Adoption of the resolution which condemns the Haitian government for the collapse of the November 29 elections; condemns the disbanding of the constitutionally-mandated Provisional Electoral Council; expresses support for suspension of all U.S. nonhumanitarian aid to Haiti and withdrawal of all U.S. military trainers personnel; and calls on all nations to cut off all assistance and arms sales to the government of Haiti while providing humanitarian aid to the people through nongovernmental organizations.**

S. Res. 336: Vote No. 398.

RESULT: RESOLUTION AGREED TO

YEAS (90)

Democrats
(47 or 100%)

Adams
Bentsen
Biden
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Hollings
Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Stennis

Republicans
(43 or 100%)

Armstrong
Bond
Boschwitz
Chafee
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hatfield
Hecht
Heinz
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes
Kasten
Lugar
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Packwood
Pressler
Quayle
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Specter
Stafford
Stevens
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Warner
Weicker

NAYS (0)

Democrats
(0 or 0%)

Republicans
(0 or 0%)

NOT VOTING (10)

Democrats (7)

Baucus—^{2}
Bingaman—^{2AY}
Dodd—^{2}
Gore—^{2}
Sanford—^{2}
Simon—^{2}
Wirth—^{2}

Republicans (3)

Evans—^{2}
Kassebaum—^{2}
Wilson—^{2}

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:
1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:
AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 100%
Republicans— 100%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (90)
Democrats— 47 or 52%
Republicans— 43 or 48%

Against (0)
Democrats— 0 or 0%
Republicans— 0 or 0%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 399

100th Congress
1st Session

December 4, 1987, 1:29 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-17314

VETERANS' BENEFITS AND SERVICES
(PLASTIC GUN BAN)

BILL NO.: S. 9 (H.R. 2616) **AMENDMENT NOS.:** 1249 (and 1250)

TITLE: "Omnibus Veterans' Benefits and Services Act of 1987"

SUBJECT: **McClure motion to table the Thurmond amendment (taking with it the Metzenbaum-Thurmond-Kassebaum, et al., perfecting amendment) which makes it unlawful for any person to manufacture, import, sell, possess, or deliver any firearm which is not detectable as a firearm by the use of security detection systems and provides that the Secretary of the Treasury may ask Congress to remove this prohibition when technology has been improved sufficiently to detect these weapons.**

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment (voting nay) asserted that a ban on the manufacture, importation, and possession of undetectable firearms is essential to protect the safety of airline passengers and public officials. One company has claimed to have the technology to create nonmetallic firearms. According to the FAA, it could take ten years to develop equipment capable of detecting these new firearms. While supporting the interest of sportsmen, many agreed that plastic or ceramic guns, like cop-killer bullets, serve no legitimate sporting interest. This proposal would buy the time needed to counter this new threat to public safety while improved detection devices are developed. Many law enforcement organizations support this proposal, including the Secret Service, the International Association of Chiefs of Police, and the Fraternal Order of Police.

Opponents of the amendment (voting yea) contended that it was, in fact, a small handgun ban under the guise of banning "undetectable" firearms. By adopting the requirement of 8-1/2 ounces of steel, the amendment bans not only undetectable firearms but several models of detectable handguns that contain less than 8-1/2 ounces of steel but are detectable by proper airport security. The Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms has testified that no present firearm can evade proper airport security. Banning a phantom firearm would lull the Nation into a false sense of security. Research on airport security, they felt, is ahead of nonmetallic firearm technology. Such a ban would have a chilling effect, they argued, on the growth of technology important to U.S. defense. Some opposed the amendment as extraneous to the prompt passage of this important veterans' benefits bill.

S. 9 (H.R. 2616): Vote Nos. 395, 396, 399, 400.

RESULT: MOTION TO TABLE AGREED TO

YEAS (47)

Democrats (12 or 26%)

Bentsen
Burdick
Conrad
DeConcini
Dixon
Ford
Heflin
Johnston
Melcher
Sasser
Shelby
Stennis

Republicans (35 or 81%)

Armstrong
Bond
Cochran
Cohen
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hatfield
Hecht
Heinz
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes
Kasten
Lugar
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Pressler
Quayle
Roth
Simpson
Specter
Stevens
Symms
Trible
Wallop
Warner

NAYS (42)

Democrats (34 or 74%)

Adams
Biden
Boren
Breaux
Bumpers
Byrd
Chiles
Cranston
Daschle
Exon
Fowler
Glenn
Graham
Harkin
Hollings
Inouye
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sarbanes

Republicans (8 or 19%)

Boschwitz
Chafee
D'Amato
Packwood
Rudman
Stafford
Thurmond
Weicker

NOT VOTING (11)

Democrats (8)

Baucus—^{2}
Bingaman—^{2}
Bradley—^{2}
Dodd—^{2}
Gore—^{2AN}
Sanford—^{2}
Simon—^{2}
Wirth—^{2}

Republicans (3)

Evans—^{2}
Kassebaum—^{2AN}
Wilson—^{2}

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:
1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent

SYMBOLS:
AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 74%
Republicans— 81%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (47)
Democrats— 12 or 26%
Republicans— 35 or 74%

Against (42)
Democrats— 34 or 81%
Republicans— 8 or 19%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 400

100th Congress
1st Session

December 4, 1987, 1:59 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-17318

VETERANS' BENEFITS AND SERVICES

BILL NO.: H.R. 2616 (S. 9)

TITLE: "Omnibus Veterans' Benefits and Services Act of 1987"

SUBJECT: **Passage of the bill which increases the rates of disability compensation and dependency and indemnity compensation for veterans and survivors; improves housing, automobile, and burial benefits for service-disabled veterans; provides for presumptions of service connection for certain disabilities of former prisoners of war; provides disability and death benefits for certain veterans and their survivors based on exposure during service to ionizing radiation from a nuclear detonation; improves VA health care programs and their administration; and provides authorities to help the VA to recruit and retain health care personnel.**

H.R. 2616 (S. 9): Vote Nos. 395, 396, 399, 400.

RESULT: BILL PASSED

YEAS (88)

Democrats
(45 or 100%)

Adams
Biden
Boren
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Hollings
Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Stennis

Republicans
(43 or 100%)

Armstrong
Bond
Boschwitz
Chafee
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hatfield
Hecht
Heinz
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes
Kasten
Lugar
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Packwood
Pressler
Quayle
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Specter
Stafford
Stevens
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Warner
Weicker

NAYS (0)

Democrats
(0 or 0%)

Republicans
(0 or 0%)

NOT VOTING (12)

Democrats (9)

Baucus—2
Bentsen—2
Bingaman—2AY
Bradley—2
Dodd—2
Gore—2AY
Sanford—2
Simon—2
Wirth—2

Republicans (3)

Evans—2
Kassebaum—2
Wilson—2AY

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 100%
Republicans— 100%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (88)
Democrats— 45 or 51%
Republicans— 43 or 49%

Against (0)
Democrats— 0 or 0%
Republicans— 0 or 0%

MAJOR PROVISIONS

Compensation and Others Benefits: Requires the VA Administrator to adjust by 4.2 percent, effective December 1, 1987, the rates and limitations for compensation paid to veterans with service-connected disabilities and dependency and indemnity compensation (DIC) paid to certain service-connected disabled veterans' survivors; increases the maximum amount of specially adapted housing assistance for certain service-connected disabled veterans with serious mobility impairments to $40,000, and for certain veterans suffering from service-connected total blindness or loss of use of both upper extremities to $6,775; increases the maximum amount of the automobile assistance allowance for veterans with certain service-connected disabilities to $5,530, and the burial allowance for veterans who die of service-connected causes to $2,250.

Other Compensation-Related Provisions: Adds systemic lupus erythematosus to the list of chronic diseases presumed to be service-connected if manifested within one year after a veteran's discharge from active service; adds peripheral neuropathy, peptic ulcers, and irritable bowel syndrome to the list of diseases of former prisoners of war presumed to be service-connected; and reduces from six months of internment to 90 days the dental benefits eligibility requirement; provides a permanent exemption from Gramm-Rudman-Hollings sequestration for rehabilitation programs for service-connected disabled veterans under chapter 31/title 38 and the educational assistance program for survivors and dependents under chapter 35; requires the VA to contract for a comprehensive scientific review of the human health effects of exposure to Agent Orange.

Education Provisions: Extends the eligibility periods for GI Bill and certain other education or rehabilitation programs for certain eligible persons who have been prevented from participating because of drug or alcohol dependence or abuse disabilities.

Insurance Provisions: Authorizes the Administrator periodically to adjust the amounts of the monthly installments payable to beneficiaries of National Service Life Insurance, U.S. Government Life Insurance, Veterans Special Life Insurance, or Veterans Reopened Insurance who are receiving payments under a life annuity settlement option; prohibits States from imposing taxes on premiums paid under a Servicemen's Group Life Insurance or Veterans' Group Life Insurance policy; and allows the Veterans' Mortgage Life Insurance program (for veterans who are eligible for VA specially adapted housing assistance) to be administered directly by the VA or by contract with a commercial insurance company.

Radiation Exposure Benefits: Provides benefit payments to veterans (or their survivors) who were exposed to radiation in connection with the atmospheric nuclear weapons testing program or the American occupation of Hiroshima or Nagasaki, Japan, apply by September 30, 1991, and suffer or died from certain types of cancer; requires that claims based on certain other cancers receive special consideration; preserves radiation-exposed veterans' (and their survivors') current law rights to receive compensation (and DIC); extends through FY 1991 VA health-care eligibility for radiation and dioxin-exposed veterans.

Health Care and Administration: Authorizes the VA to: furnish services to help a male or female veteran or a male veteran's spouse achieve pregnancy in cases in which the veteran's service-connected disabilities impair procreative ability; contract with non-VA health care entities for certain types of medical care and services; provide, or assist in the provision of, recreational activities which help to rehabilitate disabled veterans, are available nationally, and have a significant percentage of participants who are veterans eligible for VA rehabilitative services.

Makes eligible for domiciliary care, veterans who need such care in order to receive treatment or rehabilitation, and who either have a service-connected disability or are incapacitated from earning a living and have no adequate means of support; increases VA per diem payments for domiciliary care, nursing home, and hospital care and authorizes the VA to increase these rates annually, beginning in FY 1989, by a percentage not greater than the percentage increase in the cost of VA general hospital care.

Requires the VA to conduct a four-year pilot program to furnish health and (by contract with non-VA entities) health-related services in noninstitutional settings; limits the program's total cost to 60 percent of the cost that would have been incurred by the VA if the veterans had instead been provided care in nursing homes; requires the implementation of a two-year mobile health clinic pilot program to furnish care in rural areas where veterans live at least 100 miles from the nearest VA health care facility.

Requires that the VA establish an education and training program to distribute pertinent information on AIDS to VA beneficiaries and employees, and to provide the Surgeon General's Report on AIDS to each veteran-patient identified as being a high AIDS risk; prohibits the disclosure of the records of any patient infected with AIDS except in medical emergencies, for the purpose of conducting scientific research and audits, or pursuant to State or Federal law.

Requires the VA to offer to test the following inpatients for infection with the AIDS virus: all veterans under age 40, intravenous drug abuse patients, patients receiving care for a disease associated with AIDS, and patients who are otherwise at high risk of infection; prohibits testing without the prior written consent of the patient; and requires pre- and post-test counseling on AIDS.

Authorizes the establishment of a tuition-reimbursement program and recruitment and retention bonuses in order to assist the VA in recruiting and retaining qualified health care personnel.

Clarifies that the VA may institute legal action to recover the cost of certain hospital, nursing home, domiciliary, and medical care up to six years after the last day on which the care was furnished; expands the scope of the statutory provision under which the Federal government accepts liability for the negligent acts of its employees acting within the scope of their employment to cover so-called intentional torts of VA health care employees committed in the course of furnishing health care services.

Replaces the existing Veterans' Affairs Committee approval-resolutions process for VA major medical construction or acquisition projects with a legislative authorization process under which it would not be in order in either House to consider a bill, resolution, or amendment appropriating funds for a (1) VA major medical construction project (costing over $2 million) unless the amount for the project is specified in the appropriations measure and does not exceed the amount authorized by a provision of law enacted in legislation reported by the Committees, or (2) medical facility lease with an estimated annual rental exceeding $500,000 unless the lease has been authorized in such a law; requires the VA Administrator to give the Congressional committees 30 days' advance notice whenever a project's cost would exceed by more than ten percent the amount specified in the authorizing legislation.

Requires the VA to develop and implement an agency-wide plan for the cost effective standardization of medical and pharmaceutical procurement in a manner consistent with the effective furnishing of health-care services; requires the VA to procure medical and pharmaceutical items only under national contracts except when an emergency need has arisen or the item is not available for procurement under a national contract or is needed for the effective furnishing of a health care service or the conduct of a research or education program at a VA Medical Center; authorizes the VA to use multiyear procurement contracts unless it would interfere with maximum effective procurement of generic drugs; requires the VA Administrator to report to Congress on the use of health care resources allocated to VA facilities in each State in FY 1982-86.

Miscellaneous: Denies funds for VA projects that use the engineering, architectural, and construction services of any foreign country that does not provide access by those U.S. services to the markets of the foreign country; prohibits the transfer of plutonium by aircraft through U.S. air space unless the possible routes have been evaluated in accordance with applicable U.S. laws and the shipment is transported in a container certified as safe by the Nuclear Regulatory Commission.

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 401

100th Congress
1st Session

December 10, 1987, 10:31 a.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-17600

BUDGET RECONCILIATION
(BUDGET WAIVER)

BILL NO.: S. 1920 (H.R. 3545)

AMENDMENT NO.: 1254

TITLE: "Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act of 1987"

SUBJECT: **Byrd motion to waive the Budget Act to allow the consideration of the Byrd-Dole, et al., amendment, the Kassebaum-Boren, et al., amendment No. 1259 thereto, and the Gramm perfecting amendment No. 1260, and a motion to recommit with instructions to be offered by Senator Gramm and, upon the adoption of any one of them, for the provisions of the adopted amendment which are included in the conference report on H.R. 3545.**

NOTE: Proponents of the motion asserted that a waiver of those sections of the Budget Act requiring a 60 vote majority would permit the leadership deficit reduction package, the Kassebaum-Boren freeze package (Vote No. 405), and the Gramm package (Vote No. 404) to be considered on a level playing field, and would assure that the deficit reduction package that is adopted will still be in order when it comes back from conference. The motion would not permit an increase in spending, but it would allow the Senate to vote on the substance of each of these deficit reduction proposals instead of on a procedural matter. The three packages would still be subject to the same rules that they would be without the waiver, the offering of other amendments would not be precluded, and motions to strike would still be in order.

Opponents made no statements.

S. 1920 (H.R. 3545): Vote Nos. 401-407, 419.

RESULT: MOTION TO WAIVE BUDGET ACT AGREED TO, 3/5THS HAVING VOTED IN THE AFFIRMATIVE

YEAS (81)

Democrats
(50 or 98%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Biden
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Hollings

Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans
(31 or 72%)

Boschwitz
Chafee
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Evans
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Heinz
Humphrey
Karnes

Kassebaum
Lugar
McCain
Nickles
Pressler
Quayle
Roth
Simpson
Specter
Stafford
Stevens
Thurmond
Trible
Warner
Weicker

NAYS (13)

Democrats
(1 or 2%)

Proxmire

Republicans
(12 or 28%)

Armstrong
Bond
Garn
Hecht
Helms
Kasten
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Packwood
Symms
Wallop

NOT VOTING (6)

Democrats (3)

Burdick—2AY
Gore—2
Simon—2

Republicans (3)

Hatfield—2
Rudman—2
Wilson—2

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 98%
Republicans— 72%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (81)
Democrats— 50 or 62%
Republicans— 31 or 38%

Against (13)
Democrats— 1 or 8%
Republicans— 12 or 92%

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 402

100th Congress
1st Session

December 10, 1987, 3:30 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-17652

BUDGET RECONCILIATION
(BUDGET WAIVER)

BILL NO.: S. 1920 (H.R. 3545)

AMENDMENT NO.: 1257

TITLE: "Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act of 1987"

SUBJECT: **Harkin motion to waive section 305(b) of the Budget Act to allow the consideration of the Harkin-Heinz, et al., perfecting amendment (to the Byrd-Dole, et al., amendment No. 1254) which requires strict adherence to the $50,000 farm deficiency payment limitation per person, revises current law to preclude producers (whether as a corporation, joint partnership, passive investment, or entity with similar membership) from receiving more than the $50,000 limit, and prohibits foreign nationals and corporations that are not 90 percent owned by U.S. nationals from receiving U.S. farm program payments.**

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment (and the motion) asserted that the loophole in the price support program that allows farms to reorganize on paper to qualify for additional price support payments should be closed. The loophole allows a group of individuals to incorporate among themselves to equal on paper a greater number of "persons," each qualifying for a $50,000 deficiency payment; or for landowners not engaged in farming to rent their farms in parcels, each of which would qualify for a $50,000 payment. The Department of Agriculture is restricted in the actions it can take against these practices because they are permitted by law. The amendment would close this loophole by redefining "person," and save the Federal government $2.3 billion through 1989. The amendment would not hurt

(OVER)

S. 1920 (H.R. 3545): Vote Nos. 401-407, 419.

RESULT: MOTION TO WAIVE BUDGET ACT REJECTED, 3/5THS NOT HAVING VOTED IN THE AFFIRMATIVE

YEAS (47)

Democrats
(22 or 43%)

Biden
Bingaman
Bradley
Conrad
Daschle
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Glenn
Harkin
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Proxmire
Sanford
Sarbanes
Wirth

Republicans
(25 or 56%)

Bond
Boschwitz
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Durenberger
Evans
Grassley
Heinz
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes
Kasten
Lugar
McConnell
Nickles
Pressler
Quayle
Roth
Rudman
Specter
Stafford
Thurmond
Trible
Weicker

NAYS (49)

Democrats
(29 or 57%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Boren
Breaux
Bumpers
Byrd
Chiles
Cranston
DeConcini
Ford
Fowler
Graham
Heflin
Hollings
Inouye
Johnston
Matsunaga
Melcher
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sasser
Shelby
Stennis

Republicans
(20 or 44%)

Armstrong
Chafee
Cochran
Dole
Domenici
Garn
Gramm
Hatch
Hatfield
Hecht
Kassebaum
McCain
McClure
Murkowski
Packwood
Simpson
Stevens
Symms
Wallop
Warner

NOT VOTING (4)

Democrats (3)

Burdick—2AY
Gore—2
Simon—2

Republicans (1)

Wilson—2

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 57%
Republicans— 56%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (47)
Democrats— 22 or 47%
Republicans— 25 or 53%

Against (49)
Democrats— 29 or 59%
Republicans— 20 or 41%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

the leadership deficit reduction package since the savings would give the Senate more money with which to work. The Agriculture Subcommittee on Investigations held a full day of hearings on this problem, and there have been numerous reports prepared by the USDA Inspector General and GAO.

Opponents of the amendment (and the motion) agreed that there are abuses in the farm price support program, but cautioned that the matter should receive full hearings. Only one witness has testified, and no hearings have been held concerning a solution to the problem. The amendment could jeopardize the marketing loan program, which has reduced the Federal cost of cotton by 30 percent and rice by about 26 percent. It, too, could affect the fairness with which the Federal government treats farmers, since the "person" definition was enacted to resolve regional differences in the way farming is performed. Moreover, not only does the Secretary of USDA have the authority to promulgate regulations pertaining to the definition of "person," but some of these abuses will be eliminated in conference because the House version of the reconciliation bill includes such provisions. Waiving the Budget Act could jeopardize the entire deficit reduction package, and send the wrong signal to the financial market.

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 403

100th Congress
1st Session

December 10, 1987, 4:53 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-17664

BUDGET RECONCILIATION

BILL NO.: S. 1920 (H.R. 3545) AMENDMENT NO.: 1258

TITLE: "Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act of 1987"

SUBJECT: **Pryor motion to table the Exon-Bradley-Sanford amendment (to the Byrd-Dole, et al., amendment No. 1254) which strikes the Finance Committee provision to allow family corporations who must change from a cash accounting to an accrual accounting method to place tax deferrals in a suspense account and only count such deferrals as income if the corporation loses its status as a family corporation or its business contracts; and raises from $25 million to $50 million the threshold beyond which a family corporation must switch to accrual accounting and pay back previous tax deferrals over a ten-year period.**

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment asserted that the agribusinesses that are required by the bill to switch from cash to accrual accounting also should be required to pay taxes on their previously earned but untaxed income. While the bill closes a loophole in current law that allowed some multimillion dollar poultry companies to be treated as family farms and use cash accounting, it effectively forgives them millions of dollars in back taxes. Last year's tax reform bill gave businesses which were forced to switch to accrual accounting four years to pay their deferred taxes, so there is no reason not to require these agribusinesses to do the same. Rather than allow this inequity to remain, the principle of tax fairness should be asserted, and these businesses should be required to pay the taxes they owe.

Opponents of the amendment countered that it is unfair to require companies to begin paying back immediately a deferred tax liability that was built up in compliance with existing law. The amendment would impose a costly retroactive tax burden on a few farm operations, forcing them to terminate jobs and curtail expansion of production facilities, and weakening them to the extent that they could be taken over by other agribusinesses. Both the House and Senate versions of the bill require companies with gross receipts over $25 million to switch to accrual accounting, they pointed out; moreover, the bill does not forgive back taxes but only allows them to be deferred in a way that is less generous than current law. The amendment also could threaten the leadership deficit reduction package.

S. 1920 (H.R. 3545): Vote Nos. 401-407, 419.

RESULT: MOTION TO TABLE AGREED TO

YEAS (53)			NAYS (41)		NOT VOTING (6)	
Democrats (32 or 65%)		**Republicans (21 or 47%)**	**Democrats (17 or 35%)**	**Republicans (24 or 53%)**	**Democrats (5)**	**Republicans (1)**
Adams	Inouye	Boschwitz	Bradley	Armstrong	†Boren—^{2AY}	Wilson—^{2}
Baucus	Johnston	Cochran	DeConcini	Bond	Burdick—^{2}	
Bentsen	Leahy	Dole	Dixon	Chafee	Gore—^{2}	
Biden	Matsunaga	Domenici	Dodd	Cohen	Lautenberg—^{2}	
Bingaman	Mikulski	Garn	Exon	D'Amato	Simon—^{2}	
Breaux	Mitchell	Gramm	Glenn	Danforth		
Bumpers	Nunn	Hatch	Graham	Durenberger		
Byrd	Proxmire	Hatfield	Hollings	Evans		
Chiles	Pryor	Hecht	Kennedy	Grassley		
Conrad	Reid	Helms	Kerry	Heinz		
Cranston	Riegle	Murkowski	Levin	Humphrey		
Daschle	Rockefeller	Nickles	Melcher	Karnes		
Ford	Sarbanes	Packwood	Metzenbaum	Kassebaum		
Fowler	Sasser	Pressler	Moynihan	Kasten		
Harkin	Shelby	Quayle	Pell	Lugar		
Heflin	Stennis	Roth	Sanford	McCain		
		Rudman	Wirth	McClure		
		Stafford		McConnell		
		Stevens		Simpson		
		Trible		Specter		
		Warner		Symms		
				Thurmond		
				Wallop		
				Weicker		

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:
1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

† Congressional Record, p. S-17664, 12/10/87

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 65%
Republicans— 53%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (53)
Democrats— 32 or 60%
Republicans— 21 or 40%

Against (41)
Democrats— 17 or [illegible]
Republicans— 24 or 59%

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 404

100th Congress
1st Session

December 10, 1987, 8:10 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-17684

BUDGET RECONCILIATION

BILL NO.: S. 1920 (H.R. 3545) AMENDMENT NO.: 1260

TITLE: "Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act of 1987"

SUBJECT: **Chiles motion to table the Gramm modified perfecting amendment (to the Byrd-Dole, et al., amendment No. 1254) which reduces discretionary spending for defense by $700 million in budget authority and for non-defense items by $1.9 billion in BA in FY 1988, thereby freezing discretionary spending for both at 1987 levels.**

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment contended that freezing FY 1988 discretionary spending for defense and nondefense programs at FY 1987 levels would save $3.2 billion without cutting a single program. Defense still would grow by about $1.6 billion and nondefense by about $5.3 billion. Entitlement programs would be untouched and budget authority would remain the same. This is a "painless" savings, they argued, that represents a third of the total level of real spending savings achieved next year in the leadership package.

Opponents of the amendment countered that freezing discretionary spending at this year's level would kill the leadership deficit reduction package and lead to a Presidential veto. Defense—which is already reduced by $5 billion in the leadership package—would be devastated, with the greatest impact being felt by personnel. An additional $2 billion would have to be cut from domestic programs, leading to reductions in drug enforcement efforts, the Border Patrol, and law enforcement across the board, and affecting such projects as the space station and the supercollider project. The accounts the amendment would affect are not the cause of the current massive deficits, and will be growing at a rate of less than two percent over the next two years.

S. 1920 (H.R. 3545): Vote Nos. 401-407, 419.

RESULT: MOTION TO TABLE AGREED TO

YEAS (72)

Democrats (50 or 98%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Biden
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Hollings
Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans (22 or 49%)

Chafee
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Grassley
Hatfield
Heinz
Karnes
Kassebaum
Lugar
Pressler
Quayle
Simpson
Specter
Stafford
Stevens
Warner
Weicker

NAYS (24)

Democrats (1 or 2%)

Proxmire

Republicans (23 or 51%)

Armstrong
Bond
Boschwitz
Evans
Garn
Gramm
Hatch
Hecht
Helms
Humphrey
Kasten
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Packwood
Roth
Rudman
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop

NOT VOTING (4)

Democrats (3)

Burdick—2
Gore—2
Simon—2

Republicans (1)

Wilson—2

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 98%
Republicans— 51%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (72)
Democrats— 50 or 69%
Republicans— 22 or 31%

Against (24)
Democrats— 1 or 4%
Republicans— 23 or 96%

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 405

100th Congress
1st Session

December 10, 1987, 8:42 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-17685

BUDGET RECONCILIATION

BILL NO.: S. 1920 (H.R. 3545)

AMENDMENT NO.: 1259

TITLE: "Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act of 1987"

SUBJECT: **Chiles motion to table the Kassebaum-Boren, et al., amendment (as a substitute for the Byrd-Dole, et al., amendment No. 1254) which cuts an additional $1.4 billion in defense outlays and an additional $2.1 billion in domestic outlays to freeze all defense and domestic discretionary spending in FY 1988; limits to two percent all COLA's (including social security, Federal civil service, military retirement, and veterans' and railroad retirement pensions), with the exception of SSI; freezes reimbursements to doctors and hospitals under Medicare in 1988; freezes all current tax rates for one year (except for the standard deduction and personal exemption); and makes the defense and domestic appropriations ceilings on BA and outlays binding for 1988 only, thereby saving $44 billion in FY 1988 and $43.5 billion in FY 1989 (compared to $33.7 billion and $46.2 billion, respectively, under the leadership amendment).**

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment asserted that a deficit reduction package featuring a one-year budget freeze would achieve more substantive savings than the leadership package. By freezing spending and taxes at FY 1987 levels for one year, the effects of deficit reduction would be spread fairly among all beneficiaries of Federal programs. A freeze offers more real deficit reduction and greater protection to those who benefit from Federal programs, since there would not be the temptation of haphazard spending cuts and tax increases in future years that exists in the summit package. The package keeps deficits on a downward track while allowing time to develop further deficit reduction measures. Since the scheduled increases in the personal exemption and the standard deduction would not be frozen, many people would have lower taxes in the coming year.

Opponents of the amendment countered that the alternative package has little chance of passing the House and being signed into law before sequestration. Unlike the leadership package, this alternative package does not have two years of limitations on budget authority and outlays, and does not save as much money in the out years. The tax policy reflected in the leadership package is better for deficit reduction than a one-year freeze in the tax code, because the latter has no recurring effect. Nor is it an equitable alternative, since it achieves a large part of its savings from a social security freeze and cuts in medicare, while there are no cuts in most other entitlement programs. The two percent ceiling imposed on the social security COLA would wreak havoc on those who depend on social security benefits, in part, because most of the checks reflecting a 4.2 percent increase have already been printed.

S. 1920 (H.R. 3545): Vote Nos. 401-407, 419.

RESULT: MOTION TO TABLE AGREED TO

YEAS (71)

Democrats (37 or 73%)

Adams
Bentsen
Bingaman
Bradley
Breaux
Byrd
Chiles
Cranston
DeConcini
Ford
Glenn
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Stennis

Republicans (34 or 76%)

Armstrong
Bond
Boschwitz
Chafee
Cochran
Cohen
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hatfield
Hecht
Heinz
Helms
Humphrey
Kasten
Lugar
McCain
McConnell
Nickles
Packwood
Quayle
Roth
Specter
Stafford
Stevens
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Warner

NAYS (25)

Democrats (14 or 27%)

Baucus
Biden
Boren
Bumpers
Conrad
Daschle
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Fowler
Hollings
Levin
Nunn
Wirth

Republicans (11 or 24%)

D'Amato
Evans
Karnes
Kassebaum
McClure
Murkowski
Pressler
Rudman
Simpson
Wallop
Weicker

NOT VOTING (4)

Democrats (3)

Burdick—2
Gore—2
Simon—2

Republicans (1)

Wilson—2

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 73%
Republicans— 76%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (71)
Democrats— 37 or 52%
Republicans— 34 or 48%

Against (25)
Democrats— 14 or 56%
Republicans— 11 or 44%

[illegible]
[illegible]

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 406

100th Congress
1st Session

December 10, 1987, 9:25 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-17689

BUDGET RECONCILIATION
(BUDGET WAIVER)

BILL NO.: S. 1920 (H.R. 3545)

AMENDMENT NO.: 1261

TITLE: "Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act of 1987"

SUBJECT: **Pressler motion to waive section 305(b) of the Budget Act to allow the consideration of the Pressler perfecting amendment (to the Byrd-Dole, et al., amendment No. 1254) which exempts Guaranteed Student Loan (GSL) Program guarantee agencies that are contractually required to maintain a minimum reserve level from the provision which requires all guarantee agencies to reduce their existing reserves unless a minimum level is required by State law.**

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment asserted that forcing the GSL Program agencies to reduce their reserves effectively penalizes agencies that have been well managed. The summit budget agreement includes a provision to cut $250 million from the GSL Program, most of which would be realized by requiring guaranty agencies to reduce their excess cash reserves. The level of reserves provided for in the agreement would not allow the agencies to meet their existing contractual obligations, leaving them open to litigation and possibly forcing them to stop guaranteeing loans. Not only are there questions regarding GAO's standards for determining the needed minimum level of reserve funding, but the program is inequitable—50 percent of the savings is expected from just ten States, D.C., and Puerto Rico.

Opponents of the amendment claimed that there is an appeal process in the bill which would allow guaranty agencies to receive a waiver from spend-down requirements if they can demonstrate that depleting their cash reserves would cause a violation of legal obligations necessary to guarantee student loans. Any concern regarding this process can be ironed out in conference. The Federal government is losing interest on these excess funds, and some guaranty agencies are using them in connection with secondary market activities—a program not set up by Congress. Moreover, the amendment would cost the Federal government $70 million, making the Senate fall short of the savings required in the summit agreement.

S. 1920 (H.R. 3545): Vote Nos. 401-407, 419.

RESULT: MOTION TO WAIVE BUDGET ACT REJECTED, 3/5THS NOT HAVING VOTED IN THE AFFIRMATIVE

YEAS (23)

Democrats
(8 or 16%)

Biden
Conrad
Daschle
Glenn
Kennedy
Melcher
Pell
Sarbanes

Republicans
(15 or 33%)

Chafee
Danforth
Durenberger
Hatch
Helms
Lugar
McClure
Pressler
Roth
Stafford
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Warner
Weicker

NAYS (72)

Democrats
(42 or 84%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Byrd
Chiles
Cranston
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Hollings
Inouye

Johnston
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sasser
Shelby
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans
(30 or 67%)

Armstrong
Bond
Boschwitz
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Dole
Domenici
Evans
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatfield
Hecht
Heinz

Humphrey
Karnes
Kassebaum
Kasten
McCain
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Packwood
Quayle
Rudman
Simpson
Specter
Stevens
Wallop

NOT VOTING (5)

Democrats (4)

Burdick—2
DeConcini—2
Gore—2
Simon—2

Republicans (1)

Wilson—2

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 84%
Republicans— 67%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (23)
Democrats— 8 or 35%
Republicans— 15 or 65%

Against (72)
Democrats— 42 or 58%
Republicans— 30 or 42%

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 407

100th Congress
1st Session

December 10, 1987, 11:00 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-17720

BUDGET RECONCILIATION

BILL NO.: S. 1920 (H.R. 3545) **AMENDMENT NO.:** 1264

TITLE: "Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act of 1987"

SUBJECT: **Danforth amendment (to the Byrd-Dole, et al., amendment No. 1254) to strike provisions of Title I (Commerce Committee provisions) which impose FCC fees on broadcast license transfers and impose Coast Guard user fees during FY 1988-90 (the Fairness Doctrine provision having already been stricken by the adoption by voice vote of the Hollings amendment No. 1265).**

NOTE: Proponents asserted that the user fees included in Title I were considered and rejected by the summit budget negotiators, and therefore should be removed from that portion of the reconciliation bill that was not replaced by the leadership package. Title I includes a provision to impose a user fee on the sale or transfer of any radio spectrum license—including radio, television, cellular radio, paging, and business radios—to be used for a trust fund to finance public broadcasting. There have been no hearings on such a fee, and it violates the summit agreement by exceeding the $400 million limit on user fees in FY 1988. In addition, this is not a true user fee but a straight-out tax, which properly falls under the jurisdiction of the Finance Committee. Allowing committees to create trust funds to meet savings targets and protect functions under their jurisdiction is a questionable practice that could make the whole budget process more difficult.

Opponents countered that the radio spectrum is a scarce commodity and, consequently, imposing a user fee is as appropriate as imposing fees for other scarce resources, such as mineral and lumber rights on Federal lands. Such a fee initially was proposed by the Administration. Since the broadcasters themselves have expressed a desire to support public broadcasting, it is sensible to use this fee for a trust to finance public broadcasting. Public broadcasting plays a critical part in the education of the Nation's youth, and the amount of money the Federal government provides for this form of communication is far below that of such countries as Canada and Japan. Deleting all the user fees in Title I, which also includes Coast Guard user fees, would add $325 million to the deficit.

S. 1920 (H.R. 3545): Vote Nos. 401-407, 419.

RESULT: AMENDMENT AGREED TO

YEAS (66)

Democrats (26 or 52%)

Baucus
Bentsen
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Conrad
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Exon
Harkin
Heflin
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Mitchell
Moynihan
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Riegle
Sanford
Shelby
Stennis

Republicans (40 or 91%)

Bond
Boschwitz
Chafee
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Evans
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hatfield
Hecht
Heinz
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes
Kassebaum
Kasten
Lugar
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Packwood
Pressler
Quayle
Roth
Simpson
Specter
Stafford
Stevens
Symms
Trible
Wallop

NAYS (28)

Democrats (24 or 48%)

Adams
Biden
Byrd
Chiles
Cranston
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Graham
Hollings
Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Nunn
Reid
Rockefeller
Sarbanes
Sasser
Wirth

Republicans (4 or 9%)

Rudman
Thurmond
Warner
Weicker

NOT VOTING (5)

Democrats (4)

Burdick—2
Dodd—2
Gore—2
Simon—2

Republicans (1)

Wilson—2

VOTING PRESENT (1)

Armstrong

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 52%
Republicans— 91%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (66)
Democrats— 26 or 39%
Republicans— 40 or 61%

Against (28)
Democrats— 24 or 86%
Republicans— 4 or 14%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 408

100th Congress
1st Session

December 11, 1987, 9:30 a.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-17790

NOMINATION OF ANN DORE McLAUGHLIN TO BE SECRETARY OF LABOR

POSITION: Secretary of Labor

SUBJECT: **Confirmation of the nomination of Ann Dore McLaughlin, of the District of Columbia, to be Secretary of Labor.**

NOTE: The nomination was reported unanimously by the Committee on Labor and Human Resources. Mrs. McLaughlin has been Chairman of the President's Commission on Executive Level Compensation, Under Secretary of the Interior Department, Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, and Director of EPA's Office of Public Affairs. She has received many awards and honors, among them the Treasury Department's Alexander Hamilton Award for Distinguished Service.

Vote No. 408.

RESULT: NOMINATION CONFIRMED

ADMINISTRATION POSITION: YEA

YEAS (94)

Democrats
(49 or 100%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Biden
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Hollings
Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Stennis

Republicans
(45 or 100%)

Armstrong
Bond
Boschwitz
Chafee
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Evans
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hatfield
Hecht
Heinz
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes
Kassebaum
Kasten
Lugar
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Packwood
Pressler
Quayle
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Specter
Stafford
Stevens
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Warner
Weicker
Wilson

NAYS (0)

Democrats
(0 or 0%)

Republicans
(0 or 0%)

NOT VOTING (6)

Democrats (5)

Burdick—^{2}
Cranston—^{2}
Gore—^{2}
Simon—^{2}
Wirth—^{2}

Republicans (1)

Wallop—^{2AY}

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 100%
Republicans— 100%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (94)
Democrats— 49 or 52%
Republicans— 45 or 48%

Against (0)
Democrats— 0 or 0%
Republicans— 0 or 0%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 409

100th Congress
1st Session

December 11, 1987, 11:36 a.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-17802

CONTINUING APPROPRIATIONS, 1988

BILL NO.: H.J. Res. 395

SUBJECT: **Johnston technical amendment to change the effective date of the continuing resolution from November 20, 1987, to December 16, 1987, the expiration date of the short-term continuing resolution.**

H.J. Res. 395: Vote Nos. 409-414, 420 .

RESULT: AMENDMENT AGREED TO

YEAS (93)

Democrats
(50 or 100%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Biden
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Hollings
Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans
(43 or 100%)

Armstrong
Boschwitz
Chafee
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Evans
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hatfield
Hecht
Heinz
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes
Kassebaum
Kasten
Lugar
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Packwood
Pressler
Quayle
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Specter
Stafford
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Warner
Weicker
Wilson

NAYS (0)

Democrats
(0 or 0%)

Republicans
(0 or 0%)

NOT VOTING (7)

Democrats (4)

Cranston—2
Gore—2
Levin—2
Simon—2

Republicans (3)

Bond—2
Stevens—2
Wallop—2

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 100%
Republicans— 100%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (93)
Democrats— 50 or 54%
Republicans— 43 or 46%

Against (0)
Democrats— 0 or 0%
Republicans— 0 or 0%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 410

100th Congress
1st Session

December 11, 1987, 4:53 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-17845

CONTINUING APPROPRIATIONS, 1988

BILL NO.: H.J. Res. 395 **AMENDMENT NO.:** 1292

SUBJECT: **Rudman motion to table the Gramm, et al., amendment which earmarks $299.7 million of the $310 million appropriation for the Legal Services Corporation (LSC) solely for the direct delivery of dispute resolution for the poor; eliminates funding for all national and State resource centers to assist local legal services programs in aiding the poor; and allows only $10.3 million for LSC management and administration costs.**

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment stated that the bill before the Senate forces the LSC to spend money on nondirect services, such as political activism or promoting unionism. These are useful activities, but have little to do with providing legal services to the poor, and should not be funded by taxpayers' money. For example, Federal funds, they alleged, were used by the National Legal Aid and Defenders Association (NLADA), which receives two-thirds of its support from dues from legal services groups, to lobby against Judge Bork's nomination. The amendment would shift funds away from State support centers and other entities funded by the LSC that are not engaged in providing legal services directly to the poor.

Opponents of the amendment stated that the elimination of funds for the legal services support programs which assist local programs would radically alter the existing system of delivering legal services to low-income Americans. If adopted, the amendment would deny the expertise of the national LSC centers needed to help not just the poor, but also single mothers on welfare, migrant farmworkers poisoned by pesticides, physically or sexually abused children, and the mentally or physically disabled. Private lawyers cannot reproduce the advice, assistance, and counseling in the specialized areas of law that are of unique concern to the poor. The support centers have had years of experience in handling these issues and are genuinely committed to improving the lives of the poor. In the case of Judge Bork, the NLADA filed a form, required by law, which lists the source of the money and how it was spent, and not one dime of Federal funds was used to lobby against Judge Bork.

H.J. Res. 395: Vote Nos. 409-414, 420.

RESULT: MOTION TO TABLE AGREED TO

YEAS (70)

Democrats (49 or 92%)

Adams
Baucus
Biden
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Gore
Graham
Harkin
Hollings
Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans (21 or 47%)

Boschwitz
Chafee
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Evans
Hatfield
Heinz
Kassebaum
Lugar
McCain
Packwood
Rudman
Specter
Stafford
Stevens
Weicker

NAYS (28)

Democrats (4 or 8%)

Bentsen
Byrd
Heflin
Proxmire

Republicans (24 or 53%)

Armstrong
Bond
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hecht
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes
Kasten
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Pressler
Quayle
Roth
Simpson
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Warner
Wilson

NOT VOTING (2)

Democrats (1)

Simon—2

Republicans (1)

Wallop—2AN

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 92%
Republicans— 53%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (70)
Democrats— 49 or 70%
Republicans— 21 or 30%

Against (28)
Democrats— 4 or 14%
Republicans— 24 or 86%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 411

100th Congress
1st Session

December 11, 1987, 5:51 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-17851

CONTINUING APPROPRIATIONS, 1988

BILL NO.: H.J. Res. 395

AMENDMENT NO.: 1294

SUBJECT: **Evans, et al., amendment which requires the separate presentation to the President of each title of any continuing appropriations measure reported by a conference committee and agreed to by both Houses in the same form during a two-year period (covering FY 1989 or 1990 appropriations) and prohibits consideration of any continuing appropriations measure covering a period greater than 30 days unless each title corresponds to a regular appropriations bill.** (See also Vote Nos. 219 and 220.)

NOTE: Proponents stated that the amendment would not affect the pending continuing resolution or the budget summit agreement; rather, it would begin a two-year trial in FY 1989 and would be sunset if it did not work out. The constitutional objections to the original Evans amendment have been adequately addressed. The duty of separating the continuing resolution into individual bills for presentation to the President would be transferred from the enrolling clerk to the conference committee members. In this way, Congress would retain the constitutional prerogative to determine what should be considered a separate bill. The Founding Fathers did not envision the use of a single multibillion dollar continuing resolution containing hundreds of spending programs, nor is the President's constitutional right to veto always practical because it requires him to reject necessary funding for a whole range of programs in an effort to cut wasteful spending in a few. There is no better time to set the rules for next year's budget debates than right now so that Senators will know what to expect.

Opponents pointed out that the amendment has not been considered by any committee. A similar amendment was considered on the Senate floor last summer and was defeated following three hours of debate. Since the amendment would not take effect until 1989, opponents suggested that the Senate wait until next year so that the proposal could be studied in committee. Some Senators supported the concept of sending separate appropriations bills to the President, but stated that it was questionable to attach this legislation to the pending bill under the time restraints that now confront the Senate. It is too important an issue to be resolved in 30 minutes of debate.

H.J. Res. 395: Vote Nos. 409-414, 420.

RESULT: AMENDMENT REJECTED

YEAS (44)

Democrats (5 or 10%)

Biden
Boren
Exon
Graham
Hollings

Republicans (39 or 89%)

Armstrong
Bond
Boschwitz
Chafee
Cohen
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Evans
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hecht
Heinz
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes
Kassebaum

Kasten
Lugar
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Packwood
Pressler
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Specter
Stafford
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Warner
Wilson

NAYS (51)

Democrats (46 or 90%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Bingaman
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Gore
Harkin
Heflin
Inouye
Johnston

Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans (5 or 11%)

Cochran
D'Amato
Hatfield
Stevens
Weicker

NOT VOTING (5)

Democrats (3)

Chiles—2
Sanford—2
Simon—2

Republicans (2)

Quayle—2
Wallop—2AY

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 90%
Republicans— 89%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (44)
Democrats— 5 or 11%
Republicans— 39 or 89%

Against (51)
Democrats— 46 or 90%
Republicans— 5 or 10%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 412

100th Congress
1st Session

December 12, 1987, 1:49 a.m.
Session of December 11, 1987
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-17939

CONTINUING APPROPRIATIONS, 1988

BILL NO.: H.J. Res. 395

AMENDMENT NO.: 1353

SUBJECT: **Kerry modified perfecting amendment (to the Stevens amendment No. 1339) which prohibits obligation of the $9 million of humanitarian assistance to the Contras (provided in the Stevens amendment) unless (1) a majority of the five Central American presidents who signed the Guatemala Peace Accord verify by letter to the President of the U.S. that such aid is consistent with the Accord, or (2) a negotiated ceasefire is in place between the Nicaraguan government and the Contras.** (Subsequently, the Stevens modified amendment was agreed to on a division vote.)

NOTE: Proponents asserted that the U.S. should respect the interests of the Central American countries involved in the Guatemala Peace Accord and provide additional humanitarian aid to the Contras only if a majority of the presidents of those countries approve such aid. This position is consistent with the policy expressed by the President, and by Secretary Shultz in testimony before the Foreign Relations Committee. The Peace Accord does not approve of humanitarian aid, and President Arias has urged that no humanitarian aid be in order to prevent confusing the situation. It is not unprecedented for the Senate to condition funds on someone else's approval, such as funds provided to the multilateral development banks. Rather than impose its own solution on Central America, the U.S. should respect the peace process and let the Central American countries determine their own future.

Opponents countered that humanitarian aid should be provided to assure that the peace process will work. Without aid, the Contras will cease to exist and the Sandinistas will prevail by default. The amendment would effectively deny the Contras any humanitarian aid. Since the Central American presidents already are having difficulty determining what constitutes appropriate compliance with the Peace Accord, requiring them to come to a consensus on humanitarian aid only complicates their negotiations. Moreover, it is unheard of to condition Federal funds on the approval of the Central American countries.

H.J. Res. 395: Vote Nos. 409-414, 420.

RESULT: **AMENDMENT REJECTED**

YEAS (38)

Democrats (33 or 67%)

Adams
Baucus
Bingaman
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Cranston
Daschle
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Glenn
Harkin
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sarbanes
Sasser
Wirth

Republicans (5 or 11%)

Cohen
Packwood
Specter
Stafford
Weicker

NAYS (56)

Democrats (16 or 33%)

Bentsen
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Chiles
Conrad
DeConcini
Dixon
Fowler
Graham
Heflin
Hollings
Inouye
Johnston
Nunn
Shelby

Republicans (40 or 89%)

Armstrong
Bond
Boschwitz
Chafee
Cochran
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Evans
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hatfield
Hecht
Heinz
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes
Kassebaum
Kasten
Lugar
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Pressler
Quayle
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Stevens
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Warner
Wilson

NOT VOTING (6)

Democrats (5)

Biden—^{2}
Gore—^{2}
Sanford—^{2}
Simon—^{2}
Stennis—^{2}

Republicans (1)

Wallop—^{2AN}

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 67%
Republicans— 89%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (38)
Democrats— 33 or 87%
Republicans— 5 or 13%

Against (56)
Democrats— 16 or 29%
Republicans— 40 or 71%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 413

100th Congress
1st Session

December 12, 1987, 2:22 a.m.
Session of December 11, 1987
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-17942

CONTINUING APPROPRIATIONS, 1988

BILL NO.: H.J. Res. 395

AMENDMENT NO.: 1355

SUBJECT: **Dole motion to table the Harkin amendment which repeals the expedited procedures under which military aid requests for the Contras are considered by Congress.**

NOTE: Proponents of the amendment asserted that further requests for Contra aid should be directed through the normal proceedings of the Senate, rather than the current expedited procedures. The expedited procedures deny the committees the opportunity to properly exercise their jurisdiction over legislation. They also complicate the scheduling of legislation on the floor.

Opponents of the amendment were critical of the fact that the amendment was being offered at a time when it could not receive full debate, since the Senate was struggling to finish action on the budget resolution. They felt that, since the amendment does not cover an urgent matter, it should be considered at another time.

H.J. Res. 395: Vote Nos. 409-414, 420.

RESULT: MOTION TO TABLE AGREED TO

YEAS (60)

Democrats (16 or 33%)

Bentsen
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Chiles
DeConcini
Dixon
Exon
Ford
Graham
Heflin
Hollings
Johnston
Nunn
Rockefeller
Shelby

Republicans (44 or 98%)

Armstrong
Bond
Boschwitz
Chafee
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Evans
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hatfield
Hecht
Heinz
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes
Kassebaum
Kasten
Lugar
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Packwood
Pressler
Quayle
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Specter
Stafford
Stevens
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Warner
Wilson

NAYS (33)

Democrats (32 or 67%)

Baucus
Bingaman
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
Dodd
Fowler
Glenn
Harkin
Inouye
Kennedy
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Sarbanes
Sasser
Wirth

Republicans (1 or 2%)

Weicker

NOT VOTING (7)

Democrats (6)

Adams—^{2}
Biden—^{2}
Gore—^{2}
Sanford—^{2}
Simon—^{2}
Stennis—^{2}

Republicans (1)

Wallop—^{2AY}

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 67%
Republicans— 98%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (60)
Democrats— 16 or 27%
Republicans— 44 or 73%

Against (33)
Democrats— 32 or 97%
Republicans— 1 or 3%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 414

100th Congress
1st Session

December 12, 1987, 2:41 a.m.
Session of December 11, 1987
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-17963

CONTINUING APPROPRIATIONS, 1988

BILL NO.: H.J. Res. 395

SUBJECT: **Passage of the joint resolution which makes continuing appropriations to remain available from December 16, 1987, through September 30, 1988, or enactment of the applicable appropriation bill, whichever occurs first, for all programs and activities funded under the 13 major appropriations bills as follows:**

> **Commerce-Justice-State-Judiciary; District of Columbia, Energy-Water, HUD, Interior, Labor-HHS, Legislative, Military Contruction, Transportation, and Treasury-Postal Service at the Senate-passed level, as adjusted to reflect the budget summit agreement.**
>
> **Agriculture, Defense, and Foreign Assistance at the Senate-reported level, as adjusted to reflect the budget summit agreement.**

NOTE: See Vote No. 420 on the conference report for a table which, among other things, lists the Senate-passed appropriation level for each of the 13 appropriations bill.

H.J. Res. 395: Vote Nos. 409-414, 420.

RESULT: JOINT RESOLUTION PASSED

YEAS (72)

Democrats (43 or 90%)

Baucus
Bentsen
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Graham
Hollings
Inouye
Johnston
Kennedy
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Pryor
Reid
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Wirth

Republicans (29 or 64%)

Bond
Boschwitz
Chafee
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Evans
Hatfield
Heinz
Kassebaum
Lugar
McCain
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Packwood
Pressler
Quayle
Rudman
Simpson
Specter
Stafford
Stevens
Thurmond
Trible
Warner

NAYS (21)

Democrats (5 or 10%)

Conrad
Harkin
Heflin
Kerry
Proxmire

Republicans (16 or 36%)

Armstrong
Durenberger
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatch
Hecht
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes
Kasten
McClure
Roth
Symms
Weicker
Wilson

NOT VOTING (7)

Democrats (6)

Adams—2
Biden—2
Gore—2
Sanford—2
Simon—2
Stennis—2

Republicans (1)

Wallop—2AN

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 90%
Republicans— 64%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (72)
Democrats— 43 or 60%
Republicans— 29 or 40%

Against (21)
Democrats— 5 or 24%
Republicans— 16 or 76%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 415

100th Congress
1st Session

December 19, 1987, 10:46 a.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-18470

FARM CREDIT

BILL NO.: H.R. 3030 (S. 1665)

TITLE: "Agricultural Credit Act Amendments of 1987"

SUBJECT: **Adoption of the conference report on the bill which revises the Farm Credit System (FCS) which provides credit to farmers, ranchers, and farm cooperatives; requires FCS lenders to restructure the loans of financially-stressed farmer-borrowers; imposes similar requirements on FmHA farm loans; requires FCS institutions to retire farmer-held stock at par value; authorizes $7.5 million annually for matching grants to States for the operation of farm mediation programs; establishes the Farm Credit Assistance Board to provide financial assistance to FCS institutions and a related Financial Assistance Corporation (FAC) which would be authorized to sell up to $4 billion in 15-year obligations to raise funds for system assistance; provides for initial funding of the FAC through a one-time assessment on FCS institutions; establishes an insurance program for system institutions; establishes a new secondary market for agricultural loans; and provides for the mandatory merger of the Federal Land Banks and the Federal Intermediate Credit Banks in each of the 12 Farm Credit Districts.**

NOTE: H.R. 3030 became Public Law 100-233, approved January 6, 1988.

H.R. 3030 (S. 1665): Vote Nos. 393, 397, 415.

RESULT: CONFERENCE REPORT AGREED TO

YEAS (85)

Democrats (44 or 98%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Bingaman
Boren
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Hollings
Inouye
Johnston
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Pryor
Riegle
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans (41 or 98%)

Armstrong
Bond
Boschwitz
Chafee
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Evans
Gramm
Grassley
Hatfield
Hecht
Heinz
Helms
Karnes
Kassebaum
Kasten
Lugar
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Packwood
Pressler
Quayle
Rudman
Simpson
Specter
Stafford
Stevens
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Warner
Weicker
Wilson

NAYS (2)

Democrats (1 or 2%)

Proxmire

Republicans (1 or 2%)

Garn

NOT VOTING (13)

Democrats (9)

Biden—2
Dixon—2AY
Dodd—2
Gore—2
Kennedy—2
Mikulski—2AY
Reid—2
Rockefeller—2
Simon—2

Republicans (4)

Hatch—2
Humphrey—2
McCain—2
Roth—2

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 98%
Republicans— 98%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (85)
Democrats— 44 or 52%
Republicans— 41 or 48%

Against (2)
Democrats— 1 or 50%
Republicans— 1 or 50%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

MAJOR PROVISIONS

Financial Assistance Corporation: Replaces the FCS Capital Corporation with an FCS Assistance Board to authorize troubled FCS institutions to issue preferred stock for purchase by a newly created Financial Assistance Corporation (FAC); makes a troubled FCS institution eligible for aid when its stock is worth less than its par value or used to cover the institution's losses and requires Board approval when its value drops to 75 percent of par unless the institution is to be liquidated; permits the Board to require FCS institutions receiving assistance to change their credit and interest rate policies, replace management, and reduce salaries; sunsets the Assistance Board's authority on December 31, 1992.

Corporation Assistance Fund: Requires the FAC to establish a Corporation Assistance Fund with the sale proceeds of up to $4 billion in 15-year obligations, guaranteed by the Treasury; provides that the interest on the FAC bonds would be paid by the Treasury for the first five years, shared equally by the Treasury and FCS institutions during the second five years, and paid by the FAC thereafter; limits the amount of assistance to be paid by the Treasury without repayment to $2 billion; requires each FCS institution, when financially viable, to repay a "fair and equitable" portion of the interest expenses incurred by the Treasury; returns previous Capital Corporation assessments to FCS institutions and cancels all third-quarter loss-sharing agreements.

Corporation Trust Fund: Requires the FAC to establish a Trust Fund consisting of Treasury securities purchased by the FAC with funds received from a one-time mandatory purchase of FAC stock by each FCS institution; after 15 years, uses the Trust Fund to pay the bond principal due, with the remaining amount to be repaid by the FCS institutions; requires payment of any interest due from a defaulting FCS institution from the Trust Fund; requires that the preferred stock of an FCS institution which the FAC determines will be unable to pay its 15-year obligations be purchased by the Treasury and makes the defaulting institution liable to the Treasury.

Loan Restructuring Policy: Requires that FCS banks and associations receiving assistance establish a policy for restructuring delinquent loans when it would be less costly than foreclosure; directs each FCS District that contains an institution certified to receive assistance to establish a Special Asset Group to administer its restructuring policy; creates a National Special Asset Council to monitor compliance with the restructuring standards; requires borrowers who obtain restructured loans to forfeit stock equal to the dollar amount written off by the lender, with a minimum of one share to be retained by the borrower in order to preserve his/her voting interest.

Restructuring the FCS: Requires all system institutions to participate in the newly established Farm Credit System Insurance Corporation (similar to the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation); guarantees borrower stock at par value for five years; requires the merger of the Federal Land Banks and Federal Intermediate Credit Banks in the 12 Farm Credit Districts; requires farmer-stockholders of each production credit association and Federal land association in a district to vote on whether to merge the local associations within six months after the merger of district banks; directs the voting stockholders in the FCS districts to vote on reorganizing into a minimum of six districts; requires stockholders of the district banks for cooperatives and the Central Bank for Cooperatives to vote on a plan to merge into a National Bank for Cooperatives within six months of enactment; permits an institution to terminate its status as an FCS institution upon approval of the shareholders and the FCA Board if it pays into the Reserve Account the amount by which total capital exceeds six percent of assets.

Capitalization: Requires the FCA to establish minimum capital adequacy standards for all FCS institutions which will have five years to comply; requires each bank and association to establish bylaws setting forth a capital structure based on the adequacy standards; establishes the cost of voting stock at a minimum of the lesser of $1,000 or two percent of the loan amount.

Borrowers' Rights: Provides borrowers' rights to farmers, including the right to advance written notice of certain proposed adverse actions, loan information, and first refusal to repurchase or lease land that has been foreclosed on by an FCS institution; requires banks and associations to use credit review committees to review denials of new loans and restructuring of distressed loans; requires that distressed loans be restructured if it would cost less than foreclosure; prohibits FCS institutions from requiring any borrower who is current on his/her loan to provide additional collateral.

State Mediation Program: Provides a Federal match of up to 50 percent for States which set up agricultural mediation programs, with an annual limit of $500,000 for any State.

FmHA: Requires establishment of a program to modify delinquent FmHA loans to the maximum extent possible to avoid government losses (with emphasis on the writing-down of principal, interest, and debt set-aside) whenever this would facilitate keeping a borrower on the land; requires the Secretary to notify each FmHA borrower who is 180 days delinquent on his/her loan of all available loan services before taking any adverse foreclosure action; requires FmHA to establish a national appeals division; gives farmers priority in the purchase or lease of their farmland acquired by FmHA through foreclosure; directs the Secretary to establish a secondary market program for the guaranteed portions of FmHA loans; permits FmHA borrowers to use the same collateral to secure two or more direct or guaranteed real estate loans; establishes a demonstration program to allow FmHA borrowers to buy up to $250 million of land owned by an FCS institution at a discounted interest rate.

Secondary Market: Creates a secondary market for agricultural and certain rural housing loans by placing qualified loans with agricultural mortgage marketing facilities for pooling; establishes a 15-member Mortgage Corporation to oversee the operations and guarantee securities backed by these pools, create underwriting standards, and determine the eligibility of pooling firms; requires that loan applicants be informed that pooled loans are not subject to the borrowers' rights provisions and allowed to refuse to have the loan pooled; authorizes the Treasury to loan the Corporation up to $1.5 billion, subject to appropriation, to carry out this title; specifies that guaranteed secondary market securities would be subject to SEC regulations.

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 416

100th Congress
1st Session

December 19, 1987, 12:44 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-18478

AGRICULTURE COMMITTEE SUPPLEMENTAL

BILL NO.: S. Res. 304

SUBJECT: **Adoption of the resolution to authorize $130,443 for supplemental expenditures by the Agriculture Committee, thereby increasing the committee's funding allocation for 1987 from $1,304,430 to $1,434,873.**

S. Res. 304: Vote No. 416.

RESULT: RESOLUTION AGREED TO

YEAS (52)

Democrats (42 or 95%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Bingaman
Boren
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Hollings
Inouye
Johnston
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Pryor
Riegle
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans (10 or 23%)

Boschwitz
Cochran
Domenici
Kassebaum
Lugar
Quayle
Stafford
Trible
Warner
Weicker

NAYS (35)

Democrats (2 or 5%)

Metzenbaum
Proxmire

Republicans (33 or 77%)

Armstrong
Bond
Chafee
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Durenberger
Evans
Garn
Gramm
Grassley
Hatfield
Hecht
Heinz
Helms
Karnes
Kasten
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Packwood
Pressler
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Specter
Stevens
Symms
Thurmond
Wallop
Wilson

NOT VOTING (13)

Democrats (10)

Biden—2
Bradley—2
Dixon—2
Dodd—2
Gore—2
Kennedy—2
Mikulski—2AY
Reid—2
Rockefeller—2
Simon—2

Republicans (3)

Hatch—2
Humphrey—2
McCain—2

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 95%
Republicans— 77%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (52)
Democrats— 42 or 81%
Republicans— 10 or 19%

Against (35)
Democrats— 2 or 6%
Republicans— 33 or 94%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 417

100th Congress
1st Session

December 19, 1987, 1:20 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-18480

COMMITTEE SUPPLEMENTALS

BILL NO.: S. Res. 306, 311, 319, 321, 322, 325

SUBJECT: **Adoption of the resolutions to authorize supplemental expenditures for 1987 by congressional committees as follows: Armed Services (S. Res. 306)—$279,307; Finance (S. Res. 311)—$235,000; Veterans' Affairs (S. Res. 319)—$41,500; Indian Affairs (S. Res. 321)—$300,000; Appropriations (S. Res. 322)—$135,000; and Rules and Administration (S. Res. 325)—$57,500; and to reimburse $5,000 to the Indian Affairs Committee for expenses carried over from FY 1986.**

S. Res. 306, 311, 319, 321, 322, 325: Vote No. 417.

RESULT: RESOLUTIONS AGREED TO, EN BLOC

YEAS (64)

Democrats
(39 or 91%)

Adams
Baucus
Bentsen
Bingaman
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Graham
Harkin
Hollings
Inouye
Johnston
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Pryor
Riegle
Sanford
Sarbanes
Shelby
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans
(25 or 58%)

Boschwitz
Chafee
Cochran
Cohen
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Evans
Garn
Grassley
Hatfield
Heinz
Kassebaum
Lugar
McClure
Murkowski
Packwood
Pressler
Rudman
Specter
Stafford
Stevens
Trible
Warner
Weicker

NAYS (22)

Democrats
(4 or 9%)

Heflin
Metzenbaum
Proxmire
Sasser

Republicans
(18 or 42%)

Armstrong
Bond
D'Amato
Durenberger
Gramm
Hecht
Helms
Karnes
Kasten
McConnell
Nickles
Quayle
Roth
Simpson
Symms
Thurmond
Wallop
Wilson

NOT VOTING (14)

Democrats (11)

Biden—2
Boren—2
Bradley—2
Dixon—2
Dodd—2
Gore—2
Kennedy—2
Mikulski—2
Reid—2
Rockefeller—2
Simon—2

Republicans (3)

Hatch—2
Humphrey—2
McCain—2

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 91%
Republicans— 58%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (64)
Democrats— 39 or 61%
Republicans— 25 or 39%

Against (22)
Democrats— 4 or 18%
Republicans— 18 or 82%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 418

100th Congress
1st Session

December 19, 1987, 1:59 p.m.
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-18485

NOMINATION OF MARVIN T. RUNYON TO BE CHAIRMAN OF TVA

POSITION: Chairman of the Tennessee Valley Authority

SUBJECT: **Confirmation of the nomination of Marvin T. Runyon, of Tennessee, to be Chairman of the Board of Directors of the Tennessee Valley Authority.**

NOTE: The nomination was reported favorably by the Environment Committee by a vote of 13-1. Proponents asserted that Mr. Runyon is an effective manager with strong leadership skills and, with more than 40 years experience in the auto industry, has a solid record of accomplishment in managing technical and mechanical problems. At Ford Motor Company he managed 120,000 employees, and at Nissan he achieved quality control levels in the U.S. that exceeded those in Japan—showing, they argued, how well American labor functions under effective management. The many problems that are facing TVA at this time are due to the absence of strong leadership and the failure of the Administration to fill the vacancy of chairman for two years. Mr. Runyon's skills are appropriate to confront TVA's problems, and he possesses the ability to ask the right questions and master the technical details he needs to know. The Senate has not generally made a direct technical background a prerequisite to confirmation. Over the years, only one TVA chairman has had a direct utility background; moreover, the current Secretary of State is not a career diplomat, and the Secretary of Energy has no engineering background in petroleum, nuclear energy, or geology.

Opponents of the nomination countered that TVA's problems are not just managerial but are technical and require a chairman with skills in a number of disciplines, including nuclear and hydroelectric power, flood control planning, watershed projects, and ground water problems. While Mr. Runyon is an accomplished manager in the auto industry, he has no professional qualifications or experience in the areas that are critical to solving TVA's problems. TVA is too important to entrust for the next eight years to a chairman whose training will be largely "on the job."

Vote No. 418.

RESULT: NOMINATION CONFIRMED

ADMINISTRATION POSITION: YEA

YEAS (81)

Democrats
(39 or 89%)

Baucus
Bentsen
Bingaman
Bumpers
Burdick
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Graham
Heflin
Hollings
Inouye
Johnston
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Pryor
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Shelby
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans
(42 or 100%)

Armstrong
Bond
Boschwitz
Chafee
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Durenberger
Evans
Garn
Gramm
Hatfield
Hecht
Heinz
Helms
Karnes
Kassebaum
Kasten
Lugar
McClure
McConnell
Murkowski
Nickles
Packwood
Pressler
Quayle
Roth
Rudman
Simpson
Specter
Stafford
Stevens
Symms
Thurmond
Trible
Wallop
Warner
Weicker
Wilson

NAYS (5)

Democrats
(5 or 11%)

Adams
Breaux
Byrd
Harkin
Proxmire

Republicans
(0 or 0%)

NOT VOTING (14)

Democrats (10)

Biden—2
Boren—2
Bradley—2
Dixon—2
Dodd—2
Gore—2AY
Kennedy—2
Mikulski—2
Reid—2
Simon—2

Republicans (4)

Grassley—2
Hatch—2
Humphrey—2
McCain—2

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 89%
Republicans— 100%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (81)
Democrats— 39 or 48%
Republicans— 42 or 52%

Against (5)
Democrats— 5 or 100%
Republicans— 0 or 0%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 419

100th Congress
1st Session

December 22, 1987, 12:33 a.m.
Session of Dec. 21, 1987
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-18689

BUDGET RECONCILIATION, 1988

BILL NO.: H.R. 3545 (S. 1920)

SUBJECT: **Adoption of the conference report which implements the November 20 budget summit agreement between the President and the congressional leadership; provides for $23.8 billion in revenue increases over the next two years and $24.6 billion in entitlement and other savings; and establishes caps on discretionary spending in FY 1988 and 1989 which save $21.6 billion.** (Combined with the savings effected in the Continuing Resolution, the bills reduce the deficit by about $76 billion over the next two years.)

NOTE: H.R. 3545 became Public Law 100-203, approved December 22, 1987.

H.R. 3545 (S. 1920): Vote Nos. 401-407, 419.

RESULT: CONFERENCE REPORT AGREED TO

YEAS (61)

Democrats (43 or 90%)

Adams
Baucus
Biden
Bingaman
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Burdick
Byrd
Chiles
Conrad
Cranston
DeConcini
Dixon
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Graham
Inouye
Johnston
Kerry
Lautenberg
Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Nunn
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans (18 or 44%)

Boschwitz
Chafee
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Heinz
Kassebaum
Lugar
Quayle
Rudman
Simpson
Specter
Stevens
Thurmond
Weicker

NAYS (28)

Democrats (5 or 10%)

Daschle
Heflin
Hollings
Reid
Shelby

Republicans (23 or 56%)

Armstrong
Bond
Durenberger
Evans
Gramm
Hatch
Hecht
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes
Kasten
McCain
McClure
McConnell
Nickles
Packwood
Pressler
Roth
Symms
Trible
Wallop
Warner
Wilson

NOT VOTING (11)

Democrats (6)

Bentsen—^{2}
Boren—^{2}
Gore—^{2}
Harkin—^{2}
Kennedy—^{2}
Simon—^{2}

Republicans (5)

Garn—^{2PN}
Grassley—^{2}
Hatfield—^{2PY}
Murkowski—^{2}
Stafford—^{2}

GENERAL PAIRS

Hatfield—Garn

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion	**Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on**	
	For (61)	*Against* (28)
Democrats— 90%	Democrats— 43 or 70%	Democrats— 5 or 18%
Republicans— 56%	Republicans— 18 or 30%	Republicans— 23 or 82%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

MAJOR PROVISIONS

Agriculture and Related Programs

Target Price and Income Support Reductions: Provides for an additional reduction in the target prices for the 1988-89 crops of wheat, feed grains, upland cotton, and rice above those scheduled in current law; reduces support prices or expenditures for other nonprogram crops including dairy, wool, sugar, tobacco, and peanuts by an amount equal to the target price reductions.

Loan Rate Decline: Allows loan rates for the 1988 crops of wheat, feed grains, upland cotton, and rice to decline by three percent from the 1987 levels (instead of five percent as in current law); retains the five percent maximum reduction on loan rates for the 1989 crop and provides that they may decline a further two percent if the Secretary of Agriculture determines that such a reduction is necessary to enhance U.S. competitiveness.

Optional Diversion Program: Establishes a program for the 1988-89 crops of wheat, feed grains, upland cotton, and rice which would permit a producer to retire his entire base acreage in exchange for a base diversion payment.

Paid Land Diversion Program for Feed Grains: Reduces the paid land diversion payment rate for feed grains from $2.00 to $1.75 for 1988-89 and lowers the required paid diversion level from 15 to 10 percent.

Commercial Storage Reductions: Directs the Commodity Credit Corporation to reduce its expenditures for commercial storage, handling, and transportation by $230 million over 1988-89.

Payment Limitation: Limits the ability of farmers to avoid the statutory payment limitation by creating multiple entities, each separately eligible for the payment limitation.

Rural Electrification Administration Loan Prepayments: Permits REA prepayments in 1988 of $2.0 billion with the proviso that the eight borrowers whose applications for prepayment were previously approved but did not close will retain first priority to prepay after which new borrowers seeking to prepay will be treated on a first come first serve basis; requires the Secretary of the Treasury to approve any requests for amounts above $2.0 billion.

National Economic Commission

Establishes a 12-member National Economic Commission to report by March 1, 1989, on methods to reduce the Federal budget deficit, promote economic growth, encourage savings and capital formation, and ensure that the goal of deficit reduction is reached in an equitable manner.

Education Programs

Guaranteed Student Loan (GSL) Program: Directs the Department of Education to determine maximum cash reserve levels for all GSL Program guaranty agencies and requires agencies deemed to hold cash reserves in excess of the Secretary's determination, based on financial guidelines established by the General Accounting Office, to deduct default claim payments first from excess reserve funds.

Provides an appeal process for agencies able to demonstrate significant adverse consequences if they deplete cash reserves to the level determined by the Secretary; provides for the granting of a waiver, in whole, or in part; and repeals this authority on September 30, 1989.

Medicare, Medicaid, and Other Health-Related Programs

Diagnostic Related Group (DRG) Rates: Increases DRG payments effective April 1, 1988, by 1.5 percent for hospitals in urban areas with populations over one million (three percent in 1989), and one percent for other urban hospitals (2.5 percent in 1989); increases payments for rural hospitals by three percent (3.5 percent in 1989), and by 2.7 percent for hospitals exempt from the prospective payment system (five percent in 1989).

Medical Education: Reduces indirect medical education payments to hospitals by 0.4 percent effective October 1, 1988.

Capital: Provides that Medicare capital payments would be paid at reasonable cost less 12 percent for the remainder of FY 1988 and less 15 percent for 1989; extends the moratorium on incorporating hospital capital into the prospective payment system to four years.

Hospital Outpatient Departments: Eliminates the return on equity payments to proprietary hospital outpatient departments, and limits aggregate payments to all hospital outpatient departments for radiology services.

Prompt Pay: Requires payment of Medicare claims within ten days in 1988 and 14 days in 1989.

Sequester Continuation: Extends the 2.3 percent reduction in Medicare payments under the current sequester through March 31, 1988, for hospital, physician, and other Part B services and until January 1, 1988, for other Part A providers.

Physician Payments: Increases prevailing rates, effective April 1, 1988, by 3.6 percent for primary care services provided by participating physicians, by 3.1 percent for primary care services provided by non-participating physicians, by one percent for non-primary care services provided by participating physicians, and by 0.5 pecent for non-primary care services provided by non-participating physicians; reduces payments for certain surgical procedures; sets forth new procedures for establishing charge levels for new physicians; establishes bonus payments for physicians practicing in rural underserved areas who accept Medicare as payment in full.

Durable Medical Equipment: Freezes payment rates for durable medical equipment for one year; sets fee schedules based on average allowed amounts in 1989.

Clinical Labs: Rebases fee schedules for automated and high volume clinical laboratory tests to reflect a five percent reduction; eliminates the two percent differential between hospital-based and other laboratories; lowers the overall cap on laboratory charges.

Premiums: Extends the statutory provision requiring premium financing to cover 25 percent of Part B cost through 1989.

Ambulatory Surgery Co-Pay: Reinstates co-payments for ambulatory surgery, effective April 1, 1988.

Mental Health: Broadens Medicare coverage for psychiatric services and clarifies coverage of psychological services in certain hospital and outpatient settings.

Rural Concerns: Contains several Medicare provisions to examine and improve the financial viability of rural hospitals and improve access to health care in rural areas.

HMO'S: Makes several changes to strengthen beneficiary protections under Medicare HMO contracts.

Infant Mortality: Expands Medicaid to allow States to provide targeted coverage to pregnant women and children with incomes of up to 185 percent of the Federal poverty level and permits States to charge a monthly premium from participants with incomes between between 130 and 185 percent of the poverty level; requires coverage of children through age six.

Nursing Home Quality: Establishes additional standards for nursing home quality of care, including nursing and training requirements and protections of residents' rights.

Other Miscellaneous Health Provisions: Limits Medicare payments for anesthesia services; establishes demonstration programs to test cost effectiveness of Medicare coverage of influenza vaccine and therapeutic shoes for diabetics; improves Medicaid coverage of clinic services for the homeless; improves collection of data and program administration; provides for expedited resolution of claims disputes; and enhances beneficiary protections.

Energy and Environmental Programs

Nuclear Regulatory Commission Fees: Authorizes the collection of an additional six percent of total costs beyond the cost recovery level established pursuant to language in the Continuing Resolution and sets a cost recovery floor of 45 percent.

Oil Spill Liability: Extends the authorization for the potential commencement date of the Oil Spill Liability Trust Fund and the tax on petroleum for one year.

Nuclear Waste Policy Act Amendments: Amends the Nuclear Waste Policy Act of 1982 and redirects the nuclear waste program by making major changes in the site characterization process for the permanent geologic repository; directs that one site, Yucca Mountain, Nevada, be characterized and ends all work on other alternative sites; authorizes a monitored retrievable storage (MRS) facility to prepare and package spent fuel before shipment to a permanent repository; prohibits construction on an MRS until a permanent repository is licensed by the NRC; gives the State selected for the MRS facility a veto subject to a congressional override; creates a Federal negotiator to negotiate both repository and MRS sites with affected States and requires congressional approval of any agreement; authorizes benefit payments to affected States and Indian tribes; gives Nevada special consideration in siting Federal research projects.

Federal Onshore Oil and Gas Leasing: Establishes a national minimum bid of $2 per acre on leases of Federal onshore lands for oil and gas exploration for two years and provides the Secretary of Energy discretion to increase the minimum thereafter; contains regulations governing competitive bidding, associated fees, royalties and other administrative provisions; establishes a maximum acreage size for leases in Alaska; ensures that payments to States under the Mineral Leasing Act resulting from this law will not be reduced by administrative costs.

Land and Water Conservation Fund: Extends the authorization for the Land and Water Conservation Fund until 2015.

Recreation Fees: Sets entrance fee caps at national parks and provides higher fees for certain major parks which are similar to those due to expire at the beginning of FY 1988; prohibits fees at parks in or near urban centers with multiple access points; provides a ten percent discretionary fund for the Director of the National Park Service; makes allocation of fee revenues subject to appropriation action until 1991.

Tongass Timber Supply Fund: Repeals for two years the permanent appropriation for the Tongass Timber Supply Fund.

Bureau of Reclamation Loan Sale Program: Authorizes the sale of various Bureau of Reclamation loans in order to realize net proceeds of not less than $130 million in 1988 while preserving the status of borrowers with respect to the application of Federal Reclamation law.

Reclamation Reform Amendments: Directs the Secretary of Interior to complete within three years audits of legal entities and individuals whose landholdings are more than 960 acres and who are receiving benefits of less than full cost water on these landholdings under Reclamation law; requires the Secretary to collect any underpayment plus interest ascertained to be owed as a result of these audits.

Allocation of Abandoned Mine Reclamation Funds in Wyoming: Authorizes Wyoming to expend not more than $2 million in Federal funds for disaster assistance due to hazards from methane and hydrogen sulfide gases.

Civil Service and Postal Service Programs

Postal Service: Defers approximately 60 percent of the Postal Service's planned FY 1988 capital investment projects; requires the Postal Service to make payments to the Federal Health Benefits fund to offset partially annuitants' health insurance costs.

Lump-Sum Retirement Credit: Changes lump sum retirement payments to provide 60 percent lump sum credit at the time of retirement and 40 percent one year later for those retiring between January 1, 1988, and October 1, 1989.

Veterans' Programs

Increasing Cash Sales of Acquired Foreclosure Properties: Requires the Veterans' Administration to increase the proportion of acquired foreclosure properties sold on a cash basis, rather than through a direct VA loan.

Repeal of Asset Sale Provision: Repeals for two years the statutory provision requiring the sale of VA housing vendee loans with recourse after which loans could be sold without recourse.

Loan Origination Fee Extension: Extends the recently-lapsed VA one percent housing loan origination fee for two years.

Budget Policy and Fiscal Procedures

Defense and Domestic Spending Limits: Sets forth levels of budget authority and outlays for FY 1988-89 for the major functional category 050 (National Defense) and for all discretionary spending in categories other than National Defense consistent with the summit agreements on deficit reduction; provides that in the Senate, these ceilings will be enforced through a three-fifths point of order that will lie against any FY 1989 budget resolution that is not consistent with the agreement and requires both the House and Senate Appropriations Committees to make their 302(b) subdivisions for 1989 consistent with these spending ceilings.

Sequester Rescission: Rescinds the initial and final sequester orders upon the enactment of both the reconciliation bill and the FY 1988 Continuing Resolution.

Income Security and Related Programs

Social Services: Increases the authorization for Title XX social services block grants by $50 million in 1988 only; extends title XX and Child Welfare Services to American Samoa.

Foster Care: Extends authority for voluntary foster care placements and the transfer of foster care funds to child welfare services; extends foster care benefits to infants of minor parents in foster care.

Supplemental Security Income (SSI): Increases the amount that SSI individuals and couples in Medicaid institutions are allowed to keep from their monthly SSI checks for personal needs; establishes procedures for eligibility determination for those who are temporarily institutionalized and provides for continued Medicaid eligibility for certain SSI recipients; permanently extends the energy aid disregard; allows waiver of transfer of assets policy in hardship cases; excludes interest in burial accounts from eligibility determinations; extends the period during which persons in public emergency shelters may receive payments.

Social Security and Railroad Retirement: Continues disability benefits during an appeal and extends disability reentitlement period from 15 to 36 months; modifies rules governing fees for representation and administrative proceedings; increases the railroad retirement employer Tier II tax by 1.35 percent; establishes a commission on railroad retirement reform.

Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC): Increases the Federal AFDC match and strengthens penalties for fraud control activities; prohibits regulatory changes in emergency assistance to homeless families.

Child Support Enforcement: Continues child support enforcement services for families no longer receiving AFDC and requires services to all families receiving Medicaid; repeals the child support revolving fund.

Pension Benefits Guaranty Corporation (PBGC): Increases the PBGC participant premium from $8.50 to $14.00; imposes a variable rate premium on underfunded pension programs equal to $6.00 per $1,000 of underfunding; tightens rules on payment of minimum contributions; restricts the granting of funding waivers and plan terminations under Chapter 11; requires employers to provide a plan with security if benefits are increased in a significantly underfunded plan.

Vaccine Injury Compensation: Establishes a per-dose excise tax on the sale of commonly-prescribed vaccines to be deposited in a new Vaccine Injury Compensation Trust Fund; places new restrictions on awards and eligibility for compensation.

Other: Establishes a National Commission on Children; requires several studies and demonstration projects; makes technical changes to the Unemployment Compensation program; and extends the FUTA surtax for three years.

Tax Provisions

Revenues and User Fees: Denies child and dependent care credit for overnight camp expenses and eliminates graduated tax rates for personal service corporations; expands the employer share of FICA tax to include all cash tips and to cover inactive reservists, certain agricultural employees, family members and group term life insurance includable in wages; extends the telephone excise tax for three years.

Individual Provisions: Sets a $1 million cap on the interest deduction for home mortgages and a $100,000 cap for home equity loans; drops special limits for boats and motor homes; clarifies the definition of active participant for IRA deductions.

Business Tax Provisions: Repeals the special election for vacation pay reserves; eliminates the cash method of accounting; subjects past service pension costs to uniform capitalization rules and modifies the definition of full-funding limitation for contributions to a defined benefit plan; treats certain publicly traded partnerships as corporations for Federal income tax purposes and classifies net income from publicly traded partnerships as portfolio income for purposes of the passive loss rule; redefines a tax-exempt organization's share of publicly traded partnership income as unrelated trade or business income and modifies certain partnership allocations; provides an election to retain current taxable year for a partnership, S corporation, or personal service corporation that is otherwise required to change its taxable year to that of its owners.

Corporate Provisions: Modifies computation of earnings and stock profits for purposes of intercorporate dividends and stock basis adjustments; reduces the intercorporate dividends received deduction and limits tax avoidance in certain corporate dispositions; establishes a nondeductible excise tax for "greenmail" payments; denies a deduction for interest costs incurred in hostile takeovers and limits NOL carryforwards of corporations following worthless stock deduction by shareholders; applies special limitations on the use of built-in losses following an ownership change to built-in depreciation; requires realization of LIFO recapture upon C corporation conversion to S corporation status; consolidates and makes technical changes to corporate estimated tax rules; increases mutual funds distribution to avoid penalty excise taxes.

Foreign Tax Provisions: Denies the foreign tax credit and deferral of U.S. tax on income of a controlled foreign corporation with respect to South African income.

Insurance Property: Modifies the determination of interest rate on tax reserves of life insurance companies; expands determination of income effectively connected to include foreign property and insurance companies; strengthens and extends imputation rules to property and casualty companies; modifies treatment of mutual life insurance company policyholder dividends for purposes of the minimum tax book income preference.

Estate and Gift Taxes: Extends the 1987 estate and gift tax rates for five years; restricts the availability of the estate tax deduction for stock sales to an ESOP; phases out the estate and gift tax graduated rates and the unified credit.

Excise Taxes: Shifts collection of nongasoline motor fuels from the retail to the wholesale level; extends the termination date for the coal excise tax rate.

Miscellaneous Revenue Provisions: Restricts the targeted jobs tax credit and tax-exempt bonds to finance the acquisition of output facilities; limits tax exempt bond activity by Native American tribal governments.

Asset Sales: Contains legislative language committing Congress to achieving $3.5 billion in assets sales in FY 1989.

SENATE VOTING RECORD

NO. 420

100th Congress
1st Session

December 22, 1987, 3:10 a.m.
Session of December 21, 1987
Temp. Cong. Rec. p. S-18760

CONTINUING APPROPRIATIONS, 1988

BILL NO.: H.J. Res. 395

SUBJECT: **Adoption of the conference report which makes further continuing appropriations to remain available from December 21, 1987, through September 30, 1988, for all programs and activities funded under the 13 major appropriations bills; sets forth a procedure under which the President may request additional aid for the Contras and contains expedited procedures for congressional consideration of the request; provides authority for a civilian and military pay raise of two percent effective January 1, 1988; and prohibits pay increases for Members of Congress, judges, and senior members of the executive branch and District of Columbia government.**

NOTE: The conference report exceeds the savings called for in the budget summit agreement by $2.9 billion in budget authority (BA) and $0.1 billion in outlays; and provides defense spending of $291.4 billion in BA and $285.4 billion in outlays and non-defense domestic discretionary spending of $160.6 billion in BA and $176.7 billion in outlays. Because these spending reductions, together with the increased revenues and spending reductions contained in H.R. 3545, the Budget Reconciliation Act, meet the deficit reduction targets of the summit agreement, the sequestration orders issued by the President on October 20, 1987, and November 20, 1987, pursuant to section 252 of the Balanced Budget and Emergency Deficit Control Act of 1985 as amended, are rescinded.

H.J. Res. 395 became Public Law 100-202, approved December 22, 1987.

H.J. Res. 395: Vote Nos. 409-414, 420.

RESULT: CONFERENCE REPORT AGREED TO

YEAS (59)

Democrats
(37 or 77%)

Baucus
Bradley
Breaux
Bumpers
Byrd
Chiles
Cranston
Daschle
DeConcini
Dixon
Exon
Ford
Fowler
Glenn
Graham
Hollings
Inouye
Johnston
Lautenberg

Leahy
Levin
Matsunaga
Melcher
Metzenbaum
Mikulski
Mitchell
Moynihan
Pell
Proxmire
Pryor
Riegle
Rockefeller
Sanford
Sarbanes
Sasser
Stennis
Wirth

Republicans
(22 or 54%)

Bond
Boschwitz
Chafee
Cochran
Cohen
D'Amato
Danforth
Dole
Domenici
Heinz
Lugar
McConnell
Packwood
Pressler
Quayle
Rudman
Simpson
Specter
Stevens
Thurmond
Trible
Warner

NAYS (30)

Democrats
(11 or 23%)

Adams
Biden
Bingaman
Burdick
Conrad
Dodd
Heflin
Kerry
Nunn
Reid
Shelby

Republicans
(19 or 46%)

Armstrong
Durenberger
Evans
Gramm
Hatch
Hecht
Helms
Humphrey
Karnes
Kassebaum
Kasten
McCain
McClure
Nickles
Roth
Symms
Wallop
Weicker
Wilson

NOT VOTING (11)

Democrats (6)

Bentsen—^{2}
Boren—^{2}
Gore—^{2}
Harkin—^{2}
Kennedy—^{2}
Simon—^{2}

Republicans (5)

Garn—^{2PN}
Grassley—^{2}
Hatfield—^{2PY}
Murkowski—^{2AY}
Stafford—^{2}

GENERAL PAIRS

Hatfield—Garn

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business
2—Necessarily Absent
3—Illness
4—Other

SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea
AN—Announced Nay
PY—Paired Yea
PN—Paired Nay

ANALYSIS OF ISSUE VOTED ON:

Party Cohesion

Democrats— 77%
Republicans— 54%

Measure of Party Support on Issue as Voted on

For (59)
Democrats— 37 or 63%
Republicans— 22 or 37%

Against (30)
Democrats— 11 or 37%
Republicans— 19 or 63%

Prepared and Compiled by Senate Democratic Policy Committee
Robert C. Byrd, Chairman

MAJOR PROVISIONS

The following table compares the FY 1988 new budget authority contained in the conference agreement with the budget estimate and House- and Senate-passed bills:

Agency	Budget Estimate	Passed House	Passed Senate	Conference Agreement
Agriculture, Rural Development & Related Agencies (including Section 32 Permanent)	$34,159,515,000	$33,303,061,000	$35,282,850,000	$34,459,488,000
CCC reimbursement for net losses	21,133,658,000	21,133,658,000	21,133,658,000	21,133,658,000
Total, Agriculture	55,293,173,000	54,436,719,000	56,416,508,000	55,593,146,000
Commerce-Justice-State-Judiciary	14,820,903,000	13,903,001,000	14,233,813,933	13,891,705,933
Defense	294,040,208,000	263,029,811,000	274,648,764,000	275,604,118,000
District of Columbia	527,070,000	575,118,000	564,618,000	550,000,000
Energy and Water Development	17,662,797,000	16,149,998,000	15,918,912,000	15,613,598,000
Foreign Assistance and Related Programs	15,367,612,412	13,197,479,404	13,587,504,237	13,598,746,741
HUD-Independent Agencies	51,648,432,313	57,990,359,000	57,293,562,000	56,616,649,000
Interior (including advance appropriations for USGS, Fossil Fuel, and NPS Transfer)	8,632,968,000	9,384,028,000	10,004,061,000	9,287,523,000
Labor, Health & Human Services, & Education (includes advance appropriations)	114,644,485,000	128,598,744,000	128,218,394,000	127,074,798,000
Legislative (includes compensation of Members of Congress)	2,041,659,800	1,493,275,500	1,866,572,300	1,808,819,500
Military Construction	10,072,957,000	8,300,000,000	8,501,698,000	8,500,000,000
Transportation	8,506,459,569	11,106,528,069	11,094,718,569	10,593,055,000
Treasury-Postal Service	14,616,851,000	15,397,948,000	15,067,250,000	15,126,699,000
GRAND TOTAL	607,875,576,094	593,563,008,973	607,416,376,039	603,858,858,174